A HISTORY OF BRAJABULI LITERATURE

Being a study of the Vaisnava Lyric Poetry
and Poets of Bengal

BY

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A HISTORY OF BRAJABULI LITERATURE

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To

The loving Memory of

My Grandfather

ANNADAPRASAD SEN

PREFACE

Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry, the most prolific and important branch of pre-modern Bengali literature, has been an object of study and enquiry by the educated Bengali ever since the early sixties of the last century. Much valuable work has been done by *litterateurs* and scholars in this field, among whom Jagadbandhu Bhadra stands pre-eminent. It is now time that the works of the pioneers should be revised, systematized and supplemented. As a matter of fact quite a number of new poets have been discovered in recent years, and fresh materials have considerably accumulated since the publication of the *Gaurapadataraṅgiṇī* by Jagadbandhu Bhadra in 1310 B.E. The present work is an attempt in that line. In it I have discussed near about four hundred poets and their poems, some of whom and which are presented here for the first time to the public. I have also identified, or tried to do so, most of these three hundred and odd poets. To make the treasury of pre-modern Bengali lyric poetry easily approachable for non-Bengali readers I have ventured to publish this work in an English garb and have given all quotations in Roman transliteration.

The present work is rather an outcome of growth, and it shows three or more distinct strata. In its original form it treated solely of the poets that wrote in the mixed literary dialect known as "Brajabuli." It then consisted of Chapters I-XII only. Chapters XIII-XV came in as a supplement. Then to make it a complete survey of Bengali Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry, the poets that were left out simply because they did not happen to write any poem in Brajabuli or because their Brajabuli poems

have not survived the ravages of time, were included in this treatise. Accordingly Chapters XVI-XXI were added. As the work progressed through the press (which, by the way, has taken a considerable time, the first proof sheets being seen in February, 1932) fresh materials and new information came to hand. In Chapter XXII and in Additions and Corrections I have included these materials. Chapters XXIII and XXIV furnish the necessary historical background, and so they properly belong to the introductory section.

In representing the poetry of the several poets I have quoted, as far as practicable, not fragments but complete poems. Incidentally, therefore, the present work is a representative anthology of Bengali Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry. For the convenience of Bengali readers who may be very much unfamiliar with Roman transliteration, I have collected, in the form of an appendix, the complete poems cited in the text in Bengali typography as an anthology with the title *Padamañjarī*. Some variations in reading in *Padamañjarī* will be noticed. Here I have tried to avoid the wrong spellings and palpably bad readings of the Manuscripts so that the Bengali readers may find the poems in a familiar form. The standard spelling of all *tatsama* words has been adopted in Roman transliterations also.

To those readers who may lack the patience of going through all these poems numbering about three hundred but who would nevertheless like to have the best of it I recommend the following poems some of which have undoubtedly reached the high-water mark in Bengali lyric literature:

Yaśorāja-Khān 23f. (1);[1] Rāmānanda-Rāya 25 (2); Murāri-Gupta 30f., 31 (4, 5); Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa 36 (9); Govinda-Ghoṣa 39 (11); Nayanānanda 46 (25); Mādhava-dāsa 54f. (30); Locana 66f. (37); Jñānadāsa 70, 71, 72f. (40, 41, 43); Ananta-dāsa 74 (44); Balarāma-dāsa 78, 78f.

[1] The first number denotes the page in the text, and the number in brackets the serial number in *Padamañjarī*.

(47, 48); Jagannātha-dāsa 83f. (52); Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya 94f. (64); Narottama-dāsa 98 (66); Govindadāsa Kavirāja 109f., 110f., 117, 119f., 120f., 122, 124f., 125f., 128f. (73, 74, 82, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 94); Govindadāsa-Cakravarttī 137f. (101); Rāya Vasanta 140f. (102); Śekhara 149 (108); Kavivallabha 163 (120); Vidyāvallabha 165 (121); Yadunandana-dāsa 181, 222f., 225f. (135, 136, 137); Rāmacandra 203f. (153); Nṛpa Vaidyanātha 209f. (157); Jagadānanda-dāsa 237f. (165); Premānanda 268f. (185); Ghanarāma-dāsa 272f. (186); Narahari-Cakravarttī 280f., 282 (188, 189); Ananta Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa 393 (63); Candraśekhara-dāsa 396f. (18); Uddhava-dāsa 299 (203); Dīnabandhu 310 (211); Gokulacandra 313f. (215); Candraśekhara 324, 325 (220, 221); Śaśiśekhara 327, 328 (223, 224); Kamalākānta 345f. (238); Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa 352 (246); 'Mādhavendra-Purī' 362 (254); Vāsudeva-dāsa 364f. (256); Yadunātha-dāsa 470 (258); Vīra-Hāmbīra 406 (260); Rāghavendra-Rāya 408 (261); Rāma-candra-Mallika 414 (265); Udayāditya 425 (271); Dvija Bhīma 429 (274); Yādavendra 433 (227); 'Pratāparudra' 449 (282); Nasir Māmud 462 (286).

Under the influence of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism lyric poetry on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme had a phenomenal growth during the three successive centuries following the birth of Caitanya-deva. It cannot be gainsaid that quite a lot of the writers of Vaiṣṇava lyrics were good poets, and a few even great poets. But the largest number of them could not have much pretentions to poetic inspiration or mastery over language. However much we may deplore such 'lyricescence' when everybody who professed Vaiṣṇavism and at the same time had some amount of education, thought himself quite competent to write poetry, it must not be forgotten that these poems were some sort of religious exercise and they were mostly never intended for publication or any wide circulation. There is no doubt that a considerable portion of the output of such pretenders to poetry has been lost irretrievably. For these lost poets and poetry we certainly have every regret. Still our consolation is

that Time has handed down to us most of the poems that form a worthy heritage for the people of Bengal.

To us Bengalis the subject-matter of the Vaiṣṇava lyrics needs no special apology since we are accustomed to accept them as religious literature. But to non-Bengali, especially to non-Indian readers some of the aspects of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa love-story may appear a little bewildering, if not actually repelling, from the point of view of conventional morality and good taste. I should also warn the readers who may search for Freudian motives that it will be idle to find suppression, repression or any of the "complexes" in these poems and songs. A great deal of the language of Vaiṣṇava poetry or for the matter of that of any poetry belonging to any school, is only conventional "patter."

Notwithstanding my best care this work has gained considerably in bulk from what was a modest treatise. It is needless to prolong the preface further. I wish only to state that in the following pages will be found a sincere attempt to identify and locate in their time and in their proper *milieu* some three hundred and odd Bengali poets of the period 1500-1800 A. C., who may be said to belong to the most important group or branch in the domain of Bengali literature.

I offer my grateful thanks to our Vice-Chancellor and President Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., Barrister-at-Law, for without his very kind interest this work would not have come out in its present form. Part of this work was written under the guidance of my teacher, Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (Lond.), Head of the Department of Comparative Philology in the University. Professor Chatterji has all along given me much valuable help. To him I acknowledge my grateful thanks. I am highly obliged to Dr. Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Anthropology in the University, for supplying me information about the poets Pītambara (ii) and 'Saṅkarṣaṇa,' who were ancestors of Dr. Mitra, and also for supplying the photographs of the portraits of the two poets. Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri,

M.A., Ph.D., Offg. Head of the Department of Ancient History and Culture, and Mr. Jitendranath Banerji, M.A., of the same Department have obliged me by giving me some historical references. My thanks are due to Pandit Harekrishna Mukhopadhyay, Sahityaratna, who had kindly placed at my disposal his notes from the unique manuscript of the *Gītacandrodaya* deposited in the State Library, Tipperah. Mr. Sajani Kanta Das has laid me under obligation by allowing me to utilize an important manuscript in his possession and also by permitting me to publish a photograph of a page from the same. I am indebted to Mr. Sibratan Mitra who had very kindly supplied me some notes from the MS. of *Mukundānanda* belonging to his own collection. I am also indebted to Babu Phanibhusan Mukherji, B.A., for kindly obtaining for me the negative of the Kunjaghata portrait of Caitanya-deva and his Companions from Babu Sorasikumar Majumdar and also for securing the permission from Kumar Debendranath Ray of Kunjaghata to publish the same. I am highly obliged to Mr. Jogeschandra Chakravorti, M.A., Registrar of the University for his unfailing courtesy, and to Mr. Atulchandra Ghatak, M.A., Superintendent of the University Press, and to his able staff for kind co-operation.

Finally, I owe an apology to my Vaiṣṇava readers. I have subjected in the following pages an essentially religious literature to ordinary, historical treatment meted out to secular poetry. This may justifiably seem barbarous, or even sacrilegious to the devout. To them I apologize in the words of the great Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja :

madāsyamarusañcārakhinnāṃ gāṃ gokulonmukhīm ।
santaḥ puṣṇantv imāṃ snigdhāḥ karṇakāsārasannidhau ॥

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SUKUMAR SEN

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. C.	After Christ.
APR.	*Aprakāśita-padaratnāvalī.*
B. E.	Bengali Era.
B. S.	Bengali *Sāl* (year).
bh.	*bhaṇitā* (poets' name appearing in a poem).
bhs.	*bhaṇitās.*
c.	*circa.*
CC.	*Caitanya-caritāmṛta.*
CU. MS.	Calcutta University Manuscript.
Das MS.	Manuscript in possession of Mr. S. K. Das.
DU. MS.	Dacca University Manuscript.
GPT.	*Gaurapadataraṅgiṇī* (First Edition).
KGR.	*Kīrttanagītaratnāvalī.*
KPS.	*Kṛṣṇapadāmṛtasindhu.*
Kṣaṇadā	*Kṣaṇadā-gītacintāmaṇi.*
MS.	Manuscript.
MSS.	Manuscripts.
MVLH.	*Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān.*
PKT.	*Padakalpataru.*
PKL.	*Padakalpalatikā.*
VSP.	Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad.
VSP. Cat. MS.	Catalogue of Manuscripts published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad.
VSP. MS.	Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Manuscript.
VSPP.	Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā.

TRANSLITERATION

Vowels

a [অ] ā [আ] i [ই] ī [ঈ] u [উ] ū [ঊ] ṛ [ঋ] e [এ]
o [ও] ai [ঐ] au [ঔ]
ā [অঁ] ā [আঁ] ī [ইঁ] ū [উঁ] ē [এঁ] ō [ওঁ]

Consonants

k [ক] kh [খ] g [গ] gh [ঘ] ṅ [ঙ] c [চ] ch [ছ] j [জ]
jh [ঝ] ñ [ঞ] ṭ [ট] ṭh [ঠ] ḍ [ড] ḍh [ঢ] ṇ [ণ] t [ত]
th [থ] d [দ] dh [ধ] n [ন] p [প] ph [ফ] b, v [ব] bh [ভ]
m [ম] y [য;=j (জ) initially] r [র] ṛ [ড়] ṛh [ঢ়] l [ল]
ś [শ] ṣ [ষ] s [স] h [হ] ṃ [ং]

Caitanya-deva

A HISTORY OF BRAJABULI LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF BRAJABULI

Brajabuli is a *Mischsprache*. Maithil is the basic part, while Bengali, with oddments of Hindi and Brajbhākhā, forms the superstructure. Brajabuli is really a dialect—only it is literary—of Bengali, and in the sense that it had originated and developed in Bengal and had been cultivated exclusively by Bengali poets. Another form of Brajabuli, almost indistinguishable from that of Bengal, originated in Assam at about the same time. But there the growth of Brajabuli was extremely restricted, and as the Assamese speech is just a member of the Bengali-Assamese group of dialects the Brajabuli dialect of Assam does not require any special treatment. On this we shall speak later on. What we have just said about the Assamese Brajabuli is applicable *mutatis mutandis* to the Brajabuli of Orissa. It should be mentioned here that in the two extreme provinces Brajabuli remained unproductive. Assamese Brajabuli seems to have developed independently through direct connexion with Mithilā, but in Orissa we can legitimately expect Bengali influence in the matter.

The origin of Brajabuli happened in Bengal in this way. For a long time after the conquest of Bengal by the Turks Mithilā continued to enjoy independence under Hindu kings who were reputed patrons of Sanskrit learning and scholarship. The initial fury of the Turki conquest affected Sanskrit learning along with other departments of Ancient Indian culture, and indigenous studies suffered. We can recall what happened at Nalanda. For this reason Sanskrit students from Bengal, desiring higher education, especially in *Nyāya* and *Smṛti*, had to resort to Mithilā. When they returned home they brought with them, along with their Sanskrit learning, popular vernacular songs, mostly dealing with love in a conventional way, that were current in Mithilā. These songs were the composition of Vidyāpati and his predecessors, and because of the exquisite lyric charm and the appeal of the music of an exotic dialect, soon became immensely popular among the cultured

community, possibly for no other reason than that they were characterised by the terseness, and breathed the flavour of Sanskrit lyrics and *udbhaṭa* poetry. They then filtered down to the masses.

Very soon the Bengal scholars with a poetic turn of mind began to compose songs on the model of the imported lyrics. They borrowed the metre as well as the language. Now the Maithil songs were not entirely based upon the Kṛṣṇa legend. But the origin of Brajabuli in Bengal synchronized with the revival of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal which culminated with the life of Caitanya-deva. So the theme of these songs modelled after the Maithil ones was solely the Kṛṣṇa legend. This evolution of Brajabuli in Bengal happened sometime during the second half of the fifteenth, very probably in the last decades of that century, or in the first of the next. The earliest Brajabuli poem connected with Bengali literature is one written by Yaśorāja-Khān. Though we do not know who or what he was yet we can fix the time of the poet. The poem is dedicated to Husain Shah, the king of Gauṛ (Bengal). So it must have been composed sometime between 1493 and 1519 A. C. The earliest Brajabuli poem written in Orissa seems to be the poem of Rāmānanda-Rāya. As this poem is dedicated to Pratāpa-rudra of Orissa, and as the poet had read it to Caitanya-deva when the latter visited him at Vidyānagara on the Godāvarī river in 1511 or 1512 A. C., it, therefore, must have been written sometime in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Śaṅkara-deva, the earliest writer of Brajabuli in Assam, died in 1568 A. C. So the evolution of Brajabuli in Assam may have happened sometime in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

The knowledge of Maithil of the first writers in Brajabuli was necessarily very limited. So the language of their songs could be nothing but a hybrid, an odd mixture of Maithil and Bengali, the Maithil element being on the model of the songs already current. In the course of development of this mixed speech, Bengali forms and idioms crept in more and more, until, a couple of centuries later, there were but the thinnest vestiges of the old Maithil language.

There is no wonder that a big literature grew up in Brajabuli which is a mixed and artificial language. Artificial languages have always played an important part throughout the history of Indo-Aryan literature. The Ṛgveda, as we all know, is written in a *Kunstsprache*, and the Vedic literature followed suit. Pāli too is a *Mischsprache*, and it can very well be called an artificial language, although it is based on a local dialect. The Vedic language, however, if not actually based on a current dialect

or dialects, was very closely connected with the current speeches of the time, and as such, it is not so much an *artificial* language as a *literary* language. The artificial language *par excellence* of the early Middle Indo-Aryan period was the Gāthā language which is generally known as Buddhistic Sanskrit. This Gāthā language has fully shown how much even an artificial language can do. The entire canonical texts of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism were rendered in this highly artificial *Mischsprache*. Sanskrit also is, at the best, an extreme form of literary language. The Prakrits of literature form a conspicuous example of an artificial speech, one largely the work of grammarians. Similar is the history of Apabhraṃśa, which is but the latest stage of Middle Indo-Aryan. Avahaṭṭha, a corrupt and vernacularised form of late Western (or Śaurasenī) Apabhraṃśa, was once the fashionable literary language of the whole of Northern India, from Gujarat to Bengal. Vidyāpati, the great Maithil poet, wrote his *Kīrtti-latā* in this language.

The question arises why this artificial language was given the name of Brajabuli. The reason is quite simple. Some of the companions and immediate followers of Caitanya-deva were the first writers in Brajabuli, and the entire literature was the outcome of the efforts of Neo-Vaiṣṇavites of Bengal. The entire literature is devoted to the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme. What is then more natural than to call it the speech (বুলি [buli = Hindi boli]) of the land sanctified by the presence of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (ব্রজ [Braja]) ? The term Brajabuli, however, should not be confused with the name Brajbhākhā or Braja-bhāṣā. The latter is the name of the actual spoken language, a form of Western Hindi of the district round about Muttra (Mathurā).

SOURCES OF BRAJABULI LITERATURE

The Brajabuli literature consists entirely of short lyrics. These were really lyrical, as they were actually sung, and the bulk of them was written for that very purpose. The extent of this lyrical literature is quite noteworthy. The poems published as yet—and these appear to be at most a major part of the entire output—number about five thousand. Some portion of the literature is of course irretrievably lost, but as the search for manuscripts has not yet been either complete or exhaustive, a further number of these songs are expected to see the light of publication.

The extant poems of the Vaiṣṇava lyrical literature of Bengal, and, for that matter, those of Brajabuli literature, are found in two kinds of repositories : (1) the anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyric poems, or *padas*

(পদ) as they are called in Bengal, and (2) the works on poetico-philosophical doctrines of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism as propounded by Rūpa-Gosvāmin in his *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* and *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* as well as in works of a historical nature. The inclusion of poems or *padas* in these works is merely incidental. They are either quoted to illustrate a particular point, or to narrate some event of historical or sentimental interest. We shall now give a short description of works under each of these two heads.

1. Vaiṣṇava Anthologies

The following are the known and published anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry. The order is chronological.

Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi (The Wishing Stone of Festal Songs). This is the earliest known anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. It was compiled by Viśvanātha-Cakravartin, whose pen-name was 'Harivallabha', was a celebrated Vaiṣṇava philosopher. Viśvanātha completed his commentary on the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa at Vṛndāvana in Śaka 1626 (=A.C. 1704), and he died soon after. The work in question was undertaken sometime in about 1700 A.C., as the author appears to have died before completing the collection. The existing portion is only the first part (*pūrva-vibhāga*) of the projected work. The *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi* has been published from the Baṭ-talā press, as well as from the Devakī-nandana Yantrālaya (Press) of Brindavan. The latter edition, though a great improvement upon the former, leaves much to be desired as regards textual criticism and interpretation.

Kṣaṇadā is divided into thirty sections, called *kṣaṇadā* ('festivity,' 'night of festivity,' 'night'), and in all contains three hundred and fifteen poems by about forty different authors. Poems of Caṇḍīdāsa are conspicuous by their absence. In the matter of fixing the chronology of Vaiṣṇava poets this work gives great help. The compiler's own poems number only fifty-one. There are thirty Sanskrit lyrics in this work.

Padāmṛta-samudra (The Ocean of the Nectar of Lyrics). This compilation was made by Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura, a great-great-grandson of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, sometime towards the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Rādhāmohana was the *guru* of Mahārājā Nandakumār. In this anthology Rādhāmohana has compiled seven hundred and forty-six poems of which two hundred and twenty-eight

are his own composition. He has also added a running commentary in Sanskrit. This anthology has been published by the Rādhā-ramaṇa Yantra (Press) at Khāgrā, Berhampore, Bengal.

Pada-kalpa-taru (The Wishing Tree of Lyrics). The original title of this work seems to have been *Gīta-kalpa-taru* (The Wishing Tree of Songs). The compiler was Gokulānanda-Sena (pen-name Vaiṣṇava-dāsa). This compilation was made about two decades after his *guru* Rādhāmohana's compilation. The total number of *padas* collected herein exceeds three thousand. These three thousand poems are taken from more than one hundred and thirty different authors. The compiler contributed twenty-six poems only. The *Pada-kalpa-taru* is divided into four sections (*śākhā*). The first section or branch (*śākhā*) is divided into eleven sub-sections (*pallava*), the second into twenty-four, the third into thirty-one, and the fourth into thirty-six. This work can be said to be the most representative and exhaustive anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics—a veritable Veda of Beagali Vaiṣṇava religious poetry. The importance of the work cannot be overrated. It has been published in several editions. But the standard edition is that of the late Satīśacandra-Rāya, published from the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, in five volumes (1322-38 Bengali Era=1915-31 A.C.). All important variants have been noted by the learned editor.

Kīrttanānanda (The Joy of Praise). The compiler of this work, Gaurasundara-dāsa, was possibly an elder contemporary of Gokulānanda, the compiler of the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, as the latter seems to have included a few songs of the former in his anthology. The *Kīrttanānanda* contains about six hundred and fifty songs, some of which do not occur in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. This work had been published from Berhampore (Bengal), but is now long out of print.

Saṅkīrttanāmṛta (The Nectar of United Praise). The compiler of this collection, Dīnabandhu-dāsa, seems to have flourished in the middle of the eighteenth century. The only MS. from which the printed and published text has been prepared bears the date of copying, 5th *Vaiśākha* (April-May), Śaka 1693 (=A.C. 1771). This work contains four hundred and ninety-one poems of about forty different authors. Some of the authors are known from no other sources. Caṇḍīdāsa is absent, and this is rather remarkable. The compiler's own contributions run so high as two hundred and seven poems. The *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* has been published, only recently, and for the first time, by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta (1336 Bengali Era=1929 A.C.).

Before we pass on to the modern anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyrics, a few words are necessary on the pre-modern anthologies known in MSS. only.

Narahari-Cakravartī, the author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* (The Gem-holding Ocean of Devotion), is reputed to have compiled a big anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry under the title *Gīta-candrodaya* (The Moon-rise of Songs). This compilation must have been made at least two decades from the compilation of the *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi*, because the compiler of the latter work was the *guru* of Narahari's father. A copy of this anthology is said to have been preserved at the State Library, Tipperah.

The **Pada-rasa-sāra** (The Essence of the Flavour of Lyrics) of Nimānanda-dāsa was compiled after the model of the *Pada-kalpa-taru* sometime towards the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Of the two thousand and seven hundred poems compiled in this work some six hundred and fifty songs are not to be found in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. The original MS. seems to have been lost. A copy of the same was in possession of the late Satīśacandra Rāya [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 21, No. 1].

The **Pada-ratnākara** (The Gem-holding Ocean of Lyrics) of Kamalākānta-dāsa was compiled at Burdwan in year 1213 B. S. (=1806 A. C.). The original MS. of this work is preserved in the library of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. This work is divided into forty-three sections (*taraṅga*) and has a total of thirteen hundred and fifty-eight lyrics. Of these about a score only are the compiler's own composition [*vide* APR., Introduction, pp. 5-7]. Several songs from the *Pada-ratnākara* and the *Pada-rasa-sāra* have been incorporated in the *Aprakāśita Pada-ratnāvalī* of Satīśacandra Rāya, the learned editor of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad edition of the *Pada-kalpa-taru*.

A MS. in possession of Mr. Sajanī-Kānta Dās, the editor of the *Śanibarer Cithi*, is of great interest. It seems to be the oldest known anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. The MS. is in book form. A few initial pages have been destroyed. A unique feature of this MS. is that each page bears the year of writing. Pages from 1 (?) to 77 were written in San 1060 (=1653 A. C.), pages 78-97 in San 1061 (=1654 A. C.), and from page 98 in San 1063 *et seq*. This collection, bearing no title, is not a systematic collection. It contains poems of several authors who are otherwise unknown.

Modern anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry are very many. As the school selections, or selections for general readers have no concern with us, we shall discuss only those collections which are intended to

supplement the pre-modern anthologies and which supply fresh material in print.

Pada-kalpa-latikā (The Wishing Creeper of Lyrics). This rather small work was published for the first time by its compiler Gaura-mohana-Dāsa from Calcutta in 1849 A. C. This work contains many poems of writers later than Vaiṣṇava-dāsa (Gokulānanda), such as Śaśi-śekhara and Candra-śekhara. The later editions of this work do not seem to agree *in toto* with the first issue.

Gaura-pada-taraṅginī (The Wavy River of Lyrics about Gaura or Caitanya). This compilation, the work of the late Jagadbandhu Bhadra, contains about a thousand and a half poems purely on Caitanya-deva and some of his followers. This work was published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad in 1903 A. C., but is now out of print. The issue of a second edition has been undertaken (1931).

Aprakāśita Pada-ratnāvalī (Unpublished Lyric Gems). This work of Satīśacandra Rāya contains more than six hundred poems taken mostly from unpublished sources. It forms a valuable supplement to his edition of the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. A most informative introduction, and a glossary of difficult words, in this work are very helpful.

Besides the above works, scores of fresh poems have appeared from time to time in the pages of the Journal (*Patrikā*) of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad. The biggest collection of poems which bear the signature of Vidyāpati was published (1912 A. C.) by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad under the editorship of Mr. Nagendranāth Gupta. This edition is now out of print.

2. Works other than Anthologies

In several works on Vaiṣṇava poetics and history poems have been quoted in full. Besides supplying us with fresh material, such works help us a great deal in the matter of fixing the date of a particular poet. The following are the more important works of this type.

Śrī-śrī-rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rasa-kalpa-vallī (The Wishing Creeper of the Love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) or simply *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*. This work has not yet been published, but a detailed analysis of it, together with all the poems quoted therein, has been published by Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhitya-ratna in the pages of the Journal of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad [VSPP., Vol. 37, No. 2], with further notes on it by Nalinī-Kānta Bhaṭṭaśālī and Pandit Harekṛṣṇa (VSPP., Vol. 38, No. 3). The value

of this work is very great. It in fact contains, probably after the MS. of Mr. Sajanī-Kānta Dās noted above, the earliest known collection of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. Besides quoting more than a dozen poems in full, it cites scores of poems in fragment. What is more important, the author Rāmagopāla-dāsa, or simply. Gopāla-dāsa, has very often mentioned the author of every particular poem or fragment of a poem. The *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* is a Bengali work on Vaiṣṇava Rhetoric of the school of Rūpa-Gosvāmin. The particular aim of this work is to furnish the description (in Bengali) of the different aspects of the hero (*nāyaka*), the heroine (*nāyikā*) and their love-making. The work was commenced (in the language of its author) in the Śaka year *vāṇa aṅka śara brahma*, which would mean 1595. This would be A.C. 1673.

The poets quoted in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* are these—Kavirāja-Ṭhākura (=Govinda-dāsa), Kavi-rañjana, Kavi-śekhara, Govinda-Cakravartī, Govinda-Ācārya, Jñāna-dāsa, Nṛsiṃha Bhūpati, Vallabha-Caturdhurīṇa, Ratipati-Ṭhākura, Locanānanda, Śrī-śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, Nṛpa Udayāditya, Gopāla-dāsa (the author himself), Narottama-Ṭhākura, Baḍu Caṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati, Yadunātha-dāsa, Rādhā-vallabha-Cakravartī, and Śivānanda-Ācārya. The poems or fragments which the author could not identify, have been quoted under the head *mahājana*. This term *mahājana* (great men) is used to denote the Vaiṣṇava lyric poets in general, with an implication that they were inspired and saintly beings. In the above list of poets we come across names which are never found anywhere else. The author has not forgotten to give particulars about himself, which we shall discuss when we shall deal with him in the category of a lyric poet.

Rasa-mañjarī (The Flowering Sprigs of Poetic Beauty). This very small work of Pītāmbara-dāsa, the son of Gopāla-dāsa (the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*), is really an amplification of a particular chapter of his father's work. The *Rasa-mañjarī* quotes some poems of which a few are the compiler's father's composition. The most important poem which this work contains is that with the *bhaṇitā* of Yaśorāja-Khān. So far as we know, this poem seems to be the earliest Brajabuli poem of which we have obtained cognisance in Bengal.

The *Rasa-mañjarī* was the second publication (B.S. 1306=1899 A.C.) of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad. It is long out of print.

Bhakti-ratnākara (The Ocean of Devotion). This work, which is a big one, deals with the history of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, Narottama-Ṭhākura

and Śyāmānanda. Incidentally it throws good light upon the history of the contemporary Vaiṣṇava world in Bengal. The author Narahari-Cakravartī (also called Ghanaśyāma), was the son of Jagannātha-Cakravartī who was a disciple of Viśvanātha-Cakravartin. The work seems to have been composed towards the middle of the eighteenth century. It has been published, in two successive editions, both from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Khāgrā, Berhampore, Bengal (B.S. 1318).

The *Bhakti-ratnākara* contains three hundred and fourteen poems by about thirty different authors. This work seems to contain a good many poems of Narahari-Sarakāra (Sarkār). Besides there are two Sanskrit lyrics in this work.

Siddhānta-candrodaya (The Moon-rise of the Doctrine). This is a work of the type of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*, but it contains much which is purely religious and philosophical. The author, Mukunda-dāsa, professes himself to be a favourite disciple of Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja. He is certainly different from Mukunda-deva, as this Mukunda-deva, who is reputed by tradition, both written and oral, to have been the only disciple of the Kavirāja, was a native of Upper India, and so it is unlikely for the latter to have written an entire book in Bengali.

The eighth chapter (*prakaraṇa*) of the *Siddhānta-candrodaya* contains sixty-one poems of eight different authors, Govinda-dāsa, Vidyāpati, Śyāmānanda, Taruṇī-ramaṇa, Jagannātha-dāsa, Locana, Jñāna-dāsa and Śekhara-Rāya. Of these poets Taruṇī-ramaṇa alone is responsible for forty-three poems. From this the conclusion seems to be irresistible that Taruṇī-ramaṇa was very probably the pen-name of the author, Mukunda-dāsa, or was one of his great friends.

The *Siddhānta-candrodaya*, edited by Rāsa-bihārī Sāṅkhyatīrtha, was published by the Kasimbazar Raj (Murshidabad) in 1905 A.C. It is now out of print.

Nāyikā-ratna-mālā (The Gem-necklace of Ladies-in-love). This is a very small treatise dealing with the sixty-four aspects of the *nāyikā* or lady in-love. Each aspect or type is illustrated with one lyric poem. This work contains in all sixty-five poems of seven different authors, *viz.*, Govinda-dāsa, Candra-śekhara, Jayadeva, Vasu Rāmānanda, Manohara, Śaśi-śekhara, and 'Sanātana' (Rūpa-Gosvāmin). Of these poets Candra-śekhara has contributed the biggest number of poems, forty-five. Next comes Śaśi-śekhara with fourteen songs. Manohara has only two poems to his credit, and the rest one poem each. The number of Sanskrit lyrics is only three.

The *Nāyikā-ratna-mālā* seems to be the work of the brothers Candra-śekhara and Śaśi-śekhara. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it is the only authentic collection of the poems of the Śekhara brothers The work had been edited by the veteran scholar, the late Satīśacandra Rāya, and has been published from the Bhakti-prabhā Kāryālaya, Ālāṭī, District Hugli, in 1928 A. C.

CHAPTER II

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BENGALI VAIṢṆAVA LITERATURE

A clear and full understanding of Vaiṣṇava lyrics is impossible without a knowledge of the fundamentals of the philosophy of Gauḍīya or Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism—of Vaiṣṇavism as developed in Bengal. We shall here give a brief sketch of these fundamental concepts of this post-mediaeval development of Vaiṣṇava philosophy.

The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* is the greatest authority in pre- or post-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. Now the Kṛṣṇa legend in the *Bhāgavata* has one aspect which is not found in the earlier works of the same school, like the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, the *Hari-vaṃśa*, and others. This new aspect presented by the *Bhāgavata* as a sectarian work is *līlā* or divine sports of Kṛṣṇa among the milk-maids and other people of Vṛndāvana. Though the loves of Kṛṣṇa with the *Vraja-gopīs*, the girls of the cowherds of Vraja, are fully dealt with in it, no names of individual girls appear in the *Bhāgavata*. Stray references to Rādhā possibly occur early, e.g., in the Prakrit *Gāthā-sapta-śatī*; and probably in art, e.g., the Paharpur bas-reliefs (North Bengal, 6th cen.), we have a personification of the supreme Gopī in Rādhā. In the book of Jayadeva (*Gīta-govinda*) the premier *Gopī* is already a well-established figure. In Bengal the next literature of this type is the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-kīrtana* of Caṇḍīdāsa (*circa* 1380 A. C.). Here also Rādhā is present, and no *Gopīs* are mentioned individually, except an old woman called *Baḍāyi* or 'old mother', Skt. *jaratī*, who acts as the intermediary between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-kīrtana* gives the impression that Kṛṣṇa is an incarnation of Viṣṇu. In spite of his divine nature being frequently harped upon, he is in this primitive work of Vaiṣṇavism just a country swain, who makes crude overtures to Rādhā, and Rādhā is but a beautiful but simple village girl related to Kṛṣṇa as his aunt-in-law (wife of Aihana, or Abhimanyu, his maternal uncle). Rādhā repulses Kṛṣṇa at first but at last gets to love him. The author of the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-kīrtana* is no doubt a master poet, but the atmosphere of the entire poem is essentially one of frank love-making and, we might

say, rather crude love-making on the part of Kṛṣṇa. No lofty or religious feeling could be evoked in the mind of ordinary readers Kṛṣṇa is of course the god of gods, but we are surely not to emulate him in his amorous sports,—this seems to be taken for granted by the audience of Caṇḍīdāsa's *Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*; yet its real appeal was, and was intended to be, only sensuous and erotic. No emotional appeal, as in the songs on the Behulā-Lakhindar story, no devotional enthusiasm as in the chanting of the Purāṇas, can be looked from this early song-narrative on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The same remarks apply to the songs of Vidyāpati also. These songs were highly literary in their technique and purely dealing with secular love in their content. Between this state of the Kṛṣṇa legend in pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism and its exalted and sublimated position in Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism there is an immense gulf. The bridging of this gulf began just a generation before Caitanya-deva. The cement of this bridging up was the idea of *ahetukī bhakti* (devotion without any motive) and *prema* (love). In primitive Vaiṣṇavism Kṛṣṇa was looked upon as God, and the duty of man was to respect Him from afar—God of majesty to be obeyed and worshipped. For man the final goal was either a life of enjoyment in celestial regions, or emancipation from the tentacles of birth and death. The new outlook, however, was to respect Kṛṣṇa the Deity for no end whatsoever, and to love Him, as a father or mother loves his or her son, a boy loves his playmate, a woman loves her husband, a girl loves her lover.

This outlook of *prema* (pure love) which we find systematised already in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* but which does not seem to have affected popular conceptions of Kṛṣṇaism in Bengal up to the 15th century A.C., we first come across in Bengal in the life of Mādhavendra-Purī who was the *guru* of Advaita-Ācārya, Īśvara-Purī and other elder contemporaries of Caitanya-deva. Īśvara-Purī was the *guru* of Caitanya-deva. So it might be said that the spirit of Mādhavendra passed into Caitanya-deva to be developed into a wonder of the world. The intensity of the pain of separation (*viraha*) from the Beloved, which we meet with only in the later life of Caitanya-deva, was found in the later life of Mādhavendra also. On his death-bed Mādhavendra composed this following verse in Sanskrit, embodying his yearnings for Kṛṣṇa his Beloved, of whom he cannot catch a glimpse and whom he approaches in the spirit of the love-lorn Rādhā.

ayi dīna-dayārdra-nātha he
mathurā-nātha kadāvalokyase |

hṛdayaṃ tvad-aloka-kātaraṃ
dayita bhrāmyati kiṃ karomy aham ॥
[Padyāvalī, 334].

«O Lord of Mathurā, O my Lord who art ever compassionate to the wretched, when shall I have a sight of thee? My heart, pining without a sight of thee, is wandering; what shall I do, O my Beloved?»

On this verse Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja comments as follows in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.

ghaṣite ghaṣite yaiche malayaja-sārṣ ।
gandha bāṛe taiche ei slokerṣ bicarṣ ॥
ratna-gaṇṣ-madhye yaiche kaustubh maṇi ।
rasa-kāvya-madhye taiche ei ślokṣ gaṇi ॥
ei ślokṣ kariyāchenṣ Rādhā-ṭhākurāṇī ।
tārṣ kripāyṣ sphuriyāche Mādhavendra-vāṇī ॥
kibā Gaura-candra ihā kare āsvādanṣ ।
ihā āsvādite ārṣ nāhi cauṭha janṣ ॥
śeṣṣ kāle ei ślokṣ paṭhite paṭhite ।
siddhi-prāpti haila purīrṣ śloka sahite ॥ [ii. 4.]

«Just as the fragrance of the best kind of sandal wood increases with rubbing, so are the beauties of this verse revealed afresh with fresh discussion. The position of the diamond *Kaustubha* among the precious stones is held by this *śloka* among works of *rasa-kāvya*. This verse is indeed the composition of Rādhā herself, and through her grace only it has been revealed through Mādhavendra's speech. Moreover, it is Gaura-candra (Caitanya-deva) who enjoys this *śloka*. There is no fourth person to appreciate it fully. At his last stage while uttering this *śloka*, Mādhavendra attained *siddhi* along with this *śloka*.»

Caitanya-deva and his immediate predecessors (who were his chief companions in his early life) were thus the disciples, direct and indirect, of Mādhavendra. Mādhavendra was probably a saint and scholar from Orissa, which at that time was more intimately connected with its sister-province Bengal, than now; and he in his turn received it from his master or masters who seem to have belonged to South India. Caitanya-deva brought two treatises with himself from the South, the *Brahma-Saṃhitā* and the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, two works of fundamental importance for the

study of the later Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal. This fact is very significant indeed.

That the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend inspite of all its association of love and erotics is a grand poetic imagery and a beautiful allegory of the highest truth, the eternal relation between man (*jīva*) and God (*brahman*)—has been proved by the life of Caitanya-deva himself, unquestionably the greatest son of Bengal and one of the greatest saints and mystics of the world. The life of the Master is almost a poem. For this the reader must be referred to the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* and the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. In the fewest words the main concepts of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism—as expounded by the Master to his intimate companions—amount to what is being given below. Fuller details can only be gathered from the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, a work which is on a par with the Upaniṣads, if we consider the profundity of the conceptions.

Jīva (human soul) is of the same nature as *Brahman* (Supreme Being), and everything that exists is but the manifestation of *Brahman*. The relation between *Brahman* and *Jīva* is that of the sun and its reflections upon so many crystals. *Jīva's* love for *Brahman* is inherent in it, and the various joys it feels or seeks are only eluding visions of that divine love. *Jīva's* highest aim is not *mukti* (deliverance) or *nirvāṇa* (annihilation) but the perpetual and transcendental bliss which it feels only when it realises its relation with *Brahman* and thereby joins in the latter's eternal cycle of sports. The universe with its manifestations (*saṃsāra*) is not illusion (*māyā*). It is real in the sense that the God-in-man is the participator thereof. But it is never the ultimate reality which is *Brahman* alone. If *Jīva* discovers its real relation with *Brahman*, it may remain in the world and may participate in its daily routine, viewing with bliss that it is *Brahman* that is disporting itself in and through all and everything. All human and social relations will have then new meanings for *Jīva*. Thus alone can it enter into the cycle of *Brahman's* sports.

The Vaiṣṇava philosophers did not much use the term *Brahman*, and the term *Jīva* also was used very seldom. In their terminology the name *Kṛṣṇa* stands for *Brahman*, and *Gopī* for *Jīva* which has entered into the sportive cycle of Kṛṣṇa (*Brahman*). The term Rādhā stands for *Jīva* when viewed as the passive element of *Brahman* (Kṛṣṇa). In *Brahman* (Kṛṣṇa) the two aspects are inseparably connected, like the two pages of a leaf—*Brahman* the knower, the enjoyer and *Brahman* the known, the enjoyed; in other words, *Brahman* the active and *Brahman* the

passive. *Brahman* the active, or the enjoyer, is Kṛṣṇa, and *Brahman* the passive, or the enjoyed, is Rādhā. *Jīva* is of the nature of *Brahman* the passive. Hence Rādhā is the head of the *Gopīs*, and *Radha*-hood is the finality of *Jīva*.

When the nature of Supreme Bliss is to be expressed in words and thereby rendered intelligible to human understanding it can be expressed only in analogy of the highest form of human bliss, that is love as existing between a girl and her lover. Love between husband and wife is delicious enough, but it lacks the poignancy and intensity of extra-marital love. This is the idea underlying the term *parakīyā prema* (extra-marital love), a term which is used by the Vaiṣṇava philosophers to express the nature of the mutual love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In this connection the following verse which Caitanya-deva had addressed to Sanātana and Rūpa when they, still serving Husain Shah, had written to the Master for instruction as to what they should do, should be noted.

> para-vyasaninī nārī vyagrāpi gṛha-karmasu |
> tad evāsvādayaty antar nava-saṅga-rasāyanam ‖ [CC. iv. 1].

«A woman, who has a liaison, though engrossed in her household duties, always thinks within herself of the ambrosia of a fresh meeting (with her lover).»

As all types of human affection are but the faint images of the different phases of Divine Love, the latter is classified, showing the different attitudes of the devotee towards the Supreme Being. These aspects of humanized Divine Love, called the *rasas* (sentiments), are roughly five, viz., *śānta* (calmness), *dāsya* (servility), *sakhya* (friendship), *vātsalya* (parents' love), and *madhura* (sweet or conjugal love). The *śānta rasa*, or the sentiment of calmness, is the attitude of devotees who look upon Kṛṣṇa (*Brahman*) as the impersonal Supreme Being. The *dāsya rasa*, or the sentiment of servility, is the attitude of the devotee who looks upon Kṛṣṇa as the master and himself as the servant. The *sakhya rasa*, or the sentiment of friendship, is adopted by those devotees who look upon Kṛṣṇa as a friend or playmate. The *vātsalya rasa*, or the sentiment of parental affection, is the attitude of the devotees who think of Kṛṣṇa as their child (*cf.* the Christ-child, and the cult of the Bambino). Finally the *madhura rasa*, or the sentiment of conjugal love, is the attitude of the devotees who look upon Kṛṣṇa as their lover and

themselves as girls (*gopī*) who seek the love of Kṛṣṇa. All these sentiments, with the exception of the first, imply personal relations with God-head.

Brahman in its incarnation as Kṛṣṇa had sported with Rādhā and the *gopīs* at Vṛndāvana (or the Vraja) on the bank of the Yamunā. This *Vraja-līlā* (sports at the Vraja)—with the *gopīs*, with the boys and with the parents, Nanda and Yaśodā—typifies (allegorically) the Eternal Sports of *Brahman*. This *Vraja-līlā* is the main subject-matter of the Vaiṣṇava lyric poems. The other subject-matter, though equally important but with lesser ramifications, is the life-story of Gaurāṅga (Caitanya-deva) who was and is believed to be an incarnation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in union. Devotional prayers and odes to the principal companions of Caitanya-deva also form a subsidiary subject-matter.

That with such limited subject-matter Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry attained very high excellence is indeed a great wonder. It will not surely be too much to say that in the Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal some forms of lyric poetry have come to perfection. To the general reader a good number of Vaiṣṇava lyric poems may appear fantastic and laboured. But when one understands their philosophy and finds out that the world of imagination of these poets was peculiarly their own though as real to them as this world is to us, one can appreciate the sincerity, the depth of feeling, and the spontaneity of real devotion that the poems breathe. The sincerity of the Vaiṣṇava poets is unquestionable; their faith is unimpeachable; and the appeal of their poetry is universal, if only one can enter into the spirit of this type of devotional poetry by approaching it sympathetically. The faithful delineation of a lover's psychology, which we find in these poems, has hardly been excelled anywhere. The devotional thread which runs though all these poems raises them far above the ordinary lyric or amorous literature, and has a personal appeal which is irresistible to the open-minded reader or audience.

It should never be forgotten that these poems were actually lyric. They were intended to be sung only, and they were, and are even now, sung. The style of music, which the poets themselves evolved to be set to their songs, is known as the *kīrtana*. This *kīrtana* music is wonderfully soft and melodious, and unless one listens to Vaiṣṇava lyrics sung in the right *kīrtana* style, one can never do full justice to these songs and to their writers. It is wonderful to contemplate how a single man—Caitanya-deva—was responsible for a profound relig

movement, which besides giving the Bengali people its final cast, brought in such magnificent evolution in literature and music. But we are not concerned here with the influence of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism in the making of Mediaeval and Modern Bengal.

Vaiṣṇava poets, in their attention to lyric literature only, had once again restored the main current of the literary tradition of Aryan-speaking India. The *Kunst-epos* of Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa notwithstanding, the main efforts of poets—from the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier—were for 'lyric' poems, both in Sanskrit and in Prakrit literatures. Even the dramas were no exceptions. Some of the most interesting portions of the dramas were the isolated verses, which are of the nature of lyric poetry. This tendency towards lyricism became more and more prominent, and from the *śatakas* we come finally to *udbhaṭa* poetry. The Apabhraṃśa literature took this up, and handed it over to its next generation, the old vernaculars. In the Bauddha (Sahajiyā) *caryās*, which are the oldest specimens of Bengali, and for the matter of that of any other Indo-Aryan vernacular, we find the attempt of the Sahajiyā teachers in formulating the philosophical doctrines of their cult in the form of lyric poems. These are really the earliest prototypes of Vaiṣṇava lyric literature. Vidyāpati's Maithili poems are true descendants of Sanskrit *udbhaṭa* poetry, and their importation into Bengal served to strengthen the old tradition of the Vajrayānist and other teachers of allied cults, which seems to have become weakened in Bengal. Thus though the Brajabuli poems appear in a hybrid form, it should never be looked upon as a 'foreign' or parasitical growth in mediaeval Bengali literature. Their tradition may have died out as regards the external form, but their influence continues even now, and is to be found in the best writings of Rabindranath.

The insertion of the poet's name (or any name he chooses, whether a *nom de plume* of himself or the name of his *guru*) appears to have been practised in the old and mediaeval periods throughout the length and breadth of upper India. This insertion of the *bhaṇitā* (name) we find in the Old Bengali *caryā-padas*. In some Sanskrit lyrics of the pre-Muhammadan period this practice is noticeable. It seems to have been a development of the practice of the earlier Sanskrit poets to insert in the poem or stanza the name of the metre in which it is written, as *double entendre*.

It is clear that Vaiṣṇava lyricism is the outcome of the lyric tendency of Sanskrit literature. The latter, especially in the form of works such as the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, the *Gīta-govinda*, the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*

and the like, continued to exert influence on it in its formal and material aspects. The Maithili poems of Vidyāpati were no doubt a standing inspiration. But the biggest and by far the profoundest inspiration that was derived by the poets was the divine career of the Master Caitanya-deva. When such a life, tender and sweet to the extreme, was unfolded before their eyes, saints and poets had feasts enough. From a study of the Vaiṣṇava lyrics (which were written during a period of about three centuries and a half) it will be clear what profound and lasting influence the life of Caitanya-deva exerted on the minds of the poets for many generations.

The history of Brajabuli can be traced down uninterruptedly up to the end of the eighteenth century. That its influence during its entire history has been very great upon the other branches of Bengali literature is undoubted. Even Bhārata-candra, who as a poet was furthest from the Vaiṣṇava lyricists, could not help inserting Brajabuli poems of his own composition in his *Annadā-maṅgala* and *Vidyā-sundara*. Brajabuli received a learned revival towards the close of the nineteenth century. Baṅkima-candra wrote a few poems in Brajabuli, which are to be found in his *Mṛṇālinī*. Several other poets followed suit, until we come to Rabindranath whose *Bhānusiṃha-Ṭhākurera Padāvalī* is entirely written in the language and spirit of the Vaiṣṇava Brajabuli poets.

CHAPTER III

CLASSIFICATION OF THE VAIṢṆAVA LYRICS

According to the rhetoricians poetry is nothing but a set of expressions which contains *rasa* (sentiment). In the philosophy of Vaiṣṇava rhetorics *rasa* is the particular attitude or sentiment of a devotee to his God. These *rasas*, as said before, are five in number—*śānta*, *dāsya*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya* and *madhura* or *śṛṅgāra*. But the first two attitudes are closely allied, and so the Vaiṣṇava lyrics can be classified broadly under four heads—(*i*) poems which are prayers or odes to Kṛṣṇa and his *avatāras* (incarnations), or to saints and *gurus*, (*ii*) poems which deal with the boyish sports of Kṛṣṇa in herding cattle, or of Gaurāṅga (Caitanya-deva) with his playmates, (*iii*) poems which treat of the birth and infanthood of Kṛṣṇa and Gaurāṅga, and (*iv*) poems which are concerned with the love of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā (seldom with the other *gopīs*). A few poems on Gaurāṅga should also be classed under this last head, the poems which deal with the supposed sports of the Master with his companion Gadādhara, whom one sect of Bengal Vaiṣṇavas regards as an incarnation of Rādhā.

The sentiment of *śṛṅgāra* has great ramifications, and the poems concerned, the poems which we have classed under the head (*iv*), can accordingly be divided and sub-divided under sub-classes and sub-sections. The following are the ramifications of the sentiment of love (*śṛṅgāra* or *madhura*).

Śṛṅgāra has two aspects—(A) *sambhoga* (enjoyment or union), and (B) *vipralambha* (disappointment, that is disunion or separation). Each of these two aspects of the sentiment of love has four forms. (A) *Sambhoga* has the forms—(*a*) *saṃkṣipta* (brief), (*b*) *saṃkīrṇa* (narrow), (*c*) *sampanna* (prosperous), and (*d*) *samṛddhimān* (resplendent). (B) *Vipralambha* has the forms—(*a*) *pūrva-rāga* (dawning love), (*b*) *māna* (the attitude of sulk on the part of the offended girl), (*c*) *prema-vaicittya* (love's dementia, or the profound sentiment of the lovers who in ecstasy of love think themselves as if still separated), and (*d*) *pravāsa* (sojourn or separation).

Each form of (B) *vipralambha* corresponds to, or rather is followed by, the respective form of (A) *sambhoga*. As (A) *sambhoga* presupposes (B) *vipralambha*, the latter shall be discussed first.

(*a*) *Pūrva-rāga* (the stage of dawning love or falling in love) can be caused either from (*i*) sight (*darśana*), or from (*ii*) hearing (*śravaṇa*). Sight (*darśana*) of the beloved can be direct (*sākṣāt*), or from pictorial representation (*citra-paṭa*), or in dream (*svapna*). Hearing (*śravaṇa*) —of the beauty and virtues of the beloved—can come through the speeches of a friend (*sakhī*), an emissary (*dūtī*), or an old Brahmin (*bhaṭṭa*), or from description of a bard, or from the sweet notes of the lover's flute (this last in the case of the girl only).

(*b*) *Māna* (the girl's attitude of sulk) may be either (*i*) with grounds (*sa-hetu*), or (*ii*) without grounds (*nir-hetu*). The grounds may be either actually seen (*dṛṣṭa*), or heard (*śruta*), or inferred (*anumita*). *Nir-hetu* (groundless) *māna* may be purely whimsical (*akāraṇa*), or may have some imaginary cause (*kāraṇābhāsa*).

(*c*) *Prema-vaicittya* or *anurāga* (ecstatic state) are of three types—(*i*) *rūpānurāga* (ecstasy in beauty), (*ii*) *ākṣepānurāga* (ecstatic accusation to Kṛṣṇa, his flute, his messenger, her friends, and her own self), and (*iii*) *rasodgāra* (reminiscence of past joys and pleasures).

(*d*) *Pravāsa* (sojourn) may be either at a short distance (or very brief—*adūra*), or at a long distance (*dūra*). These are the occasions of Kṛṣṇa's short sojourn—*kālīya-damana* (vanquishing the serpent Kālīya), *go-cāraṇa* (cow-herding), *Nanda-mokṣaṇa* (obtaining the release of Nanda), *kāryānurodha* (temporary business), and *rāsāntardhāna* (disappearance from the *rāsa* dance). The stages of the long sojourn are three—(*i*) *bhāvin* (future or impending), (*ii*) *bhavan* (present or actually happening), and (*iii*) *bhūta* (past) when the lover has returned after the expiry of the fixed term.

Now we come to the discussion of (A) *sambhoga* aspect of the sentiment of *śṛṅgāra*, of which, we have already seen, there are four forms, each following the respective forms of (B) *vipralambha śṛṅgāra*.

The (*Aa*) *saṃkṣipta* (brief) form of *sambhoga* follows (*Ba*) *pūrva-rāga*. Here both the lover and the beloved meet for the first time, and as such they are shy and constrained considerably, and so it is necessarily short. The following are the occasions for the meeting—childish sports (*bālya*), cattle tending (*goṣṭha*), milking (*gavī-doha*), and mutual meeting (*mithaḥ saṅgama*), and the pleasures are mainly kissing (*cumbana*), touching (*sparśana*), snatching at the hem of the skirt (*vastrāpakarṣaṇa*), and obstructing the way (*patha-rodha*).

The (*b*) *saṃkīrṇa* (narrow or incomplete) form of *sambhoga* follows (*Bb*) *māna*. Though the girl has given up her attitude of indifference or anger and is once more happy in the company of her lover, yet the after-taste of previous sorrow does not make her happiness complete. Her feeling is mixed; it is compared to the chewing a bit of hot sugar-cane. The following are the pleasures or occasions for *saṃkīrṇa sambhoga*—the big *rāsa* dance (*mahārāsa*), water-sports (*jala-krīḍā*), pavilion sports (*kuñja-līlā*), pretending toll-collection (*dāna*), stealing of the flute (*vaṃśī-caurya*), boating sports (*nau-vilāsa*), drinking wine (*madhu-pāna*), and worshipping the sun (*arka-pūjana*).

The (*Ac*) *sampanna* (prosperous or complete) form of *sambhoga* follows (*Bc*) *prema-vaicittya* (love's dementia). The following are the occasions of such pleasure—sight from a distance (*sudūrād darśana*), the swing festival (*dola*), the spring festival (*holī*), solving conundrums (*prahelikā*), playing at dice (*dyūta-krīḍā*), small talks and confidential chats (*rasālasa-vinodana*), feigning (*dhūrtta*), and sleep (*nidrā*).

The last or the (*Ad*) *samṛddhimān* (resplendent) form of *sambhoga* follows (*Bd*) *pravāsa*. Here the meeting of the lovers is very scarce and is brought about by sheer chance. So there is not the slightest restraint, and the happiness is perfect. The following are the pleasures or occasions—dream (*svapna*), meeting at Kuru-kṣetra, incoherent talks (*jalpana*), return to the Vraja, eating, sleeping, and doing anything at will (*svādhīna*).

Every different *rasa*, as well as every section and subsection of the *śṛṅgāra rasa*, has appropriate poems about Caitanya-deva One of such poems must be sung at the commencement of the regular Radhā-Kṛṣṇa series. This overture or opening poem with reference to Caitanya-deva is known as *Gaura-candrikā* (pertaining to Gaura-candra). Sometimes a similar song on Nityānanda also follows the *Gaura-candrikā*..

In connection with the discussions on the *rasas* we should also say something about the different states and aspects of the heroine. These are only eight—(*i*) *abhisārikā*, (*ii*) *vāsaka-sajjā*, (*iii*) *utkaṇṭhitā*, (*iv*) *vipralabdhā*, (*v*) *khaṇḍitā*, (*vi*) *kalahāntaritā*, (*vii*) *proṣita-bhartṛkā*, and (*viii*) *svādhīna-bhartṛkā*.

The girl when going out fully dressed to meet the lover is called *abhisārikā*. She is known as *vāsaka-sajjā*, when she waits for her lover, fully dressed, in her own well-decorated home. She is *utkaṇṭhitā* (anxious) when the expectation of her lover results in despondency. When the lover wilfully forgets to keep an appointment with his girl, she is known as

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vipralabdhā (cheated). The girl waits for her lover throughout the whole night; he, on the other hand, passes the night in company of another. She is naturally extremely offended, and is therefore known as *khaṇḍitā* (transgressed against). *Kalahāntaritā* (separated in quarrel) is she who is cross with her lover. When the lover is sojourning elsewhere, the girl is known as *proṣita-bhartṛkā* (one whose husband is away). When the girl is the absolute master, and the lover is her willing slave, she is called *svādhīna-bhartṛkā* (one whose husband is her slave).

Caitanya-deva with his Followers at Nīlācala

CHAPTER IV

CONTEMPORARIES AND FOLLOWERS OF CAITANYA-DEVA

Yaśorāja Khān.

In his *Rasa-mañjarī* Pītāmbara-dāsa has quoted a Brajabuli poem with the *bhaṇitā* of Yaśorāja Khān. The poem mentions that the poet's patron was Husain, the ruler of Gauṛ. Now Husain Shah reigned in Bengal from A.C. 1493 to 1519. So this poem appears to be the earliest extant Brajabuli poem written in Bengal. Rāmānanda-Rāya's famous Brajabuli poem (see *infra*), beginning with the words 'pahilahi rāga,' must have been composed some time in the first decade of the sixteenth century; and it must be remembered that he was an Oṛiyā. So Rāmānanda-Rāya's poem should be more properly reckoned as the earliest Brajabuli poem written in Orissa. Thus Yaśorāja Khān gets the unique distinction of being the earliest Bengali writer of Brajabuli poetry that has come down to us. The poem in question is quoted below. The reading of the poem is corrupt, and I have adopted it with some emendations in the printed text.

eka payodhara candana-lepita
āre sahajaï gaura |
hima-dharādhara kanaka-bhūdhara
kole milala jora ||
mādhava, tuā darāśana-kāje |
ādha pada-cāri[1] kariñā sundarī
vāhira-dehalī mājhe ||
ḍāhina locana kājare rañjita
dhavala rahala vāma[2] |
nīla-dhavala kamala dui-cāda[3]
pūjala koṭi kāma[4] ||

[1] Printed text has 'pada-cālana.'
[2] Printed text has 'rahala kara vāma.'
[3] Should probably be 'kamala yugala.'
[4] Printed text has 'kata koṭi.'

śrī-yuta husana jagata-bhūṣaṇa
so-ha e rasa jāna |
pañca-gauḍeśvara bhoga-purandara
bhaṇe yaśorāja-khāna ||

« One (of her two breasts) is painted with sandal paste, the other has the natural fair complexion. The snowy mountain and the golden mountain have, as it were, come together between her arms. O Mādhava, with the object of having a sight of you the fair girl has crossed over the outer gate with hesitating steps. Her right eye has been painted with collyrium, but her left eye remains unpainted. Millions and millions of Cupids have worshipped these twin moons, the twin lotuses, one blue and the other white. The glorious Husana (= Husain), who is an ornament of the earth, has the proper appreciation of this *rasa*,—Husana who is the lord of the five Gauḍas, and who rivals Purandara (*i.e.*, Indra) in prosperity. So says Yaśoraja Khān. »

Now who is this Yaśorāja Khān? Apparently it is a title like 'Guṇarāja Khān,' and 'Satyarāja Khān.' The two latter titles were held by Mālādhara-Vasu and his son (?) Rāmānanda-Vasu respectively, of Kulīna-grāma. Accordingly some scholars find *double entendre* in 'bhoga-purandara,' and deduce that 'Yaśorāja-Khāna' was the title of some Purandara-Vasu of Kulīna-grāma. This is highly improbable. The adjunct 'bhoga-purandara' must be taken with 'pañca-gauḍeśvara,' and 'purandara' cannot but be taken in the sense of Indra, the king of gods.

Rāmagopāla-dāsa, or simply Gopāla-dāsa, the father of Pītāmbara-dāsa who quotes the poem of Yaśorāja Khān in his *Rasa-mañjarī*, had written a similar work named *Śrī-śrī-rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rasa-kalpa-vallī*, or simply *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*. The work is dated 1595 *Śaka*. In the autobiographical portion of the above work Gopāla-dāsa has mentioned the heads of the several important Vaidya families in his native village Śrīkhaṇḍa [VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 101; Vol. 38, p. 146]. There he mentions 'Jasarāja Khān.' In that case Yaśorāja Khān was a native of Śrīkhaṇḍa and belonged to the Vaidya community. It should also be remembered in this connection that Mukunda, a companion of Caitanya-deva, and brother of Narahari-Sarkār, also a Vaidya and native of Śrīkhaṇḍa, was a physician to Husain Shah. Can we postulate any connection between Yaśorāja and Mukunda?

[1] Printed text has 'hasana.'

Rāmānanda-Rāya.

Rāmānanda-Rāya, or Rāya Rāmānanda, was the political officer or local governor at Vidyā-nagara on the Godāvarī, under the Gajapati king Pratāpa-rudra of Orissa who ruled from 1504 to 1532 A.C. Rāmānanda's father Bhavānanda, and his four brothers Vāṇīnātha, Gopīnātha, Kalānidhi and Sudhānidhi, were all under the patronage of the king.

When Caitanya-deva started on his pilgrimage to the peninsular India, he was requested by Vāsudeva-Sārvabhauma, one of the most reputed Bengali scholars of the time, to meet Rāmānanda at Vidyā-nagara. Rāmānanda had good reputation as a fine scholar and a mystic poet. The Master and the mystic met on the bank of the Godāvarī, and they were mutually attracted. At evenfall they had a meeting at the house of the official when ensued a very interesting and remarkable discourse. This interview and discourse has had an able, brilliant and full treatment by the masterly pen of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in the eighth chapter of the Second Book of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. Caitanya-deva asked Rāya what was the ultimate aim and true ideal of Vaiṣṇava religion and philosophy. Rāmānanda gave the obvious answer, but of course the Master was not to be satisfied. Skilfully led onwards by the clever and penetrating questions of the latter, Rāmānanda was at last unable to express himself any further with the help of any quotations from scriptures or otherwise. Then he asked the Master's permission to express his sentiments through a poem he had written. Hardly two lines had been recited when Caitanya-deva was greatly moved and stopped further progress of the recital. So far as contemporary evidence goes this poem is the earliest Brajabuli composition handed down to us, with the only exception of the poem by Yaśorāja Khān.

pahilahi rāga nayana-bhaṅga bhela |
anudina bāṛhala avadhi nā gela ||
na so ramaṇa na hāma ramaṇī |
duhū mana manobhaba peśala jani ||
e sakhi so saba prema-kahānī |
kānu-ṭhāme kahabi bichuraha jāni ||
na khōjalū dotī na khōjalū āna |
duhūka milane madhyata pāca-vāṇa ||
ava so virāge tuhū bhelī dotī |
supurukha-premaka aichana rīti ||
varddhana rudra-narādhipa-māna |
rāmānanda-rāya kavi bhāṇa || [CC. ii. 8; PKT. 576.]

« 'Our first love was through the expresions of the eye; it has increased day by day, but the limit has not been attained. He is not a man, nor am I a woman; but our hearts, as it were, have been crushed by the god of love. My friend, do please tell Kṛṣṇa everything about our love-story, do not forget. I have not sought a messenger nor have I sought for others' help; between us the five-arrowed god of love is the intermediary. Now in this disaffection of his you are the messenger. That is the way of a good man's love!' Increasing the prestige of the king (Pratapa-)rudra, the poet Rāmānanda-Rāya speaks so. »

This meeting with Caitanya-deva settled the future career of the poet. By the time when the Master returned to Puri, Rāmānanda had retired from service and come to live at home near him. Caitanya-deva held him in high esteem and great affection, and he once remarked that between them there was the difference of body only.

rāmānanda saha moraṭ deha-bheda mātra [CC. i. 10].

Rāmānanda had written, before he met the Master, a Sanskrit drama in five acts, entitled the *Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka*, or better known as *Rāmānanda-saṅgīta-nāṭaka*. This drama, dealing with the first love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, contains twenty-one songs composed in imitation of Jayadeva. This work of no mean poetic merit was no doubt appreciated at the time, but subsequently its importance was considerably enhanced on account of the compliment paid to it by Caitanya-deva by way of enjoying the songs with his appreciative friends and companions.

The songs imbedded in the drama were written in Sanskrit and in imitation of the songs of the *Gīta-govinda*. Though we miss in them the earlier poet's mellifluousness and picturesqueness, we certainly come in with undoubted sincerity and better taste. We quote here two songs as specimen.

Rādhā says to her friend

vidalita-sarasija-dala-caya-śayane |
vārita-sakala-sakhī-jana-nayane ||
valati mano mama satvara-racane |
pūraya kāmam imaṃ śaśi-vadane ||
abhinava-visa-kisalaya-caya-valaye |
malayaja-rasa-pariṣevita-nilaye ||
sukhayatu rudra-gajādhipa-cittam |
rāmānanda-rāya-kavi-bhaṇitam || [Act ii.]

« 'My mind is extremely anxious to have a bed prepared at once. The bed should be made of petals of full-blown lotuses, strewn with fresh stalks of the lotus plant, and there should blow gently the southern breeze, but it should be done all unknown to my other friends. Śaśi-vadanā, do please fulfil this desire of mine.' May this song of the poet Rāmānanda-Rāya delight the heart of the Gajapati king (Pratāpa-)rudra. »

Rādhā speaks to her aunt about her extreme love-sickness

mañjutara-guñjad-ali-kuñjam ati-bhīṣaṇam |
manda-marud-antara-ga-gandha-kṛta-dūṣaṇam ||
sakalam etad īritam |
kiñca guru-pañcaśara-cañcalaṃ mama jīvitam ||
matta-pika-datta-rujam ujjvalādhikaraṃ vanam |
saṅga-sukham aṅgam api tuṅga-bhaya-bhājanam ||
rudra-nṛpam āśu vidadhātu sukha-saṅkulam |
rāma-pada-dhāma-kavi-rāya-kṛtam ujjvalam || [Act iii.]

« 'This summer house has taken a terrible aspect because of the bees setting up a more charming humming, and because of its being fragrant with sweet breeze blowing within. All is said (thereby). In short, my life is rendered unstable with the mortal arrow-shots of the god of love. The woodland around has become a sickness to me, and the notes of the amorous cuckoo causes feverishness. My person which is essential for enjoying (the lover's) company, has only become a source of great apprehension.' May this bright (song) of the king of poets named Rāma (or, of the poet named Rāma-Rāya) bring immediate happiness to the king (Pratapa-)rudra. »

The verses in the drama are not infrequently very fine. One is quoted below.

prema-ccheda-rujo 'vagacchati harir nāyaṃ na ca prema vā
sthānāsthānam avaiti nāpi madano jānāti no durbalāḥ |
anyo veda na cānya-duḥkham akhilaṃ no jīvanaṃ vāśravaṃ
dvitrāṇyeva dināni yauvanam idam hā hā vidhe kā gatiḥ || [Act iii.]

Rādhā speaks to Madanikā about her helplessness:

« Hari has no experience of the sickness of the interruption of love, nor does love care for propriety of occasion. Even the god of love does not know us to be weak. One cannot also be aware of the entire sufferings of another. Life is under nobody's command, and the young age lasts for a day or two. Alas, alas! What help is there? »

In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* there is a poem [2844], with the name Rāma-Rāya in the colophon, which was probably composed by our poet. There are traces of Hindi influence in this poem.

In the Vaiṣṇava anthologies there is no scarcity of poems having the *bhaṇitā* of Rāmānanda. These poems however cannot be attributed to our poet in view of the fact that there were several poets of the name of Rāmānanda, and that our poet never subscribed himself otherwise than with his surname or title 'Rāya.' But the Hindi song [PKT. 2844] with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Rāma-Rāya' is very possibly a composition of our poet. The short *bhaṇitā* 'Rāma-Rāya' is found in some of his Sanskrit songs in the *Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka*.

Murāri-Gupta.

Murāri-Gupta was born in Sylhet. His family, like that of Caitanya-deva and others, left their native place and settled at Navadvīpa. Murāri's people were next-door neighbours to that of Caitanya-deva. Murāri was a senior fellow-student of Caitanya-deva in the *Catuṣpāṭhī* of Gaṅgādāsa. Murāri (and his fellow-student and colleague Mukunda-datta) was a particular butt to the smart raillery and haughty sarcasm of the young Caitanya, and as such this amiable and gentle senior avoided the haunts of the latter. But at heart Murāri had great affection for that handsome, naughty but tender-hearted boy. On his return from Gayā the young Caitanya became a different man altogether, when Murāri, along with all other good and pious people of Navadvīpa, was strongly attracted by, and afterwards surcharged with his magnetic personality and superhuman, universal tenderness.[1]

In the galaxy of Caitanya-deva's companions and immediate followers there were several who were the very flowers of amiability, tenderness, courageousness and wisdom. Even among them Murāri was pre-eminent. In a very brief but true sketch Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has drawn a fine picture of this poet and devotee.

śrī-murāri-gupta śākhā premerṣ bhāṇḍārṣ |
prabhurṣ hṛdaya drabe śuni dainya yārṣ ||
pratigraha nā kare nā lay kāra dhanṣ |
ātma-vṛtti kari kare kuṭumba-bharaṇṣ ||
cikitsā karenṣ yāre haiyā sadayṣ |
deha-roga bhava-roga dui tārṣ kṣayṣ || [CC. i. 10.]

[1] Murari's Journal (*Karaca*), ii. 7. 8-18; 12. 8-11.

« Murāri-Gupta, a branch (of the Caitanya tree), is a veritable treasure of love. His piteous confessions melt the heart of the Master. He does not accept any gift, ceremonial or otherwise, but runs his household by his professional practice. He, for whom he feels pity and undertakes treatment, is freed from the disease both of the body and of the mind.»

Murāri wrote a Sanskrit poem in the right epic style dealing with the early life of Caitanya-deva. This poem, the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, better known as the Journal (*kaṛacā*) of Murāri-Gupta, was completed in A.C. 1513 (=*Śaka* 1435), that is when the Master was only 28 years old. This journal contains by far the most authentic account of the early and family life of Caitanya-deva, and so it has been drawn upon by all of the later biographers. The poem is divided into four sections of seventy-eight cantos with a total of 1,919 stanzas. The verses are quite smooth and are not often devoid of intrinsic merit.

Murāri had written a few songs in vernacular [*cf.* Kaṛacā ii. 4. 22-23], of which about twelve are now known to us. Of these songs only two are written in Brajabuli. The following are the *bhaṇitās* which Murāri used in his songs—*Murāri-Gupta*, *Murāri*, *Gupta* and *Gupta-dāsa*. Most of these songs or poems deal with the life of Caitanya-deva, and they are among the earliest poems of this *genre*.

The following is quoted as a specimen of Murāri's Brajabuli composition.—

tapata kiraṇa yadi aṅga nā dagadhala
ki karaba jala-abhiṣeke |
duḥkha-bhare prāṇa vāhire yava nikasaba
ki karaba auṣadha-viśekhe ||

mānini atae samāpahā māne |
mṛdu mṛdu bhāṣe sambhāṣaha vara-tanu
eka-vāra deha jīu dāne ||

sundara-vadane bihasi vara-bhāmini
racaha manohara vāṇī |
kuca kanayā giri madhi gahi rākhaha
nija bhuje āpana jāni ||

adhara sudhārasa- pāna deha sakhi
hṛdaya juṛāyaha mora |
tuyā mukha-indu- udaya heri vilasata
tirapita nayana-cakora ||

nija guṇa heri paraka dekhi paribari
tejaha hṛdayaka rokha |
bhaṇai murāri prāṇa-pati saṅgini
purukha-vadha bahu dokha || [Kṣaṇadā 252.]

« [Kṛṣṇa to Rādha :] 'When the hot rays (of the sun) have indeed scalded the body, what can sprinkling of water do? When life shall depart (being oppressed) with the load of misery, what can the application of a particular dose of medicine do? O angry one! do thou then give up thy anger. O lovely one! accost me with thy soft speech, and so, just for once, give me my life back. O precious girl, raise up a smile in thy lovely face, and recount nice words. Take me up, as thy own, in thy arms, and place me against the golden hills of thy breasts. Give me a drink of thy nectarian lips, O my friend, and so soothe my heart. Beholding the rise of thy moonlike face, my eyes like a pair of *cakoras* are delighted and have become sportive. Remembering thy own goodness and thereby dismissing other's faults, do thou give up the anger of thy heart.' So adds Murāri, the companion of thy dearest lover, that killing a man is a great sin. »

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The above Brajabuli poem is a very indifferent writing at the most. But Murāri was really a good poet, and this will be a news to the general reader of Bengali literature. It is really strange that no writer on Bengali literature, especially on Vaiṣṇava poetry, has yet drawn any attention to the vernacular poems of Murāri. I cite here only two of his Bengali poems which are certainly two of the best lyrics in the entire field of Bengali literature, both modern and old.

sakhi he phiriyā āpana ghare yāo |
jīyante mariyā ye āpanā khāiyāche
tāre tumi ki āra bujhāo ||
nayana-putalī kari lailō mohana-rūpa
hiyāra mājhāre kari prāṇa |
pirīti-āguni jvāli sakali poṛāiyāchi
jāti kula śīla abhimāna ||
nā jāniyā mūṛha loke ki jāni ki bale moke
nā kariye śravaṇa-gocare |
srota-bithāra jale e tanu bhāsāiyāchi
ki karibe kulera kukure ||

khāite śuite raite āna nāhi lay cite
bandhu bine āna nāhi bhāy ।
murāri-gupate kahe pirīti emati haile
tāra yaśa tiṅ loke gāy ॥ [PKT. 751.]

« My friend, you just return to your home. What else can you explain to one who has died though alive and who has brought about her own ruin ? His beauty I have taken in as the apples of the eyes, and my life in my heart. My high birth and parentage, good name, prestige—my all I have burnt down in the flame of my love. I do not know what the stupid folk, not knowing the truth, speak of me, and I do not care to lend my ears to that. I have floated this body of mine in a broad stream. What can the dogs of the propriety do ? In eating, in sleeping and in rest I have no other consolation, nothing but the thought of my friend soothes me down. Murāri-Gupta says, when love comes to such a head it excites the admiration and applause of the three worlds. »

ki chāra pirīti kailā jīyante badhiyā āilā
bācite sāṃśaya bhela rāi ।
śapharī salila bina goṅāiba kata dina
śuna śuna niṭhura mādhāi ॥
ghṛta diyā eka rati jvāli āilā yuga-bāti
se kemane rahe ayogāne ।
tāhe se pavane puna nibhāila bāsō hena
jhāṭa āsi rākhaha parāṇe ॥
bujhilāma uddeśe sākṣāte pirīti toṣe
sthāna-chāṛā bandhu vairī hay ।
tāra sākṣī padma-bhānu jala chāṛā tāra tanu
śukhāile pirīti nā ray ॥
yata sukhe bāṛhāilā tata dukhe poṛāilā
karilā kumuda-bandhu bhāti ।
gupta kahe eka māse dvipakṣa chāṛila deśe
nidāne haila kuhu rāti ॥ [PKT. 1699.]

Rādhā writes to Kṛṣṇa who is at Dvārakā mentioning her plight on being separated from him.

« What a terrible love you have made ! You have killed me alive, and I, your Rādhā am now in a critical condition. Like a petty fish without water how many days shall I pass ? Listen to me, my cruel one. With

only a drop of ghee you have left lighted an aeon-lamp;[1] how can it keep on burning without fresh supply? Moreover, it appears to me that it is about to be put out by the wind. So do you come soon and save my life. I have learnt indirectly that love is delightful at sight only, and that a friend remaining away becomes an enemy. An instance of this is the case of the lotus and the sun; when taken out of water the lotus withers, and the love is gone too. You have caused me grief in measure of the happiness you had brought upon me; you have adopted the manner of the friend of the lily (*i. e.* the moon). (Murāri-)Gupta says, 'In a single month the moon is gone, and the crisis has synchronised with the new-moon.'[2]

Narahari-dāsa (i) [A.C. ? 1478-1541]

In the Vaiṣṇava lyric literature there are two Narahari-dāsas. One, Narahari-Sarkār, or simply Sarkār-Ṭhākura of Śrīkhaṇḍa, the other, Narahari-Cakravartī, or Ghanaśyāma, the author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara*. The poems by the latter poet by far outnumber the productions of the former; but in fact the writings of these two authors have been so hopelessly mixed up that we are very often unable to assign a particular poem to its proper author. The criterion which can be safely adopted in some of the cases to distinguish between the writings of the two poets is this. The earlier poet's theme was the life and character of Caitanya-deva, and most of his poems were written in Bengali. Only a few poems seem to have been written in Brajabuli. Narahari-Sarkār's language is simple and direct; it does not contain a vast amount of *tatsama* words as that of the later poet. Narahari-Cakravartī on the other hand wrote mostly in Brajabuli, and these poems are rather artificial, verbose and complex.

Narahari-Sarkār was born in Śrīkhaṇḍa in the district of Burdwan in about *Śaka* 1400 (=1478 A.C.). He came of a very distinguished Vaidya family. His father was Nārāyaṇadeva-Sarkār. Narahari's elder brother Mukunda was a physician to the Pathan king at Gauṛ.

Narahari was a fair-complexioned, handsome person. He never married. After Caitanya-deva became a *sannyāsin*, Narahari became his disciple. He installed six images at his place, of which two were of Caitanya-deva and Nityānanda-prabhu respectively. He died in *Śaka* 1463(=1541 A.C.).

1 'Yuga-bāti'—a lamp which goes on burning for ages.

2 According to Āyurveda if the critical stage of a patient happens on the New-moon, the patient generally does not survive the day.

Narahari was a good Sanskrit scholar; he was the author of the two works, *Bhakti-candrikā-paṭala* and *Bhaktāmṛtāṣṭaka*. Narahari was perhaps the first poet to write poems in vernacular about the life of Caitanya-deva. He himself has said in one of his poems

gaura-līlā darśane icchā baṛa hay mane
bhāṣāy likhiyā saba rākhi |
muñi to ati adhama likhite nā jāni krama
kemana kariyā tāhā likhi ||
e grantha likhibe ye ekhana janme nāi se
janmite vilamba āche bahu |
bhāṣāy racanā haile bujhibe loka sakale
kabe vāñchā purābena pahu ||
gaura-gadādhara-līlā ādrava karaye śilā
kāra sādhya karibe varṇanā |
sāradā likhena yadi nirantara niravadhi,
āra sadāśiva pañcānana ||
kichu kichu pada likhi yadi ihā keha dekhi
prakāśa karaye prabhu-līlā |
narahari pābe sukha ghuciba manera dukha
grantha gāne darabibe śilā || [GPT., pp. 11-12.]

« On seeing the activities of Gaura there comes over a great desire to put them in vernacular writing. But I am extremely dull, and I do not know the proper order of writing. How can I then write it out? The person who will write this book is yet to be born, and he will be born in a much later time. If written in vernacular it will be intelligible to all. When will the Master fulfil this desire? The activities of Gaura and Gadādhara melt even stone. Who can describe them fully except when Sāradā and the five-faced Sadāśiva go on writing incessantly and for ever. I write a few poems, so that some one on reading them might publish the life of the Master. Then Narahari will be immensely delighted, and all his sorrows will vanish. Even stone will melt when the book will be sung. »

From this poem we can gather that Murāri had probably written his Journal before this, and no biography of Caitanya had yet been composed in the vernacular.

In the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintā-maṇi* there is one Brajabuli poem with the *bhaṇitā* of Narahari. Now as Viśvanātha-Cakravartin, the author of *Kṣaṇadā*, was the preceptor of the father of the second Narahari-

dāsa, it is improbable that the author of the poem can be the later Narahari. We cite the poem below, as it is the only Brajabuli poem which can be safely assigned to the authorship of Narahari-dāsa (i). The reading seems to be corrupt at places.

rāika vipatti śuni vidagadha-śiromaṇi
puchai gada-gada bhāṣā |
nija mandira tyaji calu nava-nāgara
punaḥ punaḥ paraśai nāsā ||
bichurala caraṇa- raṇita maṇi-mañjīra
bichurala muralīka randhre |
bichurala veśa vasana bhela vigalita
vigalita śikhi-puccha-candre ||
malayaja parimale daśa-diśa (ā)modita
yāminī bahe ati puñje |
lālasa daraśa- paraśe duhū ākula
ciradine milala kuñje ||
duhū mukha herai athira bhela duhū tanu
paraśite bhuje bhuje kāpa |
narahari-hṛdi mājhe aparupa jāgala
jaladhara vidhu-vara jhāpa || [Kṣaṇadā 141.]

« On hearing the distress of Rādhā the prince of the gallants asked (about it) in faltering words. Leaving his home the youthful lover went forth, brushing his nose again and again. He forgot (to put on) the jewelled anklets that jingle at every step, he forgot (to blow at) the orifices of his flute. He forgot to dress up (properly); his clothes flapped, and his peacock's feather drooped. All the quarters were fragrant with the sweet scent of sandal paste, which the night scattered about in masses. The two, who were greatly longing after a sight and touch of each other, met after a long time in the pavilion. Looking at each other they two were overwhelmed, and they trembled when they clasped each other in their arms. In the heart of Narahari a fine vision appeared, namely, the cloud covered up the moon. »

Narahari has given full description of the two marriage ceremonies of Caitanya-deva. This description is a faithful picture of the true scenes, and is full of poetic charm. Locana-dāsa, the author of the *Caitanya-maṅgala* and a disciple of Narahari, drew upon these poems of his *guru* when dealing with the same subject. For simplicity and directness of

style Locana's work is remarkable. But these qualities, as we find, he inherited from his *guru* Narahari-Sarkār.

According to the evidence of Śekhara-Rāya [GPT., p. 456, song 13] Narahari-dāsa (i) had written, before the birth of the Master, songs on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme.

Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa.

Vāsudeva and his brothers Govinda and Mādhava were born at Buṛana or Buraṅgī in Sylhet, which was probably the place of their mother's people. Their father settled at Kumārahaṭṭa, but the brothers shifted their residence to Navadvīpa. The Ghoṣa brothers were all companions and followers of Caitanya-deva. All of them were sweet-voiced and poetically gifted. The three brothers were the leaders of three bands of Saṅkīrttana singers under Caitanya-deva.

Vāsudeva's muse busied herself solely with the life-story of the great Master. The poet was a close companion of Caitanya-deva throughout his home life, and this has rendered his poems important from the historical standpoint. Later on he was asked by the Master to attend Nityānanda-prabhu in his missionary tours in Bengal. It is mentioned in the *Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa* that in his later life Vāsudeva settled at Tamluk.

About Vāsudeva's poetry Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has made the following remark in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.

vāsudeva gīte kare prabhura varṇane |
kāṣṭha pāṣāṇa drave yāhāra śravaṇe ॥ [i. 11.]

« Vāsudeva in his songs describes the activities of the Master, on hearing which even (the hearts of) wood and stone melt away. »

To a great extent this appreciation of the Kavirāja is justified. Vāsudeva probably followed the foot-steps of Narahari-Sarkār in dealing with the theme of Caitanya-deva's life.[1]

Out of his numerous poems extant (numbering about eighty) about a dozen only are written in Brajabuli. One such typical poem is quoted below.

1 śrī-sarkār ṭhākurer padāmṛta pāne |
padya prakāśiba bali icchā kaila mane ॥

"On drinking the sweet poems of Śrī-Sarkār-Ṭhākura I have made up my mind to publish poems" [Pada-samudra, quoted in GPT., Introduction, p. 126].

niramala gorā-tanu kaṣila kāñcana janu
heraite bhai gelū bhora |
bhāṅa-bhujaṅgame daṃśala majhu mana
antara kāpai mora ||
sajanī, yava hāma pekhalū gorā |
ākhula diga- vidiga nā pāiye
madana-lālase mana bhorā ||
aruṇita-nayane teracha avalokane
barikhe kusuma-śara sādhe |
jīvaite jīvane theha nāhi pāyalū
ḍubalū gaṅga agādhe ||
mantra mahauṣadhi tuhū jānasi yadi
majhu lāgi karabi upayṅ |
vāsudeva-ghoṣa kahe śuna śuna e sakhi
gorā lāgi prāṇa mora yāy || [PKT. 28.]

«On looking at the bright and holy person of Gorā like that of pure gold, I am lost. His snake-like eyebrows have bitten in my heart. It is quaking. My friend, just as I saw Gorā, my heart was stricken with love, and I was beside myself. With his rosy and askance eyes he was, as it were, shooting flowery arrows profusely. I wanted to save my life but could not find the depth of it. I fell into the fathomless Ganges. If you know of any charm or herbs, do please try to save my life. Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa says, 'Hear me, O my friend, hear me; I am dying for love of Gorā.'»

Vāsudeva's power in depicting simple scenes of home-life can be judged from the following Bengali poem.

śacīrṅ āṅgināyṅ nāce viśvambhara rāyṅ |
hāsi hāsi phiri phiri māyere lukāy ||
vayane vaṣana diyā bale lukāinu |
śacī bale viśvambhara āmi nā dekhinu ||
māyera añcala dhari cañcala caraṇe |
nāciyā nāciyā yāy khañjana-gamane ||
vāsudeva-ghoṣa kahe aparupa śobhā |
śiśu-rūpa dekhi hay jaga-mana-lobhā || [PKT. 1151.]

«Master Viśvambhara is playing in the courtyard of the house of Śacī. With smiles playing on his face he walks away and hides himself from his mother. Covering his face with a piece of cloth he says, 'I have

hid myself.' His mother replies, 'O! I do not see you'! Taking hold of the hem of his mother's skirt, he, with his restless feet, goes dancing after the style of a *khañjana* bird. Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa says, 'A captivating sight it is; at the sight of the child's beauty the whole world gets longing for it.' »

Vāsudeva tried to describe the life of Caitanya-deva in exact imitation of the story of Kṛṣṇa. So he had to imagine the corresponding 'dāna,' 'naukā' and other sports which Kṛṣṇa enjoyed in company of the *gopīs*. Such songs of course are not his best.

Mādhava-Ghoṣa.

Mādhava-Ghoṣa was a brother of Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa, and a companion of Caitanya-deva. Though the brothers were all exquisite singers and fine musicians, Mādhava was pre-eminent among them. Of him Vṛndāvana-dāsa has said in the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*

sukṛti mādhava-ghoṣa kīrttane tatpara |
hena kīrttanīyā nāhi pṛthivī-bhitara ॥ [iii. 5.]

« The lucky Mādhava-Ghoṣa is very keen in *kīrttana*, and there is no rival of him in the whole world. »

Vāsudeva himself has remarked in one of his songs

govinda-mādhava-ghoṣerā gāna |
śuni kebā dharaye parāṇa ॥ PKT. 2315.]

« Govinda and Mādhava-Ghoṣa sing; on hearing them who is there that can control his self ? »

Though a good poet Mādhava-Ghoṣa was not a prolific writer. He wrote on the life-incidents of Caitanya-deva as well as on topics of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend.

The following is a specimen of the poet's Brajabuli composition.

nija nija mandira yāite puna puna
duhū duhā vadana nehāri
antare ūyala prema-payonidhi
nayane galaye ghana vāri ॥
mādhava, hāmāri bidāy pāye toya |
tohāri prema sañe puna cali āyaba
ava darśana nāhi moya ॥

kātara-nayane nehārite duhū dubā
uthalala prema-taraṅga |
muruchala rāi muruchi paṛu mādhava
kava haba tākara saṅga ||
lalitā sumukhi sumukhi kari phukarata
rāika kore āgora |
sahacarī kānu kānu kari phukarata
ḍharakata locana-lora ||
kathi geo aruṇa- kiraṇa-bhaya dāruṇa
kathi geo lokaka bhīta |
mādhava-ghoṣa ava-hu nāhi samujhala
udabhaṭa mugadha-carita || [PKT. 660.]

«When about to start for their respective homes they two, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, looked at each other's face, at which the sea of love heaved in their bosoms, and tears fell down thickly from their eyes. (Rādhā said,) 'Mādhava, now I bid good-bye at your feet. I shall return again for (the attraction of) your love, but now I am not to have any further sight of you.' On looking at each other with sorrowful eyes the waves of love ran high. Rādhā swooned away, so did Kṛṣṇa, on thought, 'When are we to meet?' Lalitā took her up in her lap and cried in concern, 'My beauty, O my beauty!' Kṛṣṇa's companion cried, 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa!,' and she was shedding tears. Where is now gone the fear of the light of day, and where indeed the fear of people? Mādhava-Ghoṣa has yet to understand the nature of the lovers.»

There is a tradition that Mādhava-Ghoṣa settled at Dāihāṭ near Katwa, after the *sannyāsa* of the Master. Mādhava, like his brother Vāsudeva, remained a bachelor to the last day of his life.

Govinda-Ghoṣa.

Govinda-Ghoṣa was the brother of Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa and Mādhava-Ghoṣa. The full names of the brothers appear to have been Govindānanda, Mādhavānanda, and Vāsudevānanda. [*Cf.* the colophon of song 23 (p. 389) of GPT.; PKT. 2234.]

Hardly half a dozen of Govinda-Ghoṣa's poems have come down to us. Of these few poems none are written in Brajabuli. In poetic capacity Govinda does not seem to be inferior to his brother Mādhava.

The following short lyric is undoubtedly a master-piece of vivid description and intensity.

hede re nadiyā-vāsī kāra mukha cāo |
bāhu paśāriyā gorā-cāndere phirāo ||
to-sabhāre ke āra karibe nija kore |
ke yāciyā dibe prema dekhiyā kātare ||
ki śela hiyāy hāy ki śela hiyāy |
parāṇa-putalī navadvīpa chāṛi yāy ||
āra nā yāiba morā gaurāṅgera pāśa |
āra nā kariba morā kīrttana-vilāsa ||
kāndaye bhakata-gaṇa buka vidariyā |
pāṣāṇa govinda-ghoṣa nā yāy miliyā || [PKT. 1622.]

« O people of Nadiyā, whom are you looking up to? Go, stretch your arms and bring the Golden Moon (Gaurāṅga) back. Who else will take you up in his arms? Who else will bestow love unasked to every distressed person? What a great shock to the heart, indeed what a great shock! The idol of the heart is leaving Navadvīpa for good! No more shall we go to Gaurāṅga, no more shall we enjoy the sport of Kīrttana! The followers and devotees are weeping, bursting their heart; but Govinda-Ghoṣa is really made of stone, he does not melt away. »

Govinda settled at Agradvīpa where he installed the image of Gopīnātha.

Rāmānanda-Vasu.

Rāmānanda-Vasu was son or grandson of the celebrated Mālādhara-Vasu, a zamindar of Kulīna-grāma in the district of Burdwan. Mālādhara was the author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-vijaya*, which is a Bengali adaptation of the tenth book of the *Śrimad-Bhāgavata*. This work became very soon famous. He got the title 'Guṇarāja Khān' from the appreciative Pathan ruler of Bengal. Rāmānanda possibly inherited his poetic temperament from him.

It is possible that Rāmānanda had the title 'Satyarāja Khān.' The general opinion has been that Satyarāja was the father of Rāmānanda-Vasu. I have shown elsewhere that Satyarāja Khan was identical with Rāmānanda Vasu, at least if we are to believe in the authenticity of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* [VSPP., Vol. 38, p. 156 f.]. Rāmānanda was a staunch follower of Caitanya-deva. He met the Master every year at Puri when the Master's followers in Bengal assembled there during the time of the car festival.

Details are to be seen in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. Caitanya-deva was very fond of the natives of Kulīna-grāma, as that place came early under the influence of Vaiṣṇavism.

The number of the known poems of Rāmānanda-Vasu does not exceed a dozen. In the anthologies there are several poems with the *bhaṇitā* of Rāmānanda-dāsa, or simply Rāmānanda, but all these poems cannot be ascribed to our poet, nor to Rāmānanda Rāya, because the earlier writers subscribed themselves generally with their full name. It is of course quite possible that a few of them belong to Rāmānanda-Vasu.

The following is the only Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of Rāmananda-Vasu.

malayaja-milita yamunā-jala-śītala
vaṃśī-vaṭa niramāṇa |
nikaṭahi nīpa kadamba-taru kusumita
kokila bhramara karu gāna ||
tāra tale tiribhaṅga taruṇa-tamāla-tanu
vāme rasavatī rāi |
eka nava jaladhara kore bijurī thira
kāñcana ratana miśāi ||
duhū tanu eka-mana niviḍa ālingana
duhū jana eka-i parāṇa |
vasu rāmānanda bhaṇe tulaṇā nā hay mane
rūpera nichani pāca-vāṇa || [PKT. 652.][1]

« Cool with the sprays of the Yamunā mixed with the southern breeze the *Vaṃśī-vaṭa* grows. Close by there is a *nīpa* tree in blossoms; on it, cuckoos are singing and bees are humming. Under the tree is standing in a reclining posture a person supple as a young *tamāla* tree; on his left is standing the affectionate Rādhā. A newly formed cloud, and a streak of steady lightning, (as fine a sight as) a composition of gold and precious stones. In close embrace the two bodies have a single mind; the two persons have the same life. Rāmānanda-Vasu says, 'No analogy occurs (to me), even the god of love is nothing to that beauty.' »

Rāmānanda-Vasu wrote a few poems on Caitanya-deva. All these poems bear the stamp of simplicity of the earlier writers.

A very fine Bengali poem of Rāmānanda-Vasu [PKT. 145] was worked upon and amplified by Jñānadāsa [PKT. 144]. In the *Pada-rasa-*

[1] *Cf.* Aprakāśita-padaratnāvalī, 214.

sāra however, this amplified poem also bears the *bhaṇitā* of Vasu Rāmānanda, and the *bhaṇitā* of Balarāma-dāsa occurs in the same poem in the *Pada-ratnākara* [PKT., Vol. i, p. 102].

There are a few Brajabuli [PKT. 1277, 1711, 2060, 2096, 2162, 2163, 3057] and a few Bengali poems [Kṣaṇadā 148; PKT. 1417, 2248, 2257, 2615] with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Rāmānanda.' With the exception of PKT. 1417 and 2162, all these songs can very well be ascribed to Rāmānanda-Vasu. Rāmānanda-Rāya could not have composed these Brajabuli songs because they are all reminiscent of the early family life of Caitanya-deva, and the Bengali songs are out of the question.

The Bengali song, PKT. 2615, has great similarity of language and thought with a Bengali song of Rāmānanda-Vasu [Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 952]; and this Bengali song and the Brajabuli song, PKT. 1711, seem to be the composition of a person who was contemporary with, and a companion of the Master. Moreover it should be remembered that no third Rāmānanda has yet been discovered in the field of vernacular Vaiṣṇava literature.

Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa [A. C. ? 1503-1578].

Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa was one of the six *Gosvāmins* who remained at Vṛndāvana at the order of Caitanya-deva and preached Vaiṣṇavism there both through their immaculate and pious lives and by writing books in Sanskrit. These six *Gosvāmins* were Sanātana, Rūpa, Jīva, Raghunātha-Bhaṭṭa, Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa, and Raghunātha-dāsa. Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa was the son of Veṅkaṭa-Bhaṭṭa of Bhaṭṭamāri, whom Caitanya-deva met in course of his tours in South India. Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa was the compiler of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which is a standard work on Vaiṣṇava *Smṛti*.

There are two poems in PKT., with the *bhaṇitā* of Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa [1088, 2833]. To these must be added the song 2966. The latter contains the *bhaṇitā* of Gopāla-dāsa. We know one Gopāla-dāsa who was an altogether different person. But the language of this song, like that of the former two, is Brajabhākhā and not Brajabuli. So this song also must be attributed to Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa. Gopālā-Bhaṭṭa was a man from South India, and he passed his life at Vṛndāvana, so it was very unlikely that he could have written poems in Brajabuli.

As the poems of Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa are written in Brajabhākhā (where of course some corruptions have crept in) we need not discuss them any further here.

Raghunātha-dāsa (i) [A. C. ? 1506-1582].

Raghunātha was the son of Govardhana-dāsa, a very rich landholder of Saptagrāma near Hugli. In his early youth he gave up worldly life and went to meet Caitanya-deva at Puri. The Master placed him under the spiritual guidance of Svarūpa-Dāmodara. Later on he came to Vṛndāvana and lived there till his death. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja was a disciple of Raghunātha-dāsa. Raghunātha-dāsa was one of the finest characters in the galaxy of Caitanya-deva's companions and immediate followers. In him the devotional spirit of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism had attained perfection. His fascinating life can be found in some detail in the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* and the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.

There are only three poems with the *bhaṇitā* of Raghunātha-dāsa in PKT., of which one is written in Brajabhākhā [2869], and the other two in Brajabuli [2387 (Jayadeva-vandanā), 2467 (description of Rādhā)]. Raghunātha was a good poet, as is evidenced from his several Sanskrit works such as the *Stavāvalī*, the *Vilāpa-kusumāñjali*, etc. The song 2387 does not seem to be the work of Raghunātha-dāsa, as it is totally lacking in brilliance which is found in song 2869 and to some extent also in song 2467.

Vaṁśīvadana-dāsa [Born ? 1494 A. C.].

Vaṃśīvadana was the son of Chakaṛi-Caṭṭa who was a very well-to-do *kulīna* Brahmin dwelling at Kuliyā-pāhāṛ, a village adjacent to Navadvīpa. After the *sannyāsa* of Caitanya-deva Vaṃśīvadana lived with the Master's family as its guardian. In later life he shifted his residence from Kuliyā-pāhāṛ to Bilva-grāma. Vaṃśī was born in A.C. 1494 [GPT., Introduction, p. 123].

In PKT. there are five Brajabuli poems with the *bhaṇitā* of Vaṃśīvadana, and another five with the *bhaṇitā* of simple Vaṃśī. That Vaṃśīvadana used both the short and the long form of his name in the *bhaṇitā* is clear from the sequence of the Bengali poems [PKT. 121, 122; 543, 544, 546, 550, 551; 1385, 1387, 1388; etc.].

There was a later poet Vaṃśī-dāsa who was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karṇānanda, i; Bhakti-ratnākara, x]. To this poet, who does not appear to have written much, must be ascribed the Bengali poem in GPT. [p. 5].

The following is a specimen of Vaṃśīvadana's Brajabuli composition:

dhātu prabāla-dala nava guñjā-phala
vraja-bālaka saṅge sāje |
kuṭila-kuntala beṛi maṇi-mukutā jhuri
kaṭi-taṭe ghuṅgura bāje ||

nācata mohana bāla gopāla |
baraja-vadhū meli deai kara-tāli,
bolai bhāli re bhāla ||

nanda sunanda yaśomatī rohiṇī
ānande suta-mukha cāy |
aruṇa dṛgañcala kājare rañjita
hāsi hāsi daśana dekhāy ||

vaṃśī kahai saba vraja-ramaṇī-gaṇa
ānanda-sāyare bhāsa |
heraite paraśite lālana karaite
stana-khīre bhīgala vāsa || [PKT. 1154.]

«The child Gopāla is bedecked with metal (gold), coral and bright-new *guñjā* berries, along with the other boys of the Vraja. Round his curly hair there is a tiara of diamonds and pearls, and a girdle tinkles at his waist. The child Gopāla is dancing bewitchingly, and all the women of the Vraja are beating time with their hands and are saying, 'Fine, O really fine!' Nanda, Sunanda, Yaśodā and Rohiṇī are joyfully looking at the child's face. The red corners of his eyes are tinged with collyrium, and he shows his teeth when smiling. Vaṃśī says that the women of the Vraja are bathing in a sea of bliss; and when seeing, touching or fondling him, their upper garments are quite wet with the milk of their breast.»

Vaṃśīvadana's Brajabuli poems are commonplace. The poet's fame must rest on his Bengali writings which are often not devoid of poetic imagination and real merit. Vaṃśīvadana witnessed many of the incidents of the Master's life, and he was for some time the guardian of the Master's household. So his songs about Caitanya-deva also possess much historical interest.

The following Bengali poem would not be unfit for the pen of a master poet:

āra nā heriba prasara kapāle
alakā-tilaka-kāca |
āra nā heriba sonāra kamale
nayana-khañjana-nāca ||
āra nā nācibe śrīvāsa-mandire
bhakata-cātaka laiyā |
āra ki nācibe āpanāra ghare
āmarā dekhiba cāiyā ||
āra ki du-bhāi nimāi nitāi
nācibena eka-ṭhāñi |
nimāi kariyā phukari sadāi
nimāi kothā-o nāi ||
nidaya keśava- bhāratī āsiyā
māthāy pāṛila bāja |
gaurāṅga-sundara nā dekhi kemane
rahiba nadiyā-mājha ||
kebā hena jana ānibe ekhana
āmāra gaura-rāyā |
śāśuṛī-vadhūra rodana śuniyā
vaṃśī gaṛāgaṛi yāy || [PKT. 1855.]

Śacī laments on her son's renunciation of home life:

«'No more shall we see the sandal decorations on that broad forehead, no more shall we look at the dance of the *khañjana*-like eyes on the golden lotus of his face. No more he will sing and dance in the house of Śrīvāsa in the company of his *cātaka*-like followers; no more he will sing and dance in our own house, so that we may look and see. Will the two brothers Nimāi and Nitāi ever dance together? I am always shouting for Nimāi, but he is to be found nowhere. The relentless Keśava-Bhāratī came and hurled a thunder over our head. How can I live at Nadiyā without seeing my beautiful Gaurāṅga? Where is the man who can bring me back my prince Gaura?' On hearing such laments of the mother and her daughter-in-law Vaṃśī rolls on the ground (for grief).»

CHAPTER V

YOUNGER CONTEMPORARIES AS WELL AS DISCIPLES OF CAITANYA-DEVA'S COMPANIONS

Nayanānanda (i) [*c.* A. C. 1583].

Nayanānanda was the son of Vāṇīnātha-Miśra, the younger brother of Paṇḍita Gadādhara, one of the most prominent followers of Caitanya-deva. It is generally believed that Dhruvānanda was another name of Nayanānanda [GPT., Introduction, pp. 103f.]. But this view is incorrect, inasmuch as Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has distinctly mentioned them as separate persons [CC. i. 12], and we are bound to respect the Kavirāja's opinion in these matters.

Nayanānanda was the beloved disciple of the Paṇḍita, and when he left home for good, and went to live at Puri where he followed the Master, he left Nayanānanda in charge of his deity Gopīnātha. Nayanānanda married, and his descendants are still living at his place at Bharatpur in the Kandi subdivision of the district of Murshidabad. Nayanānanda was present in the great festival of Khetarī (A. C. 1583 or 1584).

Nayanānanda wrote his poems solely upon the Caitanya topic. There is not a single poem of his existing to this day, which was written about the Kṛṣṇa legend. In PKT. his Brajabuli poems number five only [ʒ, 1449, 1495, 2115, 2116].

Some of his poems, Bengali or Brajabuli, are remarkably good. Their diction is always irreproachable in cadence and choice of words. The following poems may be accepted as his masterpieces of Brajabuli and Bengali composition respectively:

o rūpa sundara gaura kiśora |
heraite nayane śrati nāhi ora ||
kara pada sundara adhara su-rāga |
nava anurāgiṇī nava anurāga ||
lola vilocana lolata lora |
rasavatī-hṛdaye bāḍhala prema-ḍora ||
paratekha prema kiye manamatha-rāja |
kāñcana-giri kiye kusama-samāja ||

achu prema-lampaṭa śrī-gaurāṅga rāya |
śiva śuka ananta dheyāne nāhi pāya ||
pulaka-paṭala-valayita saba aṅga |
premavatī-āliṅgane laharī-taraṅga ||
tachu pada-paṅkaja-ali-sahakāra |
kaha nayanānanda cīta vihāra || [PKT. 2115.]

«That charming beauty of Gaura the Young, when seen with eyes brings no limit to the desire (to see him again and again). Fair hands and feet, and lovely rosy lips: he is like the early love of a girl in love. Tears well up through his dancing eyes, which, like a twine of love bind the hearts of loving women. Is he love visualised, or the god of love the king, or a golden hill, or a mass of flowers? Such is Gaurāṅga the king who thirsts for love: Śiva, Śuka-deva and Ananta (Balarāma) cannot sight him even in contemplation. His entire body is bedecked with horripilations of joy, and these are the waves (of joy) due to the embrace of the Loving One (Rādhā). Says Nayanānda: 'May my heart find joy with those who are like bees round his lotus-feet (*i.e.*, his devotees).»

gorā mora guṇèra sāgara |
premera taraṅga tāy uṭhe nirantara ||
gorā mora akalaṅka śaśī |
hari-nāma-sudhā tāhe kṣare divā-niśi ||
gorā mora himādri-śikhara |
tāhā haite prema-gaṅgā bahe nirantara ||
gorā mora prema-kalpa-taru |
yāra pada-chāye jīva sukhe vāsa karu ||
gorā mora nava jaladhara |
baraṣi śītala yāhe kare nāri-nara ||
gorā mora ānandera khani |
nayanānandera prāṇa yāhāra nichani || [GPT., p. 31.]

«My Gorā is an ocean of virtues: in him the waves of love are always surging up. My Gorā is a stainless moon, and from him the nectar of the name of Hari is ever dripping. My Gorā is a Himalayan peak: from him is flowing eternally the Ganges of love; and under his feet creatures live in bliss. My Gorā is a new dark cloud: he rains down and refreshes men and women. My Gorā is a mine of bliss: the heart of Nayanānanda is an offering to him (to avert all evil).»

Vṛndāvana-dāsa [? 1507-1589].

Vṛndāvana-dāsa was the son of Nārāyaṇī, the daughter of a brother of Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita, one of the premier followers of Caitanya-deva. He is said to have been born in 1507 A.C. But there are some difficulties in accepting this date.[1] Vṛndāvana was present in the festival of Khetarī. He died in 1589 A.C.

Vṛndāvana was a disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu, and from the latter he had come to learn many true facts and incidents of the life of the Master. Vṛndāvana settled at Denuṛ, a village in the district of Burḍwan and about 14 miles west of Navadvīpa.

Vṛndāvana was a great poet. His *magnum opus*, the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*,[2] is a recognised masterpiece of Bengali literature. In this work the early life of Caitanya-deva has been brilliantly described. Vṛndāvana-dāsa was a good Brajabuli poet too. In the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* there occur several Brajabuli forms, lines and couplets.

The following Brajabuli poem, which is one of the best of its kind, will justify Vṛndāvana's position as a good writer of Brajabuli poetry :—

kaiche caraṇe kara- pallava ṭhelali
mīlali māna-bhujaṅge ।
kavale kavale jiu jari yaba yāyaba
tavahi dekhaba iha raṅge ॥

mā go kiye iha jidda apāra ।
ko achu vīra dhīra mahābala
pāṅari utāraba pāra ॥

śyāmara jhāmara malina nalina-mukha
jhara-jhara nayanaka nīra ।
pītāmbara gale padahi loṭāyala
hiyā kaiche bāndhali thira ॥

sādhi sādhi charame gharāme mahāvikala
ghana ghana dīgha niśāsa ।
manamatha-dāha- dahane mana dhasi geo
rokhe calala nija vāsa ॥

[1] G. P. T., Introduction, p. 129.

[2] The date of composition of this work is variously given as 1535, 1548, 1557 or 1573 A.C. The later dates are more probable.

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avirodhi prema- pantha tuhū rodhali
doṣa-leśa nāhi nāha ।
vṛndāvana kaha niṣedha nā mānali
hāmāri ore nāhi cāha ॥ [PKT. 468.]

A friend of Rādhā speaks to her:

« How could you kick away with your feet his fair hands and embrace the snake, a sulky mood? When you will suffer the acutest pain from its repeated bites you will know the pleasure of it. Dear me! What insurmountable perversity! Who is there such a mighty, cool-headed hero who can take this wretched woman to the other side (of the sea of her sulks). Śyāma's face became pale, and tears streamed down his eyes; putting his yellow garment around his neck, he fell at your feet. How could you then keep your heart stiff? Having repeatedly entreated you he became tired, perspired and became greatly wearied; he breathed heavily. His heart was burnt to ashes with the burning fire of love. He became cross and then went home. You have thus closed down the clear way of love. Your lover is not in the least to be blamed. Vṛndāvana says: 'You did not respect our "don't," and so you need not now look up to us.' »

Vṛndāvana's Brajabuli poems in PKT. number only four [468, 573, 2147, 2332]. His Bengali poems however are saturated with Brajabuli forms.

Devakīnandana-dāsa.

Devakīnandana was the disciple of Puruṣottama-dāsa, the son of Sadāśiva-Kavirāja, and both of them were prominent followers of Nityānanda-prabhu. Devakīnandana's poems hardly exceed half a dozen in number, but the poet's fame rests on his *Vaiṣṇava vandanā*, a poem in 368 lines of *payāra* verse. This poem mentions the name of every important follower of Caitanya-deva, contemporaneous with him, as well as of some of his important predecessors. So this poem has much historical importance.

With the exception of the following Brajabuli poem all his lyrical compositions (all in Bengali) deal with Caitanya-deva:—

viparīta-rati ava- -sāne kamala-mukhī
ghāmahi bhīgala cīra ।
sahacarī dāsī cāmara kare bījai
koi yogāyata nīra ॥

baiṭhala rādhā nāgara kāna |
duhū-jana cira abhi- -lāṣa paripūrala
parijana maṅgala gāna ||
kālindī-tīra nikuñja manohara
bahata-hi malaya-samīra |
kata parihāsa rabhasa rasa-kautuka
duhū-para duhū-jana gīra ||
vṛndā-devī samaya bujhi kuñjahi
sevai kata parakāra |
o rasa-sāyare ora nā pāola
debakīnandana āra || [PKT. 2011.]

« At the end of *viparīta rati* the lotus-faced girl had her garments wet with perspiration. The attending maid-servant was fanning her with a *chowrie*, and another was serving water to drink. Then Rādhā and her lover Kṛṣṇa took their seat. They had their long-felt desire satisfied at last; and their companions were singing songs of joy. In that charming garden by the Yamunā there blew the South breeze, and they both were joking and talking intimately, and amusing each other. Knowing the proper time Vṛndā Devī served them in that place in a thousand and one ways. And Devakīnandana found no limit to that ocean of bliss. »

Vṛndāvana-dāsa's *Caitanya-bhāgavata* was already known to the poet when he wrote the *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā*.

Śivānanda-(Ācārya) Cakravartī [*c.* A.C. 1583].

In PKT. there are three poems, one in Brajabuli [1851] and two in Bengali [2127, 2355], with the *bhaṇitā* of Śivānanda. In the *Bhakti-ratnākara* there is another Brajabuli poem with the same *bhaṇitā* [pp. 944-45]. There are also further six poems in PKT., one in Brajabuli [2354] and the rest in Bengali, with the *bhaṇitā* of Śibāi. That both these sets of poems come from the same pen is clear from the fact that the song [PKT. 2355] and the song in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* both of which bear the *bhaṇitā* of Śivānanda, as well as song [PKT. 2354] which is with the *bhaṇitā* of Śibāi, agree in describing Gadādhara sporting with Gaurāṅga in the same manner as Rādhā sporting with Kṛṣṇa. This aspect of Gaurāṅga theme is found only among the followers and disciples of Gadādhara Paṇḍita (who was believed to have been the incarnation of Rādhā). Moreover in the poem from the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, Gadādhara has been mentioned as the poet's 'spiritual master' (*paku*).

It is universally believed that these poems, especially the poems bearing the *bhaṇitā* 'Śivānanda,' must be ascribed to Śivānanda-Sena, a follower of Caitanya-deva, who used to escort annually the pilgrims from Bengal to Caitanya-deva at Puri during the 'Ratha-yātrā.' But this theory cannot be maintained in the light of two salient facts. First, there is the mention of one Śivānanda-Ācārya among the disciples of Gadādhara Paṇḍita [CC. i. 12]. Second, in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* of Gopāla-dāsa, one of the earliest works known in which any collection of Vaiṣṇava lyrics had been attempted, there are two quotations from two distinct poems, one in Brajabuli and the other in Bengali, ascribed to 'Śivānanda-Ācārya Ṭhākura.' Now this latter cannot be Śivānanda-Sena who was a Vaidya by caste. So he must have been Śivānanda-Cakravartī, the disciple of Gadādhara Paṇḍita. This Śivānanda was present at the festival at Khetarī (A.C. 1583 or 1584).

Of the only two known Brajabuli poems of Śivānanda the following is quoted as a specimen:

holī khelata gaura-kiśora |
rasavatī nārī gadādhara-kora ||
sveda-vindu mukha pulaka śarīra |
bhāva-bhare galata-hi locane nīra ||
vraja-rasa gāyata narahari saṅge |
mukunda murāri vāsu nācata raṅge ||
khene khene muruchai paṇḍita-kora |
heraite sahacara sukhe bhela bhora ||
nikuñja-mandira prabhu kayala bithāra |
bhūme pari kahe kāhā murali hāmāra ||
kāhā govardhana yamunāko kūla |
kāhā mālatī yuthī campaka-phula ||
śivānanda kahe pahū śuni rasa-vāṇī |
yāhā pahū gadādhara tāhā rasa-khāni ||

[Bhakti-ratnākara, xii.]

« Young Gaura is enjoying the *holi* sport. (He has held) Gadādhara, a clever girl as it were, between his arms. Drops of perspiration (have appeared) over his face; his limbs have hairs standing on their end; and, in ecstasy, tears are flowing from the (corners of his) eyes. He is singing, along with Narahari, about the love stories of the Vraja; and Mukunda, Murāri and Vāsu, are dancing in great delight. Now and

then he swoons away into the arms of the Paṇḍita, on seeing which his companions are intoxicated with pleasure. Then the Master initiates the Vraja sports. He falls to the ground and cries, 'Where is my flute? Where is Govardhana? Where are the banks of the Yamunā? And where are *mālatī*, *yūthī*, and *campaka* flowers?' On hearing these sportive words of the Master, Śivānanda replies: 'Where there is Gadādhara there is sport in its entirety.'»

Śivānanda-Sena [*c.* A.C. 1512].

The following autobiographical poem is undoubtedly of the authorship of Śivānanda Sena [see *supra*, p. 50]:—

dayāmaya gaura-hari nadiyā-līlā sāṅga kari—
hāy hāy ki kapāla manda |
gelā nāthā nīlācale e dāsere ekā phele
nā ghucila mora bhava-bandha ||
ādeśa karilā yāhā niścaya pāliba tāhā
kintu ekā ki-rūpe rahiba |
putra parivāra yata lāgibe viṣera mata
tomā vinā ki-mate goṅāba ||
gauṛīya yātrika sane vatsarānte darśane
kahila yāite nīlācale |
kirūpe sahiyā raba saṃvatsara kāṭāiba
yuga-śata jñāna kari tile ||
hao prabhu kṛpāvān kara anumati dānā
niti niti heri pada-dvandva |
yadi nā ādeśa kara ohe prabhu viśvambhara
ātma-ghātī habe śivānanda || [GPT., p. 382.]

«Gaura-hari the merciful has put an end to his career in Nadiyā. Alas, alas, what ill-luck! The lord has gone to Nīlācala after having left this servant of his alone. My worldly ties have not yet been unfastened. I must do what he has commanded; but how can I remain here alone? My children and my family—they would appear as bitter as poison; how shall I pass my days without you? You have told me to come to Nīlācala at the end of a year along with the pilgrims from Bengal; but how shall I have the patience to stay and pass a year, when a moment to me is as long as a hundred *yugas*? Be merciful, Master mine, and allow me to have a daily sight of your feet; and if you do not, O my master Viśvambhara, Śivānanda will slay himself.»

Yadunandana-dāsa (i) [*c.* A. C. 1583].

Yadunandana-Cakravartī, or Yadunandana-dāsa (i), was the disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa (not Gadādhara Paṇḍita) who was one of the prominent followers of Caitanya-deva and was subsequently a companion of Nityānanda in his later life. Yadunandana lived at Katwa, and in the month of Kārttika (October-November) of A.C. 1583 or 1584, on the occasion of the anniversary of his master's death and immediately after the return of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya from Vṛndāvana *viā* Viṣṇupura, he held a festival in which all the leading Vaiṣṇavas of the day participated [Bhakti-ratnākara, ix].

This Yadunandana was a poet, and according to the testimony of the *Bhakti ratnākara*, he composed poems upon Caitanya-deva [*op. cit.*, pp. 592-93]. Yadunandana-Ācāryā, a prominent disciple of Advaita-Ācārya, was a contemporary of our poet. But there is nothing to prove that he had written anything by way of poems or songs.[1] There was also a third Yadunandana, Yadunandana-dāsa, who was a Vaidya by caste, and a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya as well as of his daughter Hemalatā-Devī. This Yadunandana-dāsa will be dealt with later on.

It appears that Yadunandana-Cakravartī wrote poems with *bhs.*, Yadunandana, Yadu, Yadunātha and Yadunātha-dāsa. These same *bhs.* were used by the later poet Yadunandana-dāsa (ii) also. This is no doubt perplexing. But there is a good criterion of finding out the poems of the earlier poet. This poet was a devoted disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa, and as such, it will be quite safe to ascribe to him those songs which deals with his *guru* Gadādhara. The later poet did not belong to the school of Gadādhara, and therefore it is quite unlikely that he was the author of these poems. Moreover these poems bear the stamp of realism and sincerity which can be expected from one who has actually seen the characters concerned.

Adopting the above criterion we find only two Brajabuli poems which can be ascribed to Yadunandana-Cakravartī [PKT. 2180, 2182]. His Bengali songs in PKT. number about ten. The author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* mentions one Bengali poem [PKT. 1947, where the

[1] The compiler of GPT. is totally wrong in identifying the poet Yadunandana referred to in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* with Yadunandana-Ācārya. He is also mistaken in ascribing the *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rasa-līlā-kadamba* to the latter [*vide* GPT., Introduction, p. 156].

last couplet with the *bh.* is lacking] as the work of Yadunandana-Cakravartī [*tatrādau śrī-dāsa-gadādhara-ṭhakkurasya śiṣya-śrī-yadunandana-cakravartī-kṛta-gīte yathā* : Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 904].

The following Brajabuli poem is given as a specimen composition of the poet :

gaura gadādhara duhū tanu sundara
aparupa prema bithāra ।
duhū duhū haraṣe paraśe yaba vilasaye
amiyā barikhe anivāra ॥
dekha dekha aparupa duhū-jana-neha ।
ko achu bhāva premamaya cāturī
nimajiyā pāoba theha ॥
kare kare nayane nayane yo-i mādhurī
so saba bujhaba ki hāma ।
aparupa rūpa heri tanu camakita
akhila-bhuvane anupāma ॥
amiyā-putalī kiye rasamaya-mūrati
kiye duhū prema-ākāra ।
heraite jaga-jana- -tanu-mana bhūlaye
yadu kiye pāoba pāra ॥ [PKT. 2182.]

« Gaura and Gadādhara, both are handsome persons ; their (mutual) love is wonderful in its extent. When they disport themselves joyously in each other's company, it seems as if nectar rains down in torrents. Look at the wonderful mutual love of the two ! Who can plunge into and gauge the depth and the playfulness of it ? The sweetness (which is manifested when their) hands (touched and their) eyes (met) is beyond my comprehension. On looking at the extreme loveliness of their persons, which is unsurpassed in the world, (I feel) dazed. Are they images made of sweetness only ? Are they made of *rasa* ? Or, are they two love incarnate ? On beholding (them) the mind and body of all persons in this universe are moved and attracted. How can Yadu fathom it ? »

[Gadādhara-dāsa, like Gadādhara Paṇḍita, was also an incarnation of Rādhā, but only partially. Hence in this fancied picture Gadādhara has been attributed with the function of Rādhā.]

It should be mentioned in this connection that the poems which contain the *bh.* of Yadunātha are generally ascribed to the authorship of

one Yadunātha Kavicandra who has been mentioned in CC. among the followers of Nityānanda. It is needless to say that there is no evidence whatsoever, except the title *Kavi-candra* 'the moon among poets,' that can connect him with the authorship of those or any other vernacular poem. In those days, it must not be forgotten, these titles were bestowed for Sanskrit scholarship only. The only exception however was Govinda-dāsa Kavirāja, but then he was an exceptionally brilliant and prolific poet. So we are obliged to dismiss Yadunātha Kavicandra.

Mādhava-dāsa [*c.* A. C. 1583].

The poet Mādhava-dāsa was very probably the same as Mādhava-Ācārya, the author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*. Mādhava's father was Kālidāsa-Miśra, a Vaidika Brahmin of Navadvīpa. This Kālidāsa was the younger brother of Sanātana, the father-in-law of Caitanya-deva. His mother was left a widow when Mādhava was a mere child of eight years. But the boy was a prodigy. In a few years he had learnt a great deal and won the title of 'Ācārya.'[1] The Master and his followers loved young Mādhava who got his spiritual initiation from Advaita-prabhu at the instance of Caitanya-deva. His *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*, a free and very poetic translation of the tenth and eleventh books of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, established his fame as a poet. In his poems Mādhava subscribes himself as Mādhava-dāsa, Dvija Mādhava or simply Mādhava. Mādhava was present at the festival at Khetari.

There was another Mādhava-Ācārya who was the husband of Gaṅgā-Devī the daughter of Nityānanda-prabhu. But we do not know whether he had written any songs or not.

The following poems will show that Mādhava's Brajabuli verses have considerable poetic merit and metric charm :—

śārada-sudhākara kiye mukha-śobhā |
kuṅkuma-kāñcana- bijuri-gorocana-
campakā-haraṇa baraṇa mana-lobhā ||
dekha dekha rādhā-rūpa apārā |
madana-mohana bāhite anukhana
lāvaṇi-prema-amiyā-rasa-dhārā ||
śira-para kusama-khacita vara-veṇī |
lambita hṛdi-para moti-māla vara
sumeru bhediā janu bahata triveṇī ||

[1] From the *Prema-vilāsa* quoted in GPT., Introduction, pp. 145 f.

kanaka-karabha-kara bhuja-vara sāje |
keśari-khina-kaṭi maṇi-kiṅkiṇi-taṭī
gati gaja-rāja-manohara rāje ||
thala-paṅkaja pada-śobhā |
nakhara-mukura maṇi- mañjīra raṇa-raṇi
mādhava-nayana-bhramara-cita-kṣobhā || [PKT. 2461.]

«What loveliness of face, like the autumnal moon! Her complexion, which has stolen the charms of saffron, gold, lightning-flash, yellow pigment and the *campaka* flower, carries away the heart. Just look at the great beauty of Rādhā! It is a stream of loveliness, and of the nectar of love, to be rowed over by the Charmer of the god of love (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa). On her head there is a fine coiffure embellished with flowers: against her heart dangles a glorious necklace of pearls, as if the three-streamed river flows through the Mount Sumeru. Her lovely arms look as beautiful as the trunk of a golden elephant-calf; around her waist, as thin as the loin of a lion, there is a girdle of jewels; and her gait is as rhythmic as the stepping of a big elephant. The beauty of her feet resembles that of the *sthala-padma* flower, the beauty of her toe-nails defy mirrors, and her jewelled anklets tinkle. (The sight of) this (beauty) charms the heart of the bees that are but the eyes of Mādhava.»

jaya nāgara-vara-mānasa-haṃsī |
akhila-ramaṇī-hṛdi-mada-vidhvaṃsī ||
jaya jaya jaya vṛṣabhānu-kumārī |
madana-mohana-mana-pañjara-śārī ||
jaya yuvarāja-hṛdaya-vana-hariṇī |
śrī-vṛndāvana-kuñjara-kariṇī ||
kuñja-bhavana-siṃhāsana-rāṇī |
racayati mādhava kātara-vāṇī || [PKT. 2665.]

« Glory be to the swan in the Mānasa (the heart or the lake) of the great lover, who sweeps away the pride in the heart of the entire women-folk. Thrice blessed be the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu, who is the parrot in the cage of the heart of the Charmer of the god of love. Glory be to the doe of the woodland of the Prince's heart, who is also the mate of the elephant of the glorious Vṛndāvana. She is the queen on the throne of the garden pavilion. Mādhava composes this with all humility.»

Dvija Haridāsa [c. A. C. 1533].

There were several Haridāsas among the followers of Caitanya-deva. Our poet, Haridāsa, or Dvija Haridāsa as he frequently mentions himself, was one of them. Our poet Haridāsa-Acārya's native place was Kāñcana-gaṛiyā, but in his advanced age he lived at Vṛndāvana. At his request Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya initiated his two sons, Gokulānanda and Śrīdāsa [PKT. 17 ; Bhakti-ratnākara, i, vi].

Dvija Haridāsa's *Nāma-saṅkīrtana*, a poem containing one hundred and eight different names of Śrīkṛṣṇa, the Supreme Being, is daily recited even now in every devout Vaiṣṇava home in Bengal. Besides that poem there are about half a dozen lyrical poems or songs of his in the anthologies. Of these four are written in Brajabuli [PKT. 129, 298, 1468, 1469].

The Brajabuli poems of Haridāsa are not absolutely stale. Thus—

dūtī-mukhe śunaite aichana rīta |
saba-aṅga pulakita, camakita cīta ||
kahaite gada-gada kaṇṭhahi bola |
sakhī-mukha nirakhaï antara dola ||
iṅgita jāni banāyala veśa |
sindūra deyala bāndhala keśa ||
saba sakhī-gaṇa meli kayala payāna |
niśabade calalihu, ko-i nā jāna ||
calaite pada dui thara-thari kāpa |
heraite pantha nayana-yuga jhāpa ||
aichane milala nāgara-pāśa |
pahila-milana kahe dvija haridāsa || [PKT. 129.]

«On hearing of such conduct (on the part of Kṛṣṇa) from the messenger, the entire body (of Rādhā) horripilated and her heart was wonder-struck. When going to speak her voice choked, and when looking up at her friend her heart misgave her. Knowing her heart her friend dressed her up; she painted her forehead with vermilion, and did her hair. Then all friends went out together. They walked so silently that none could perceive them. When walking forward a step or two she trembled violently, and when looking forward for her way she shut both her eyes. In this manner she came to her lover. So Dvija Haridāsa speaks of their first meeting.»

e dhani mānini māna nibāro |
ābīre aruṇa śyāma- aṅga-mukura-para
nija pratibimba nehāro ||
tuhū eka ramaṇī- śiromaṇi rasavatī
kouna aiche jaga-māha |
tohāri samuke śyāma-saṅe bilasaba
kaichana rasa-niravāha ||
aichana sahacarī- vacana śravaṇe dhari
sarame bharame mukha pheri |
īṣata hāsi mane māna teyāgala
ulasita dohē dohā heri ||
puna saba-jana meli karaye vinoda-keli
picakāri kari nija-hāte |
dvija hari-dāsa ābīra yogāyata
sakala sakhā-gaṇa-sāthe || [PKT. 1469.]

During the Holi sport Rādhā saw her own reflection on Kṛṣṇa's person which behaved like a mirror, being thoroughly besmeared with red dust (*ābīra*). She mistook it for another woman in his embrace, and therefore became cross. Then a friend speaks to her thus :

« 'O you offended girl, away with your temper! Just look at your own image on the mirror-like body of Śyāma, red with *ābīra* dust. You are the only lovable jewel of a girl: who is there another such in the world, who dares flirt with Śyāma in your presence? How can there be any joy?' On hearing these words of her friend she turned her face away, being ashamed of her mistake, and smiling aside, she gave up sulk. Both of them were glad and gazed at one another. Once again they all took up syringes and resumed their sport. Dvija Haridāsa, along with the boy friends, supplied them with *ābīra* dust. »

In the colophon of one of his Bengali songs the poet says :

ante śrīnivāsa-padaṅ sevā-yukta ye sampad
se sampaderaṅ sampadī ye hay |
tāraṅ bhukta-grāsa-śeṣe kibā gauṇa-vraja-vāse
dante-tṛṇa haridāse kay || [PKT. 3014.]

This proves conclusively that our poet is the same as Dvija Haridāsa who had settled at Vṛndāvana.

'Mādhavī-dāsa.'

We have already dealt with two Mādhavas, Mādhava-Ghoṣa and Mādhava-dāsa. Now comes 'Mādhavī-dāsa.' 'Mādhavī-dāsa' is generally identified with Mādhavī, the sister of Śikhī- and Murāri-Māhiti, two Oriya followers of Caitanya deva.[1] But why should Mādhavī a woman mention herself as 'dāsa' instead of the proper form 'dāsī?' To this the theorists say that she was a very learned and competent person, and so people respected her as much as if she were a man. But the theorists forget that Mādhavī was a devout Vaiṣṇava, and it is the esoteric practice of Vaiṣṇavas to think themselves as women, friends and attendants of Rādhā, and as a matter of fact many Vaiṣṇava (male) poets have subscribed themselves as 'dāsī.' Moreover 'Mādhavī-dāsa' mentions that he (or she) was unfortunate enough not to have a sight of Caitanya-deva's divine face.

> ye dekhaye gorā-mukha se-i preme bhāse |
> mādhavī vañcita haila nija karma-doṣe || [PKT. 2240.]

This fact the theorists explain away saying that Mādhavī as a woman was not allowed to see the face of Caitanya-deva. But this is an inversion of the real fact. Caitanya-deva as a devout *sannyāsin* was debarred from looking up intentionally at the face of, or talking with, a woman, but a woman had nothing to prohibit her from having a sight of a *sannyāsin*, and for that matter, of Caitanya-deva. The proper explanation would be that 'Mādhavī-dāsa' was born after the demise of the Master.

From the colophon of one of his poems one can surmise that Paṇḍita Jagadānanda, one of the prominent followers of Caitanya-deva, was the spiritual preceptor of 'Mādhavī-dāsa.'

> mādhavī-dāsera ṭhākura paṇḍita paṛila ācchāṛe gā || [PKT. 1853.]

This is the only sure fact we know about the poet. Probably he lived at Puri because all of his songs on Caitanya-deva are concerned only with his life at Nīlācala. No Oriya poem of his has as yet been found, and not even a trace of Oriya language is to be found in his Bengali or Brajabuli poems. So it is hazardous to posit that he (or she) was an Oriya.

[1] GPT., Introduction, pp. 147 ff.

The following is one of the only two Brajabuli poems of Mādhavī-dāsa. It should be mentioned here that the close similarity between the names Mādhava-dāsa and Mādhavī-dāsa may have been responsible for some confusion on the part of the scribes of the mediaeval anthologies in ascribing a particular poem to either of them.

rādhā mādhava bilasai kuñja-ka mājha |
tanu-tanu-sarasa- paraśa-rasa pibai
kamalinī madhukara-rāja ||
sacakite nāgara kāpaï thara-thara
śithila hoyala saba-aṅga |
gada-gada kahaye rāi bhela adaraśa
kaba hoyaba tachu saṅga ||
so dhanī-cāda- vayana kiye heraba
śunaba amiyāmaya bola |
iha majhu hṛdaya- tāpa kiye meṭaba
soï karaba kiye kola ||
aichana kata-hū bilapaï mādhava
sahacarī dūrahi hāsa |
aparupa-preme viṣādita-antara
kahatahi mādhavī-dāsa || [PKT. 775.]

« Rādhā and Mādhava are sporting in the garden house. The king of bees is drinking the ambrosia of the touch of the beautiful body of the lotus (Rādhā). With a start the lover begins to tremble violently; his limbs are paralysed. He speaks falteringly, 'Rādhā is out of sight: when shall I meet her again? Shall I look again at that moon-like face of hers, and hear her sweet speech? Is this anguish of my heart going to be cooled down? Will she take me up in her arms?' In this way Mādhava (Kṛṣṇa) laments, and his companions laugh from afar. So says Mādhavī-dāsa whose heart is sorrowful at this show of unparalleled love. »

Puruṣottama-dāsa.

Puruṣottama was the son of Sadāśiva Kavirāja, and like his father, was a devoted follower of Nityānanda-prabhu. His native place was Kumārahaṭṭa (Hāli-sahar) near Naihati. The poet Devakī-nandana was a disciple of Puruṣottama.

It is strange that none of the existing poems (numbering twelve) Puruṣottama deal with the Caitanya topic. All of them are about

Māthura (*i e.*, Kṛṣṇa's exodus to Mathurā). The following are specimens of his Brajabuli writing. His Brajabuli poems number nine only [PKT. 1754, 1756-57, 1762, 1868-72].

gokula-nagare bhramaye janu bāurī
udasala kuntala-bhāra |
kāhā majhu prāṇa- tanaya vraja-nandana
kahaïte bahe jala-dhāra ||

mādhava so jananī nanda-rāṇī |
tuyā virahānale umatī pāgalī janu
kāhāre ki pūchaye vāṇī ||

aba kāhe veṇu- śabada nāhi śūniye
kona kānana-māhā gela |
bujhi balarāma saṅge nāhi geyala
kī paramāda āju bhela ||

aiche vilāpa śunaï pura-sahacarī
roï āota tachu pāśa |
bahu parabodha- vacane gṛhe ānata
kaha puruṣottama-dāsa || [PKT. 1756.]

Some *gopī* mentally addresses Kṛṣṇa describing the sufferings of his mother separated from him :

« With her hair dishevelled she wanders in the town of Gokula like a distracted woman. She weeps and says, 'Where is my dearest son, the delight of the Vraja ?' O Mādhava, (your) mother, the queen of Nanda, separated from you, behaves like a mad woman and speaks incoherently to people. (She wails,) 'Why do I not hear the sound of his flute now ? To what forest has he gone ? Perhaps Balarāma has not escorted him to-day. What a calamity it is to-day !' On hearing such talks of her a lady of that town comes to her weeping, and consoling her, she takes her to her home. So says Puruṣottama-dāsa. »

The following poem is a touching description of the Vraja when Kṛṣṇa had left that place for Mathurā :

gokula chāṛi yaba-hū tuhū āyali
taba bihi pratikūla bhela |
baraja-vāsī kiye thābara jaṅgama
viraha-dahane dahi gela ||

tuyā priya yata-hū surabhi-kula ākula
tṛṇa-kavala kari mukhe |
heri mathurā-pura locana jhara-jhara
pāṇi nā pibata dūkhe ||
kokila-bhramara- sārī-śuka-vara
royata taru-para baiṭhi |
tohāri mayūra mṛgī-kūla lūṭhaye
śakati nāhi vane paiṭhi ||
taru-kula-pallava saba-hū śukhāyala
tejala kusuma-vikāśe |
eta-hū vipade tohe kataye nibedaba
dukhī puruṣottama-dāse || [PKT. 1754.]

« Fate is going against Gokula since you have left that place. All the inhabitants of the Vraja, whether moving or immovable, are burnt up in the fire of separation (from you). All the cows that were dear to you are troubled, and, with mouthfuls of grass in their mouth, they are looking away towards the city of Mathurā; in sorrow they are not even drinking water. Cuckoos, bees, *sārikās* and parrots—they are all weeping, perched on trees. Your pet peafowl and deer are rolling in dust; they have not the strength to go to the forest. All trees and plants have given up putting on blossoms, and their leaves are all withered. How much of such calamities can poor Puruṣottama-dāsa can narrate to you ? »

Paramānanda-dāsa [Born ? 1527 A. C.].

Paramānanda-Sena, or Kavi-karṇapūra, or simply Karṇapūra as he was generally known, was the youngest of the three sons of Śivānanda-Sena. He was born sometime about 1527 A.C. at Kāñcarā-pāṛā. As a child he was a prodigy, and at the age of seven he was blessed with the grace of Caitanya-deva who affectionately called him Purī-dāsa. His name Paramānanda-dāsa (also Purī-dāsa) was given to him by his father at the request of the Master who had asked Śivānanda to name his youngest son after Paramānanda-Purī whom Caitanya-deva held in great esteem.

Paramānanda grew up to become a good poet and a better Sanskrit scholar. His works range from epic poetry to dramaturgy. The following are the principal Sanskrit works of the poet: *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū*, *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (an epic poem on the life of

Caitanya-deva written in ? 1570 A.C.), *Caitanya-candrodaya-nāṭaka* (on the same subject and written in 1572 A.C.), *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* (a work on rhetorics and dramaturgy), and a century of Sanskrit verses in *Āryā* metre. Karṇapūra was present at the festival at Khetarī.

Most of the poet's songs are written about Caitanya-deva. Paramānanda's Brajabuli songs in PKT. number only six [183, 1585, 2858, 2871, 2906, 2974].

Below are given some specimens of his Brajabuli composition.

ārati yugala-kiśora-ki kīje |
tanu-mana-dhana-hu nichāwari dīje ||
pahirana nīla-pītāmbara-sārī |
kuñja-vihāriṇī kuñja-vihārī ||
ravi-śaśi-koṭi vadana achu śobhā |
yo nirakhati mana bheo ati-lobhā ||
ratane jaṛita maṇi-māṇika-moti |
ḍaga-maga duhū-tanu jhalakata joti ||
nanda-nandana vṛṣabhānu-kiśorī |
paramānanda-pahu yāwa balihāri || [PKT. 2858.]

«The *ārati* ceremony of the young couple (Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) is being held: life, heart and all possessions are offered to them. The frequenters of the grove, he and she, have put on blue and yellow garments respectively. The beauty of their faces defies that of tens of millions of suns and moons: on looking at it the heart is full of excessive desire. Their supple bodies adorned with diamonds and pearls, are effulgent. The son of Nanda and the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu, the Masters of Paramānanda :—to them be all glory !»

śrī-śacīṇandana nadiyā-avatārī |
ujjvala-baraṇa gaura-rūpa-dhārī ||
āge nāma jagata paracāri |
sakaruṇa aiche patita-jana tāri ||
saṅkīrttana-rasa-nṛttya-vihārī |
avirala-pulaka bhakata-hitakārī ||
nācata gāota tribhuvana bhari |
trijagata-jana bolata balihāri ||
vāme gadādhara rājata raṅgī |
cau-diśe upanīta śobhita saṅgī ||

avirata nayane bahata prema-dhārā |
mohata bhāgata kali-ādhiyārā ||
karaï āliṅgana nāhi vicāra |
nirupama guṇa-gaṇa bhāva apāra ||

nīlācale basata śacīnandana |
darśana karu niti deva yadu-nandana ||
aṅge vilepita sugandhi-candana |
rūpaka saba-hi karata abhinandana ||
karuṇāmaya prabhu premahi yāwata |
paramānanda-ka bhaya dūrahi bhāgata ||

[GPT., p. 403.]

«The glorious son of Śacī has incarnated in Nadiyā: he is with a dazzling fair complexion. From the first, he, the merciful one, has introduced the Name of God, and thus has saved the sinful men. He delights in dancing in the ecstasy of *saṅkīrttana*: he always horripilates in ecstatic joy, and he ever does good to the devout people. He dances and sings, to the joy of the world, and the people are charmed with it. To his left stands sportive Gadādhara, and he is surrounded by all his followers present. Tears of love perpetually stream down his eyes, and the dark sin of *Kali* is driven away. He embraces all without consideration: he is full of unparalleled virtues and immeasurably deep feelings. The son of Śacī dwells at Nīlācala where he has the daily sight of God, the Scion of the race of Yadu. He is painted with sweet-smelling sandal: everybody is rejoiced on seeing his beauty. The merciful Master is full of love: and Paramānanda drives away his fear.»

Locana-dāsa [? 1523—? 1589].

Locana-dāsa was born sometime about 1523 A.C. at Ko-grāma, near Maṅgala-koṭṭ in the district of Burdwan. His father was Kamalākara-dāsa, mother Sadānandī, and maternal grandfather Puruṣottama-Gupta.[1] Narahari-Sarkār was Locana's *guru* Locana has sometimes given his name as Tri-locana or Su-locana.

Locana wrote his biography of Caitanya-deva, the *Caitanya-maṅgala*, at the instance of his *guru* Narahari-Sarkār, just as his predecessor Vṛndāvana-dāsa did at the instance of Nityānanda-prabhu. It is said that Vṛndāvana-dāsa also had named his work as *Caitanya-maṅgala*,

[1] The poet has given an autobiographical sketch in his *Caitanya-maṅgala* (Śeṣa-khaṇḍa).

but at the request of his mother (?) he changed it to *Caitanya-bhāgavata*. Locana in his work mentions Vṛndāvana's *magnum opus*, which was known to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and which the latter has mentioned as *Caitanya-maṅgala*.

As contrasted with Vṛndāvana's *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, Locana's *Caitanya-maṅgala* is written in perfect 'maṅgala-kāvya' style. There is section in chapters, and the book is further divided into four parts termed 'Khaṇḍa.' The exact date of composition of this work cannot be determined at the present state of our knowledge. The tradition has it that the biography was written as early as 1537 A.C. But this date is evidently false. Locana-dāsa does not compare favourably with Vṛndāvana-dāsa as a biographer of Caitanya-deva, but undoubtedly, he was a far superior poet. This will be clear from the specimens of his lyric poems, which are quoted hereinafter.

Locana was present at the festival at Khetarī. He died probably in 1589 A.C. Besides the *Caitanya-maṅgala* Locana produced a few other works of which the most important are the *Durlabha-sāra* and a metrical translation of the verse portions of Rāya Rāmānanda's *Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka*. The language of the following passage from the latter work of Locana is rather amusing. The metre is the same in both the original and the translation.

(Original)

mañjutara-guñjad-ali-puñjam ati-bhīṣaṇam |
manda-marud-antaraga-gandha-kṛta-dūṣaṇam ||
sakalam etad īritam |
kiñca guru-pañcaśara-cañcalam mama jīvitam ||
matta-pika-datta-rujam uttamādhi-karaṃ vanam |
saṅga-sukham aṅgam api tuṅga-bhaya-bhājanam ||
rudra-nṛpam āśu yidadhātu sukha-saṅkulam |
rāma-pada-dhāma-kavi-rāya-kṛtam ujjvalam ||

[Act iii.]

(Translation)

guñja ali-puñja bahu kuñje rahu mātiyā |
matta-pika datta-rave phāṭe majhu chātiyā |
valli-yuta mallī-phula-gandha saha mārutā |
kunda-kali-śṛṅga ali-vṛnda kāhū nṛtyatā ||

sakhi manda majhu bhāgiyā |
kānta vinā bhrānta prāṇa kāhe rahu bāciyā ||
bhasma-tanu puṣpa-dhanu saṅge rasa pūriyā |
aṅga majhu bhaṅga karu prāṇa yāku phāṭiyā ||
paśya majhu duḥkha heri roye paśu pākhī re |
vallī nava kuñja bhela tuṅga-bhaya-bhājī re ||
gaccha sakhi puccha kibā āni deha nāha re |
sparśa-sukha darśa lāgi locana-ka āśa re ||

For the translation of the original passage see *supra* under Rāya Rāmānanda.

Locana, instead of giving a Bengali or Brajabuli translation, has paraphrased in Sanskrit with a few vernacular forms the last song of the drama. The passage is this—

(Original)

pariṇata-śārada-śaśadhara-vadanā |
militā pāṇi-tale guru-madanā ||
devi kim iha param asti mad-iṣṭam |
bahutara-sukṛta-phalitam anudiṣṭam ||
pika-vidhū-madhu-madhupāvali-caritam |
racayati mām adhunā sukha-bharitam ||
praṇayatu rudra nṛpe sukham amṛtam |
rāmānanda-bhaṇita-hari-ramitam || [Act v]

(Locana's Adaptation)

nirmala-śārada-śaśadhara-vadanī |
vidalita-kāñcana-nindita-baraṇī ||
pika-ruta-gañjita-sumadhura-vacanā |
mohana-kṛta-kari-śata-śata-madanā ||
devi śṛṇu vacanam mama sāram |
kila guṇa-dhāma militam anuvāram ||
ciradina-vāñchita yad iha mad-iṣṭam |
tava kṛpayāpi phalita-mano'bhīṣṭam ||
idam anu kiṃ mama yācitam asti |
nikhila-carācare priyam api nāsti ||
praṇayatu rasika-hṛdaya-sukham amitam |
locana-mohana-mādhava-caritam ||

«Her face is as beautiful as the clear moon in autumn, and her complexion puts to shame purified gold. Her voice is as sweet as the notes of the cuckoo: she has captivated hundreds of gods of love. Lady, hear my good words: I have at last come in with the Seat of all Virtues (Kṛṣṇa). My desire, which I entertained so long, has at last attained fulfilment through your grace. After this what can there be that I want? I have nothing dearer in the whole world. May the deeds of Mādhava, which have charmed Locana, greatly delight the hearts of the appreciative people.»

Locana's Brajabuli writings consist of the few songs in translation of the Sanskrit drama mentioned before. But in his Bengali writings there are not a few traces of Brajabuli forms and idioms. That Locana was a very good poet even in those days when poets cropped up everywhere in Western Bengal can be seen from the rather long Bengali poem in PKT. [2129], which is taken from his *Caitanya-maṅgala* (Madhya-khaṇḍa).

To Locana alone belongs the unique credit of using in high literature the popular free metre, based on uniform feet of four *mātrās* (mora) instead of *akṣara* (syllable) as in ordinary *payāra* and *tripadī* verse and having strong stress at the head of each foot. These poems are generally known as Locana-dāsa's *dhāmālī pada* (playful verse). They are written in Bengali and upon the Kṛṣṇa legend as well as on the Caitanya theme. The language of these poems is simple to the extreme, being the utterance of women exclusively; these contain a great deal of women's idiom and vocabulary. The free and tripping rhythm, and the simple language and homely thought of these poems, is very refreshing in the midst of the monotonousness and artificiality of the bulk of Vaiṣṇava lyric literature. Locana got the hint of this style and model from the writings of his *guru*, Narahari-Sarkār, a poet of no mean merit.

The following poem is quoted as a specimen:

ār śunyācha	ālo sai	gorā-bhāverṅ	kathā ;
konerṅ bhitarṅ	kula-vadhū	kāndyā ākulṅ	tathā ॥
haldi bā-	-ṭite gorī	basila ya-	-tane ;
haldi-baraṇṅ	gorā cāḍṅ	paṛyā gela	mane ॥
kiserṅ rādhaṇṅ	kiserṅ bāraṇṅ	kiserṅ haldi	bāṭā ;
ākhirṅ jale	bukṅ bhijila	bhāsyā gela	pāṭā ॥

uṭhila gau-	-rāṅga bhāvaṅ	sambarite	nāre ।
lohete bhi-	-jila bāṭaṅ	gela chāre-	-khāre ॥
locaṅ bale	ālo sai	ki baliba	ārṅ ।
hay nāi	habārṅ nay	gorā ava-	-tārṅ ॥

[PKT. 2174.]

« By the way, my friend, have you heard tales about the attractiveness of Gaura? Even the daughter-in-law of a family is beside herself with weeping in her nook. The fair lady began to pound turmeric with care, but it reminded her of the moon-like Gorā who has the complexion of turmeric. What for, then, cooking? What is the use of serving? Why then pound turmeric? Her tears drenched her bust and her wooden seat was in flood. Her heart was flooded with love for Gaurāṅga, and she could not check herself. The curry spices pounded and made into a paste were mingled with tears and became absolutely useless. Locana says, 'O my friend, what more can I say? An incarnation like that of Gorā did not happen in the past, nor can it happen in future.' »

Jñānadāsa [born *c.* 1530 A.C.].

Jñānadāsa is one of best poets of Brajabuli as well as of Bengali literature. The poet's native place was Kāḍḍrā, a few miles to the north of Burdwan, where an annual gathering of Vaiṣṇavas is held in his honour. Jñānadāsa was a Brahmin. He received his spiritual initiation from Jāhnavā-Devī, one of the two wives of Nityānanda, and as such, he has been mentioned among the followers of Nityānanda-prabhu [CC. i. 11]. Jñānadāsa was present at the Katwa as well as at the Khetarī festival. Nothing further is known about the poet.

Though it is quite usual in Vaiṣṇava lyric literature that the same poem, with or without variants, is often attributed to different poets in different anthologies, in Jñānadāsa's important pieces this is specially noticeable. It cannot, however, be always maintained that later and inferior poets have replaced his name by their own. We have remarked in connection with Rāmānanda-Vasu that Jñānadāsa had worked upon and amplified one of his poems. Song 784 in PKT., which is one of the best poems of Jñānadāsa, is found with the *bh.* of 'Yadunātha-dāsa' in the *Pāda-rasa-sāra* [PKT., ii., p. 95].

Jñānadāsa's Brajabuli poems in the anthology of Vaiṣṇava-dāsa number about one hundred and five. With the exception of Govindadāsa Kavirāja, Jñānadāsa was the most careful writer of Brajabuli, though

there are a few poems where Brajabuli is greatly mixed up with Bengali. The following poem will show that Jñānadāsa could write good Brajabuli when he so liked.

lahu lahu mucaki hāsi cali āoli
puna puna herasi pheri |
janu rati-pati sañe milana-raṅgabhūme
aichana kayala pucheri ||
dhani he būjhalū e-saba bāta |
eta-dine tuhū-ka manoratha pūrala
bheṭali kānuka sātha ||
yaba tohe sakhī-gaṇa nirajane pūchala
taba tuhū chāpali kāy |
aba bihi so-saba bekata kayala sakhi
kaichane gopabi tāy ||
cori-ka vacana kahata saba guru-jana
so saba pāyalū sākhi |
daśa-dina durajana eka-dina sujana-ka
āju dekhalū paratekhi ||
hāma-saba nija-jana kahasi rāti-dina
so saba bujhalū āja kāje |
jñānadāsa kaha sakhi tuhū biramaha
rāï pāyala bahu lāje || [PKT. 230.]

On finding out the secret love of Rādhā, one of her friends speaks to her thus:

'You came away all smiles, but on your way you were repeatedly turning and looking back, as if you had met your god of love in a pavilion of joy. So they (*i. e.*, your other friends) questioned you. My lady, I have understood the matter: at last your desire has been fulfilled and you have met Kānu. But when your friends questioned you in private (about it), why did you keep it secret? But friend, now Providence has revealed it all. How would you now keep it secret? Your superiors talk about your secret love: now I have found its proof, and I have also found out the truth of the proverb—ten days for the thief and one day for honest folk.[1] You always speak of us as your own people, but I have understood its significance.' Jñānadāsa says, 'My friend, you just stop; Rāï has been sufficiently abashed.'

[1] That is, the thief may get ten opportunities of plying his sinful trade, but there is a day when he is sure to be found out.

The following is a specimen of Jñānadāsa's poems on Caitanya-deva :

hema-baraṇa vara- sundara-vigraha
sura-taru-vara-parakāśa ।
pulaka patra-nava prema pakva-phala
kusuma manda-mṛdu-hāsa ॥
nācata gaura manohara adabhuta
rājita suradhuni-dhāra ।
tri-jagata-loka oka-bhari pāola
bhakati-ratana-maṇihāra ॥
bhāva-vibhavamaya rasa rūpa anubhava
suvalita sukhamaya aṅga ।
dvirada-matta-gati ati-sumanohara
murachita lākha-anaṅga ॥
dhani khiti-maṇḍala dhani nadiyā-pura
dhani dhani iha kali-kāla ।
dhani avatāra dhani re dhani kīrttana
jñānadāsa naha pāra ॥ [PKT. 2062.]

«With the complexion of gold and with a very lovely appearance he is the Tree of Heaven manifest. His horripilations are the new leaves, love the ripe fruit, and gentle and soft smiles are the flowers. So dances Gaura in a manner that is charming and wondrous, illuminating as it were the bank of the Ganges ; and the people of the three worlds have received to their satisfaction the jewelled necklace laid in with the diamond of *bhakti* (devotion to God). His limbs are, as it were, made of the wealth of divine sentiments, of loveliness which can only be imagined, and are well formed and pleasing. His very charming gait was like that of an elephant in rut ; (at his extraordinary loveliness) lakhs of gods of love swoon away. Blessed is this earthly globe ; blessed is the town of Nadiyā, and blessed is the present *Kali* age. Blessed is the Incarnation ; and twice blessed is *Kīrttana*, but Jñānadāsa does not get his salvation.»

In Jñānadāsa's poems written about the Master there is not the direct personal appeal as in the works of the earlier writers such as Narahari, Yadunandana and Vāsudeva, but they are all characterised with elegance of style and diction. This is also true of the similar poems of Govindadāsa Kavirāja.

There are about five poems by Jñānadāsa eulogising Nityānanda-prabhu, which is quite in keeping with the fact that the poet was a disciple of Jāhnavā-devī.

Jñānadāsa in his Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa poems had followed the path of Caṇḍīdāsa, if not in form and style, undoubtedly in thought and manner. In a way Jñānadāsa was a true successor to Caṇḍīdāsa in the same manner as Govindadāsa Kavirāja was to Vidyāpati.

Jñānadāsa had dealt with all the aspects of the Kṛṣṇa legend, but he had treated the minor episodes such as that of 'dāna,' 'naukā,' etc., in detail. All these poems are no doubt excellent, but even more excellent are the poems on 'rasodgāra' (expression of the intensity of love) and 'māthura' (Rādhā's separation from Kṛṣṇa when the latter left Vṛndāvana for Mathurā). The following poems, Brajabuli and Bengali, are quoted as the poet's representative ones. From these it will be seen that the Bengali poems of Jñānadāsa are generally superior to his Brajabuli compositions.

Radhā has seen Kṛṣṇa for the first time with a lover's eye, and she analyses her feelings on that occasion to her friend in this charming lyric of love and passion.

ālo muñi kena gelū kālindīra jale |
cita hari kāliyā nāgara nila chale ||
rūpera pāthāre ākhi ḍubi se rahila |
yauvanera vane mana hārāïyā gela ||
ghare yāite patha mora haila aphurāṇa |
antare bidare hiyā phukare parāṇa ||
candana cādera mājhe mṛgamada dhādhā |
tāra mājhe hiyāra putalī raila bādhā ||
kaṭi pīta-vasana raśana tāhe jaṛā |
vidhi niramila kula-kalaṅkera koṛā ||
jāti kula śīla saba hena bujhi gela |
bhuvana bhariyā mora ghoṣaṇā rahila ||
kulavatī satī haiyā du-kule dilū dukha |
jñānadāsa kahe daṛha kari bādha buka || [PKT. 123.]

'Ah! Why did I go to the waters of the Yamunā? That dark-complexioned lover has, by guile as it were, snatched away my heart. My eyes remained drowned as it were under the flood of (his) loveliness: and my mind lost itself in the wilderness of (his) youth. On my way home the path became endless; (my) heart is cracked within, and (my) life cries (in pain). Within the moon-like mark of sandal there was also painted decorations of musk (on his forehead); and within it the very image of (my) heart was kept fast. About (his) loins there was yellow garment, and it was tied round with a

girdle; and it is fashioned by Providence as the scourge of family scandal. I am afraid that caste, honour, character, my all—are about to be lost, and there will only remain my disreputation filling the whole world. Being a chaste lady of a family I have caused sufferings to both my families.' 'Brace your courage up,' says Jñānadāsa.»

Rādhā is cross with Kṛṣṇa. Her friend tries to interpose, but she does not listen to it. In this poem she exposes Kṛṣṇa's insincerity and faithlessness, and her friend's complicity with him .

pahila-hi cāda kare dila āni |
jhāpala śaila-śikhare eka-pāṇi ||
aba viparīta bhela so-saba kāla |
bāsi kusume kiye gāthaï māla ||
nā bolaha sajani nā bolaha āna |
kī phala āchaye bheṭaba kāna ||
antara vāhira sama naha rīta |
pāṇi taila naha gāṛha pirīta ||
hiyā sama kuliśa vacana madhu-dhāra |
viṣa-ghaṭa-upare dudha-upahāra ||
cāturi becaha gāhaka-ṭhāma |
gopata-prema-sukha iha pariṇāma ||
tuhū kiye śaṭhi nikapaṭe kaha moy |
jñānadāsa kaha samucita hoy || [PKT. 496.]

«'In the beginning he brought the moon down and placed her in my hand, and he covered as it were a whole hill-top with a single palm. Now those days are no more. Can a garland be made of flowers plucked overnight? Do not tell me, O my friend, do not tell me anything more. What is the good of my meeting Kṛṣṇa? His conduct is not sincere; deep love is never like a mixture of water and oil. His heart is like the hard thunderbolt, and his speech is but a stream of honey: he is like a pitcher of poison with an outward layer of milk. Go and sell it by deceit to any wayside buyer. This is the result of the joys of a stealthy love. Confess everything to me, you woman of guile!' 'She is quite right,' says Jñānadāsa.»

Rādhā is deeply in love with Kṛṣṇa. In this verse the poet describes her infinite joy which a sight of her lover gives her.

rūpa dekhi ākhi nāhi neuṭaï
māna anugata nija-lābhe |
aparaśe dei paraśa-sukha-sampada
śyāmara sahaja-svabhāve ||

sakhi he murati piriti-sukha-dātā |
prati-aṅga akhila- anaṅga-sukha-sāyara
nāyara niramila dhātā ||
lilā-lābani avanī alaṅkaru
ki madhura manthara gamane |
lahu-avalokane kata kula-kāminī
śūtala manasija-śayane ||
alakhite hṛdaya-ka antara apaharu
bicharaṇa nā hay svapane |
jñānadāsa kahe taba kaichana haye
tanu-tanu yaba haba milane || [APR. 135.]

«On looking at his beauty the two eyes (of mine) do not return (to me), and my mind is eager for its own gain only. Without touch it gives a wealth of joy: this is the natural way of Śyāma. My friend, his appearance alone gives the pleasures of love. The creator has fashioned (in him) a lover whose each limb is an ocean of love's joys. His graceful loveliness has made the earth gay. What a sweet, slow gait (he has)! With his slightest glance many a virtuous lady has laid herself down on the bed of love. Even unseen he steals the heart, and he cannot be forgotten in sleep too. 'But how would you feel when your bodies would come in contact?' says Jñānadāsa.»

Rādhā's love for Kṛṣṇa has come to a head, which she expresses in this way:

rūpa lāgi ākhi jhure guṇe mana bhora |
prati aṅga lāgi kāde prati aṅga mora ||
hiyāra paraśa lāgi hiyā mora kāde |
parāṇa pirīti lāgi thira nāhi bādhe ||
sai ki āra baliba |
ye puni karyāchi mane se-i se kariba ||
dekhite ye sukha uṭhe ki baliba tā |
daraśa paraśa lāgi āulāiche gā ||
hāsite khasiyā paṛe kata madhu-dhāra |
lahu lahu hāse pahu pirītira sāra ||

guru-garabita-mājhe rahi sakhī-raṅge |
pulake pūraye tanu śyāma-parasaṅge ||
pulaka ḍhākite kari kata parakāra |
nayanera dhārā mora bahe anivāra ||
gharera yateka sabhe kare kānā-kāni |
jñāna kahe lāja-ghare bhejāilū āguni || [PKT. 784.]

« My eyes are streaming for his beauty, and my heart is intoxicated with his goodness. My body calls for his body, limb for limb. My heart weeps for the touch of his heart: my soul does not get peace out of love for him. My friend, what else can I speak? I will do what I have determined. How can I express the delight (I feel) on seeing (him)? My body is impatient for his sight and touch (*or* for the touch of his sight). In his smiles flow down so many streams of honey: my master—he smiles softly now and then, and he is the treasure of love. When accompanied by my friends I sit among superiors and relatives, hairs of my body stand on their end on a topic of Kṛṣṇa. I make every effort to conceal my horripilations, but the streams of my tears flow incontinently. (This) all the members of my family whisper about, but I have set the room of decorum on fire. So says Jñāna. »

Ananta-dāsa [*c.* 1550 A.C.].

The poet Ananta-dāsa seems to be the person who has been enumerated among the followers of Advaita-Ācārya [CC. i. 12]. This Ananta-dāsa was present at the festival at Katwa (A.C. ? 1582) [Bhakti-ratnākara, ix, p. 589]. This Ananta-dāsa, however, must be differentiated from Ananta-Ācārya who was also a disciple of Advaita-Ācārya [CC. i. 12]. There is only one poem, in Bengali, extant, of Ananta-Ācārya [PKT. 2285].

If 'Rāya Ananta' was a person distinct from Ananta-dāsa, then we must posit a third Ananta of whom only two Bengali poems are as yet known [PKT. 2337 = Kṣaṇadā 289; Kṣaṇadā 106 = PKT. 2328 (where the *bh.* is simply of 'Ananta')]. However we are not concerned here with the latter two Anantas, as no Brajabuli poem of either of them is available.

Ananta-dāsa has, as yet, only twenty-one Brajabuli poems to his credit. Of these only three have the *bh.* 'Ananta' [PKT. 1497; Kṣaṇadā 94, 99], and the rest have the *bh.* 'Ananta-dāsa' [PKT. 268 =

Kṣaṇadā 33; 305, 355, 411, 1061, 1069, 1204, 1205, 1273, 1282; 1508 = Kṣaṇadā 300; 1749, 2020, 2167, 2441, 2469; Kṣaṇadā 146, 140 = PKT. 1297 (where the *bh.* is of Narottama)].

The following Brajabuli poem of Ananta-dāsa, describing the beauty of Śrī-kṛṣṇa, is undoubtedly one of the best of its kind :

vikaca-saroja- bhāna mukha-maṇḍala
diṭhi-bhaṅgima naṭa-khañjana-jora |
kiye mṛdu-mādhuri hāsa ugāraï
pī pī ānande ākhi paṛala-hi bhora ||
barani nā hay rūpa baraṇa cikaniyā |
kiye ghana-puñja kiye kuvalaya-dala
kiye kājara kiye indranīla-maṇiyā ||
aṅgada valaya hāra maṇi-kuṇḍala
caraṇe nūpura kaṭi kiṅkiṇi-kalanā |
abharaṇa-baraṇa- kiraṇe aṅga ḍhara-ḍhara
kālindī-jale yaiche cādaki calanā ||
kuñcita keśa veśa kusumāvali
śira-para śobhe śikhi-cādaki chāde |
ananta-dāsa-pahū- aparupa-lābani
sakala-yuvati-mana paṛi geo phāde || [PKT. 268.]

« The oval of his face resembles a full-blown lotus, and the movements of his eyes are like those of a pair of dancing *khañjana* birds. What sweetness indeed do his soft smiles bring about! Drinking and drinking of it (our) eyes are full of ecstasy. Loveliness of his complexion defies description. Is it a mass of dark clouds? Or a cluster of blue lilies? Or collyrium paint? Or a piece of emerald? (His decorations consist of) armlets, bracelets, necklace, diamond earrings, anklets at the feet, and a jingling girdle round the hips. With the dazzle of these ornaments the loveliness of his person is gleaming, just like the dancing reflections of the moon upon the waters of the Kālindī. His wavy locks are dressed up with flowers. On his head there is a crest of peacock-feather. At this unrivalled beauty of the Master of Ananta-dāsa, the hearts of all young women are fascinated, as if caught in a noose. »

Balarāma-dāsa [*c.* A.C. ? 1530].

Balarāma-dāsa also is one of the greatest names in the Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal. But unfortunately there is not yet forthcoming

any sure identification of this great poet. The following individuals are the most likely claimants of the poetic fame of Balarāma-dāsa.

1. Balarāma-dāsa, a disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu, present at the festivals at Katwa and Khetarī [A.C. ? 1582-83].

2. Nityānanda-dāsa, otherwise known as Balarāma-dāsa, the author of the *Prema-vilāsa* and the son of Ātmārāma-dāsa of Śrīkhaṇḍa, a disciple of Jāhnavā-devī, present at the Khetarī festival.

3. Kavipati Balarāma, a disciple of Rāmacandra Kavirāja, and a resident of Budharī.

Of these three, the first mentioned Balarāma seems to be the poet, although it is quite probable that the other two might have written a number of poems. But a careful study of the poems attributed to Balarāma-dāsa reveals that, with the exception of only a very few poems, the bulk of them goes to a single author who was uudoubtedly a great poet. Devakīnandana-dāsa expressly mentions in his *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā* that Balarāma-dāsa, a disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu, was a writer of songs :

saṅgīta-kāraka bandō balarāma-dāsa |
nityānanda-candre yāra adhika viśvāsa ||

And about this Balarāma-dāsa, no doubt, the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* says :

balarāma-dāsa kṛṣṇa-prema-rasāsvādī |
nityānanda-nāme hay adhika-unmādī || [i. 11]

Balarāma-dāsa was a Brahmin, and he lived at Dogāchiyā near Krishnagar. He installed the image of Śrī-Gopāla at the request of Nityānanda-prabhu. His descendants still live at that place, and a festival is held there annually during the month of Agrahāyaṇa (November-December) to celebrate the death anniversary of the poet.

Balarāma wrote poems both in Bengali and in Brajabuli ; but as in the case of Jñānadāsa, his Brajabuli poems are decidedly inferior to the Bengali poems. In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* Balarāma-dāsa's Brajabuli poems number about eighty.

Balarāma has to his credit some remarkable poems on Caitanya-deva. The following are appended as specimens of his writings in Brajabuli and Bengali :

kali-yuga-matta- mataṅgaja-maradane
kumati-kariṇī dūra gela |
pāmara duragata nāma-moti-śata-
dāma kaṇṭha-bharī nela ||

aparupa gaura virāja |
śrī-navadvīpa- nagara-giri-kandare
ūyala keśari-rāja ||
saṅkīrttana-raṇa- huṅkṛti śunaite
durita dvīpi-gaṇa bhāgi |
bhaye ākula aṇi- -mādi mṛgī-kula
puṇabata garaba teyāgi ||
tyāga yāga yama tirithi barata śama
śaśa jambukī jari yāti |
balarāma-dāsa kaha ataye se jaga-maha
hari-dhvani śabada kheyāti || [PKT. 617.]

« He who is as a mad elephant for the *Kali* age—through his attack the elephantess of evil thought fled away. He (*i.e.*, Caitanya-deva) then garlanded the sinful and the poor with the hundred-stringed pearl necklace in form of the Name (of God). Gaura the matchless rules. (It seems) as if a dominating lion has come to its own in the mountain-cave of the town of Navadvīpa. On hearing the war-cry of *saṅkīrttana*, the leopards in the form of sin made themselves scarce. The does in the form of the eight occult powers were in great terror, and pious men gave up boasting about their piety. Renunciation, sacrifice, self-restraint, pilgrimages, religious vows, and the pacific attitude are panic-stricken like hares and jackals. So Balarāma-dāsa says that is why the Name Hari (God, or lion) is widely bruited in the world. »

This poem carries a double significance. The metaphor between lion (*hari*) and God (*Hari*, Gaura) is very creditably sustained in the latter part. This poem also suffices to show that Balarāma-dāsa had good training in classical literature.

Balarāma had also written a few poems on Nityānanda-prabhu, and this is quite in the fitness of things, as the latter was his *guru*.

As regard the power of depicting the passions and pains of a lover, Balarāma-dāsa excels all other Bengali poets, even though this was the special field of activity of all the Vaiṣṇava poets, not even excepting Caṇḍīdāsa. Balarāma wrote his poems before the bulk of Jñānadāsa's poems were written (because the latter being the disciple of Nityānanda-

prabhu's wife must have been at least a few years younger than the former), and as such it is more than probable that Jñānadāsa was influenced in this respect to some extent by Balarāma-dāsa. It can be seen from a comparison of PKT. 668 with 682 that Jñānadāsa has virtually paraphrased a poem by Balarāma-dāsa.

Like Govindadāsa Kavirāja, Balarāma was a skilled metrician, and could write ornamental poetry. In APR. there are three poems, in each of which every foot begins with a particular letter of the alphabet.[1] The following poem has the letter 'v' (b) at the beginning of every foot :

viraha-beyādhi- beyākula so pahū
barajala dhairaja lāja |
vāsara-yāminī bilapi gowāyaï
basi basi bipina-ka mājha ||

vidhumukhī-vedana ki kahaba āja |
viṣama-viśikha-śara barikhaṇe jara-jara
vikala baraja-yuvarāja ||
bahu baidagadhi vividha-guṇa-cāturi
bichurala saba-hū murāri |
barikha-ka ṭhāme bola tohe pābaï
bāūra bhela vanamālī ||
veśa-vilāsa viśeṣa-hi biramala
biramala bhojana-pāna |
bolaïte vadane vacana nāhi nikasaï
balarāma ki kahaba jāna || [APR. 183.]

« He, my master, troubled with love-sickness gave up patience and bashfulness altogether. Sitting in the woods he passes the day and the night with lamentations. My pretty girl, how shall I now speak about his sufferings ? Struck by the keen arrows (of the god of love), the prince of the Vraja is overpowered and helpless. All his smartness and cleverness Murāri has forgotten. He utters words to be spoken to you after an effort for a year; Vanamālī is really mad. He has given up dressing himself with care: he has given up food and drink. When wishing to speak, words fail him. What does Balarāma know, so that he can speak out ? »

[1] The poem 183 contains alliteration with the letter *v* (*b*), 184 with *c*, and 185 with *k* [APR., pp. 55 f.].

Rādhā in an early stage of her love-sickness describes to her intimate friend the supreme attractiveness of young Kṛṣṇa, whom she has seen in her dreams only.

kiśora-vayasa kata baidagadhi-ṭhāma |
mūrati marakata abhinava-kāma ||
prati aṅga kona vidhi niramila kise |
dekhite dekhite kata amiyā bariṣe ||
malū malū kibā rūpa dekhilū svapane |
khāite śuite mora lāgiyāche mane ||
arupa-adhara mṛdu manda manda hāse |
cañcala-nayana-koṇe jāti-kula nāśe ||
dekhiyā bidare buka duṭi bhuru-bhaṅgī |
āi āi kothā chila se nāgara raṅgī ||
manthara calana-khāni ādha ādha yāyṅ |
parāṇa yemana kare ki kahiba kāyṅ ||
pāsāṇa milāye yāyṅ gāyera bātāse |
balarāma-dāse kayṅ avaśa paraśe || [PKT. 146.]

« In the age of early youth such charming ways (he has); (resembling) an image of emerald, he is a reincarnation of the god of love. (I do not know) what creator has created each limb of his, and with what material, as, when seen, they emit ambrosia as it were. Ah me! what (a picture of) loveliness have I seen in my dreams: it has penetrated my heart, (so that it cannot be forgotten) even at the time of eating and sleeping! With rosy lips, he smiles softly, and with the corners of his dancing eyes he robs (one of one's) caste and good name. The arches of his two eye-brows when seen, rend the heart. Ah, where has he been, this playful gallant? With slow movement he walks in (rhythmic) half-steps: to whom can I describe what my soul then feels? Even rocks melt (in a wave of bliss) when touched by the breeze in contact with his body (as he walks); one loses one's senses with a touch (from the same breeze). So says Balarāma-dāsa. »

The following Brajabuli poem describes the beauty of nature, when Kṛṣṇa is sporting with the girls of the Vraja:

madhura samaya rajani-śeṣa
śohaï madhura kānana-deśa
gagane uyala madhura madhura
vidhu niramala-kāntiyā |

madhura mādhavī-keli-nikuñja
phuṭala madhura kusuma-puñja
gābaï madhura bhramarā-bhramarī
madhura madhuhi mātiyā
āju khelata ānde bhora
madhura-yuvati nava-kiśora
madhura baraja-raṅginī meli
karata madhura rabhasa-keli ||
madhura pavana bahaï manda
kūjaye kokila madhura-chanda
madhura-rasahi śabada-subhaga
nadaï vihaga-pātiyā |
rabaï madhura śāri kīra
paṛhaï aichana amiyā gīra
naṭaï madhura maüra maüri
raṭaï madhura bhātiyā ||
madhura milana khelana hāsa
madhura madhura rasa-vilāsa
madana heraï dharaṇī luṭhaï
vedana phuṭaï chātiyā |
madhura madhura carita-rīta
balarāma-cite phuraü nīta
duhū-ka madhura caraṇa-sevana-
bhāvane janama yātiyā || [PKT. 2497.]

«It is a sweet time, the end of night. The sweet wood land region is lovely. The sweet, brilliant moon has come out. Sweet is the sportive bower of *mādhavī* creepers; sweetly have blossomed the masses of flowers, and sweetly sing the bees, intoxicated with sweet honey. Now sport the sweet girl and the fresh youth, gladdened with delight, and the sweet flirting girls of the Vraja are in a body enjoying sweet sports. A sweet breeze is blowing softly; the cuckoo sings in a sweet manner, and in sweet delight the flights of birds are warbling the charms of autumn. The *sārikā* raises sweet notes, and the parrot talks such sweet words. The peacock dances sweetly and the peahen cries in a sweet way. Sweet is the gathering, the sport and the laugh; sweet, very sweet is the sportiveness of bliss (*rasa*). The god of love looks on, and falls on the ground, and his heart is rent in suffering. These very sweet acts and gests,—may they ever be revealed to the mind of Balarāma, and

may his life pass away in the thought of the service to the sweet feet of the Two.»

Of the three great poets of Vaiṣṇava lyric literature, Balarāma, Jñānadāsa and Govindadāsa Kavirāja, Balarāma is the only poet who has made a considerable achievement in depicting the mother's love and yearning for her child (*vātsalya rasa*). Earlier Vaiṣṇava poets as a rule did not neglect this field, but later poets generally occupied themselves with the sentiment of love (*madhura rasa*) only. The following poem will show Balarāma's power of painting a realistic picture of maternal love in its most tender aspect :

śrīdāma sudāma dāma śuna ore balarāma
minati kariye to-sabhāre |
vana kata ati-dūra nava-tṛṇa-kuśāṅkura
gopalẖ laiyā nā yāïha dūre ||
sakhā-gaṇa āge pāche gopāla kariyā mājhe
dhīre dhīre kariha gamana |
nava-tṛṇāṅkura āge rāṅgā pāye jāni lāge
prabodha nā māne mora mana ||
nikaṭe go-dhana rāikha mā bailā śiṅgāyẖ ḍāika
ghare thāki śuni yena rava |
bihi kaile gopa-jāti godhana-pālana-vṛtti
teñi vane pāṭhāi yādava ||
balarāma-daserẖ vāṇī śuna ogo nanda-rāṇī
mane kichu nā bhābiha bhayẖ |
caraṇera bādhā laiyā diba morā yogāïyā
tomarẖ āge kahila niścayẖ || [PKT. 1218.]

«(Yaśodā says to the companions of Kṛṣṇa when they are taking cattle to pasture and want to take Kṛṣṇa with them.) 'Śrīdāma, Sudāma, Dāma, Balarāma, you all listen to me: I entreat you, do not take (my child) Gopāla far, as the woods are far off and there are young grass and *kuśa* with prickly stems. You comrades be in the van and in the rear, and take Gopāla in the middle, and walk slowly, so that points of newly grown grass might not pain his rosy feet: My mind cannot be at rest. Keep the cattle near by, and call out, 'O mother' (from time to time), so that I may hear it at home. God has made us of the cow-herd caste, and our work is to tend cattle, so I must send Yādava (Kṛṣṇa) to the fields.' 'Listen to the words of Balarāma-dāsa, O Queen of Nanda; do not entertain any fear. We shall carry

his strapped sandals and put them forward (whenever required): this we promise to you.'»

Jagannātha-dāsa.

Jagannātha-dāsa the Brajabuli poet has no sure identification. There were many Jagannātha-dāsas among the followers of Caitanya-deva and in the later generations. Of them the following two have the best claims:[1]—

1. A Jagannātha-dāsa who lived in Orissa and of whom Devakī-nandana-dāsa says—

> jagannātha-dāsa bandō saṅgīte paṇḍita |
> yāra gīta śuniyā śrī-jagannāthe mohita ||

This Jagannātha-dāsa was evidently the famous Oriya poet whose adaptation of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* is one of the oldest and most popular works in Oriya.

2. Jagannātha-dāsa of Kāṣṭha-kāṭā, probably a Brahmin, who has been enumerated by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja among the disciples of Gadādhara Paṇḍita.

That the poet was very possibly an immediate follower and contemporary of Caitanya-deva is evident from a close study of his poems. The poet has a few Bengali and Brajabuli poems on the home life of Caitanya-deva, which, though not as good, have the same flavour as those by Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa and the like. Moreover nine poems with the *bhaṇitā* of Jagannātha-dāsa are found in the Das manuscript (A.C. 1653-56).

There are four Brajabuli poems by Jagannātha-dāsa in the *Pada-kalpa-taru* [633, 1216, 1323, 1554]. In the *Siddhānta-candrodaya* there is another Brajabuli poem with the same *bhaṇitā*.

The following two poems are given as specimens of his treatment of the life of the Master:

> phālguṇa-pūrṇimā tithi subhaga sakali |
> janama labhibe gorā paṛe hulā-huli ||
> ambare amara sabhe bhela unamukha |
> labhibe janama gorā yābe saba dukha ||

[1] *Vide* GPT., Introduction, pp. 85 ff.

śaṅkha dundubhi bāje parama-hariṣe |
jaya-dhvani sura-kula kusuma bari-e ||
jaga-bhari hari-dhvani uṭhe ghana ghana |
ābāla-vanitā-ādi nara-nārī-gaṇa ||
śubha-kṣaṇa jāni gorā janama labhila |
pūrṇimāra candra yena udaya karila ||
sei kāle candre rāhu karila grahaṇa |
hari hari dhvani uṭhe bhariyā bhuvana ||
dīna hīna uddhāra haibe bhela āśa |
dekhiyā ānande bhāse jagannātha-dāsa || [PKT. 1120.]

«It was the fullmoon in the month of Phālguna (February-March): it was all auspicious. Gorā is to be born; there is a sensation of joy. In the sky the gods were all expectant (thinking), 'Gorā is to be born, and all misery will be banished.' In high glee conches and drums were sounding: with shouts of triumph the Gods were scattering flowers. Shouts of 'Hari' were ever rising up again and again (from) men and women, children and all. Knowing the moment to be auspicious, Gorā was born: it was as if the full moon rose up. At that very moment Rāhu (demon of darkness) covered up the moon, and from the entire earth there rose up cries of 'Hari, Hari.' (Now) there was hope that the poor and the miserable would find salvation; and on seeing this Jagannātha-dāsa was floating in joy.»

gaura-kiśora puraba-rase gara-gara
mane bhela goṭha-bihāra |
dāma śrīdāma subala bali ḍākaï
nayane galaye jala-dhāra ||
vetra viṣāṇa veṇu lei sājaha
yāyaba bhāṇḍi-samīpa |
gauri-dāsa sāja kari taikhane
gaura-nikaṭe upanīta ||
bhāiyā abhirāma vadana ghana bāaï
nūpura caraṇa-hi dela |
nityānanda- candra pahū āgu-sai
dhavalī dhavalī dhvani kela ||
nadiyā-nagara- loka saba dhāwata
heraite gaura-ka raṅga |
dāsa-jagannātha chānda dohani lei
yāyaba saba-anuṣaṅga || [PKT. 1216.]

« The youthful Gaura was engrossed in the sports of his earlier incarnation. He then desired the sport of pasturing the cattle. He called (aloud), naming Dāma, Śrīdāma and Subala, and tears trickled down his eyes. He said, 'Get ready with your staffs, horns and pipes: we shall go to the Banian tree.' Then Gaurī-dāsa got himself ready and came to Gaura. Brother Abhirāma gave shouts of joy and attached anklets to the feet (of Gaura). Nityānanda-candra, the master, walked in front and called the cows out. All the people of Nadiyā hastened to see the sportfulness of Gaura. Taking binding ropes and milking pans Jagannāth-dāsa would accompany them. »

The following poem also deals with the same sports of Śrī-kṛṣṇa:

yamunā-ka tīre dhīre calu mādhava
manda-madhura veṇu bāaï re |
indīvara-nayanī varaja-vadhū-kāminī
sadana tejiyā vane dhāwaï re ||

asita ambu-dhara asita sarasi-ruha
atasī-kusuma ahimakara-sutā-nīra
indranīla-maṇi-udāra-marakata-
śrī-nindita vapu-ābhā re |

śire śikhaṇḍa-dala nava guñjā-phala
nirmala mukutā lambi nāsā-tala
nava-kiśalaya-avataṃsa gorocana-
alaka-tilaka mukha-śobhā re ||

śroṇi pītāmbara vetra vāma-kara
kambu-kaṇṭhe vana-mālā manohara
dhātu-rāga-vaicitra-kalevara
caraṇe caraṇa-pari śobhā re |

godhūli-dhūsara viśāla vakṣa-thala
raṅga-bhūmi jini vilāsa naṭa-vara
go-chādana-raju-vinihita-kandhara
rūpe bhuvana-mana-lobhā re ||

brahma purandara dina-maṇi śaṅkara
yo caraṇāmbuja sebe nirantara
so hari kautuka vraja-bālaka sāthe
gopa-nāgarī-abhilāṣā re |

so pahū-padatala-parāga-dhūsara
mānasa mama karu āśa nirantara
abhinava-satkavi dāsa-jagannātha-
jananī-jaṭhara-bhaya-nāśā re ॥
[PKT. 1828.]

«On the bank of the Yamunā, Mādhava walks slowly playing his pipe soft and sweet, and the girls of the Vraja, with eyes like lotuses, leave their home and run to the woods. The complexion of his body defies the loveliness of the dark clouds, the blue lotus, the *atasī* flower, the waters of the Yamunā, the emerald and the lapis lazuli. On his top-knot are feathers of the peacock and bright *guñjā* seeds; from the tip of his nose dangles a perfect pearl; there are ear-rings of fresh leaves as well as decorations of yellow pigment for the face: all these beautify (his) face. There is a yellow garment round his waist, a cane in his left hand, and a fair garland round his conch-like neck. His person is decked with the lustre from precious metals. What a beautiful pose, with one foot upon another! His broad chest is grey with dust (kicked up by) the cows, and in gracefulness and beauty it surpasses as it were an arena; on his shoulder is a strap for tying the feet of cows (while milking). His beauty charms the heart of the world. Whose lotus feet are incessantly worshipped by Brahmā, Indra, the sun-god and Śiva: he, Hari, is sporting with the cowherd boys and is the desire of the cowherd girls. For the dust of the lotus feet of that master, the heart of the new good poet Jagannātha-dāsa always hopes, the dust which removes the fear of fresh rebirth.»

In the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, there are two Bengali poems by this poet, one on the *dāna-* (toll-collecting) and the other on the *naukā-* (boating) *vilāsa* (sport). From the specimens given above it will be seen that as a poet Jagannātha-dāsa was certainly above mediocrity.

Kānu(rāma)-dāsa [*c.* 1583 A.C.].

The poet Kānurāma-dāsa or Kānu-dāsa was the son of the poet Puruṣottama-dāsa, and the grandson of Sadāśiva-Kavirāja, a prominent disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu. Of these three the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* says—

śrī sadāśiva-kavirāja baṛa mahāśaya ।
śrī puruṣottama-dāsa tāhāra tanaya ॥

tāra putra mahāśaya śrī-kānu-ṭhākura |
yāra debe bahe kṛṣṇa-premāmṛta-pūra ॥ [i. 11.]

That this Kānu-rāma was the poet is to be concluded from the following colophon of a poem written in praise of Nityānanda-prabhu—

kānurāma-dāsa bole ki baliba āmi |
e baṛa bharasā mora kulerṅ ṭhākurṅ tumi ॥ [PKT. 2321.]

« Kānurāma-dāsa says, 'What shall I say? It is a great consolation to me that you are the deity of my family'. »

There was another Kānu-dāsa, or rather Kānu-paṇḍita, who was the son of Raghunandana of Śrīkhaṇḍa. Whether this Kānu-dāsa ever wrote any poem is more than we can say.[1] Both these, Kānu-ṭhākura and Kānu-paṇḍita, were present at the festival at Khetarī.

Kānu-rāma seems to have written poems describing the main incidents of the life of Caitanya-deva. The following poem describes the meeting of Nityānanda-prabhu and Śacī-devī sometime after the *sannyāsa* of the Master:

nadīya-nagare gelā nityānanda-rāyṅ |
daṇḍavat haiyā paṛe śacī-mātārṅ pāy ॥
tāre kole kari śacī kāndaye karuṇe |
nayanera jale bhije aruṇa-vasane ॥
phukari phukari kānde kātara-hiyāy ॥
gaurāṅgera kathā kahi prabodhaye tāy |
nityānanda bale mātā thira kara mana ॥
kuśale āchaye sukhe tomāra nandana |
tomāre dekhite more paṭhāïyā dila |
tora pada-yuge kata praṇati karila ॥
kānu-dāsa kahe mātā kahi tomāṛṅ ṭhāñi |
tomāṛṅ preme bāndhā āche gaurāṅga-gosāñi ॥
[PKT. 2264.]

[1] Jagadbandhu Bhadra in his Introduction to the *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī* (p. 54) rejects the claim of these two Kānu-dāsas and sets up a third Kānu-dāsa as the poet. This third Kānu-dāsa is reputed to be the disciple of Rasikānanda who was a disciple of Śyāmānanda. Even if we admit the historicity of this Kānu-dāsa, there is no evidence to show that he was the poet. Moreover there is evidence to the contrary: a poem of Kānu-dāsa occurs in the earlier portion of the Das MS [also *cf.* PKT. 2321].

«Lord Nityānanda came to the town of Nadīyā, and he fell flat at the feet of Mother Śacī. Taking him in her arms Śacī wept piteously, and her tears drenched his ochre robes. (Nityānanda-prabhu) sobbed in distress and consoled her by talking about Gaurāṅga. Nityānanda said: 'Mother, keep your heart quiet; your son is well and happy. He has sent me to see you, and has tendered thousand respects to your feet.' Kānu-dāsa adds: 'Mother, let me tell you this, that Gaurāṅga the master is fettered with your love.'»

Besides a few poems on Nityānanda-prabhu, Kānu-rāma wrote a poem in honour of Rāya Rāmānanda. It is quoted below, and from this it will be apparent that the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* was known to the poet.

vidyā-nagarādhipa apāra sampada-śālī [1]
rāma-rāya puruṣa-pradhāna |
gṛhe pāiyā śrī-gaurāṅga āpanāra mano-bhṛṅga
tāra pade karileka dāna ||

dhanya dhanya rāya rāmānanda |
yāhāra pāiyā saṅga prabhu mora śrī-gaurāṅga
bhuñjileka asīma-ānanda ||

dohō praśnottara-chale svādhyāya nirṇaya kaile
jāne jīva sādhana-sandhāna |
yāhāra rasera pada yena phulla kokanada
rasika-janera se parāṇa ||

rāmānanda-pada-raja śire dhari sadā bhaja
bhajanera sārāt-sāra dhana |
kānu-dāsa mati-hīna madhura-rasete dīna
rāma-rāya deha śrī-caraṇa || [GPT., pp. 454f.]

«The governor of Vidyānagara, possessor of vast wealth, Rāma-rāya was a master among men. Having met with Śrī-Gaurāṅga, he dedicated his heart as a bee to his (lotus) feet. Twice blessed be Rāmānanda, whom Śrī-Gaurāṅga my master met, and was greatly pleased. They two, in form of dialogue, prescribed the supreme duty, and from it man finds guidance in his *sādhana*. His mystic song like a fully open red lotus, is the delight of all good people. Ever put the dust of

[1] There may be some corruption in this line as the two half-verses do not rime.

Rāmānanda's feet on head and do your religious duty; that dust is the supreme treasure of *bhajana*. Kānu-dāsa is a fool, and is unworthy of the *madhura rasa* (mystic devotion); so Rāma-Rāya, do you put your glorious feet on his head.»

In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* there are only four Brajabuli poems by Kānu-(rāma-)dāsa [332, 334, 663, 2035]. The following poem is quoted as a specimen:

mandira teji kānana-māhā paiṭhalū
kānu-milana-pratiāśe |
ābharaṇa vasana aṅge saba sājala
tāmbula-karpūra-vāse ||

sajanī, so mujhe viparīta bhela |
kānu rahala dūre manamatha āsi phure
so nāhi darāśana dela ||

phula-śare jara jara sakala-kalevara
kātare mahi gaṛi yāï |
kokila-bole ḍole ghana jīvana
uṭhi basi rajanī goṅāï ||

śītala-bhavana garala-samāna bhela
himācala-vāyu hutāśa |
locane nīra thira nāhi bāndhaye
kāndaye kānurāma-dāsa || [PKT. 334.]

«[Kṛṣṇa is delaying to come to the trysting place on a winter's day; so Rādhā is thus lamenting to her friend:] 'With the hope of meeting Kṛṣṇa I have left home and come to the woods. My body is decked with clothes and jewellery, and there is betel perfumed with camphor (in my mouth). My friend, everything has been upset for me. Kṛṣṇa is still far away, and love is raging (within me); yet he does not come. All my body is aching all over with the flowery arrows (of love), and in great suffering I roll on the ground. At the cries of the cuckoo my life is swinging as it were (between itself and death); I stand up and sit down, and (in this manner) pass the night. My home with its coolness has become gall to me, and the breeze from the Himalayas (appears as) blast of fire. (My) tears do not stop.' Kānurāma-dāsa (also) weeps (with her).»

Uddhava-dāsa (i) [*c.* 1583 A.C.].

Kṛṣṇakānta-Mazumdār, a disciple of Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura, wrote poems with the *bh.* of 'Uddhava-dāsa.' Now this 'Uddhava-dāsa' mentions an earlier Uddhava-dāsa in one of his Bengali poems [PKT. 3092]. This earlier Uddhava-dāsa, evidently, was a disciple of Gadādhara Paṇḍita [CC. i. 12], and was present at the festival at Khetarī. He seems to have been the *guru* of Kavi-vallabha, the author of the *Rasa-kadamba* [p. 8].

Hitherto there was nothing to warrant that he was a poet. But fortunately I have come across a Bengali poem (describing the positions of the eight *Sakhīs* of Rādhā, when Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā hold court as it were in Vṛndāvana) with the *bh.* of 'Uddhava' in the MS. in possession of Mr. Sajanikanta Das (dated B.E. 1060-63 = A.C. 1653-56). I quote here the entire unpublished poem. As the text is rather corrupt I do not give a translation.

cāri yojana vṛndāvanera maṇḍalī |
tāra madhye nāma-cintāmaṇi ramya-sthalī ||
madhya yoga-pīṭha para nagarā-mayana(?) |
pradhāna prakṛti saṅge ramaṇī-ratana ||
samukhe lalitā sakhī ati-rūpa-rāśi |
dhārma ure (?) syānā sakhī manda-mṛdu hāsi ||
rasera kalikā sakhī sei se uttare |
agni-koṇe haripriyā phula-dhanu-śare ||
pūrva-bhāge viśākhā saṅketa sujāna |
aïsāne basyā sakhī śyāmera parāṇa ||
kanaka-gaura padma sei se naïrite |
aṣṭa-sakhī meli sevā kare ei rīte ||
diga-vidiga candrāvalī ādi kari |
kuñje kuñje viharaï parama-sundarī ||
kiśora-vayasa veśa samāna ramaṇī |
gokule goloka suska(?) uddhava baraṇi ||

Now that we know definitely that Uddhava-dāsa (i) was a poet; and as he was a disciple of Gadādhara Paṇḍita, we are in a position to attribute two Brajabuli songs to him. These songs [PKT. 1481, 1558] are on the Master in company with Gadādhara. We have already remarked more than once that this treatment of the Master in connection with Gadādhara was a speciality of the disciples of the latter as well as of those belonging to the Śrīkhaṇḍa school.

We cite the following poem as a specimen:

madhu-ṛtu biharaï gaura-kiśora |
gadādhara-mukha heri ānande narahari
puruva-preme bhela bhora ||
navīna-latā nava- pallava taru-kula
nawala navadvīpa-dhāma |
phulla-kusuma-caya jhaṅkṛta madhukara
sukhada e ṛtu-pati nāma ||
mukulita cūta- gahane ati-sulalita
kokila-kākali-rāva |
suradhunī-tīra- samīra sugandhita
ghare ghare maṅgala gāva ||
manamatha-rāja sāja leï phīraye
vana-phula-phala ati-śobhā |
samaya vasanta nadīyā-pura sundara
uddhava-dāsa-mana lobhā || [PKT. 1481.]

«In the spring-time the young Gaura is disporting himself. On looking at the face of Gadādhara, Narahari, in joy, is full of the ancient love. The creepers are green, and the trees (have put on) new leaves. The town of Navadvīpa is renovated. Flowers are blooming, and bees are humming. Pleasurable indeed is this chief of all seasons. From the depth of mango blossoms (are heard) the sweet notes of the cuckoo. From the bank of the Ganges (is blowing) a sweet-scented breeze, and in every home songs are being sung. Cupid the king, with all his paraphernalia, is moving about everywhere. Charming is the beauty of wild flowers and fruits. It is spring-time, and the town of Nadiyā is gay. The heart of Uddhava-dāsa is (profoundly) moved (thereat).»

Caitanya-dāsa [*c.* 1583 A.C.].

There were several Caitanya-dāsas, and it is possible that some or most of them were authors of some verses. But the extant poems (in PKT.) with the *bh.* of Caitanya-dāsa, which number about fifteen, show such similarity of style and treatment that we cannot but view them as the work of a single poet. Of these fifteen poems about half a dozen relate to the Master; as these latter poems bear the impress of sincerity and true ring of earlier poets, I think that Vaṃśī-vadana's son Caitanya-dāsa was in all likelihood the author of these poems. Moreover in one song

[PKT. 463] there is a hint that the poet was born when the Master was yet living. This Caitanya-dāsa was present at the Khetarī festival.

Of these fifteen poems only two are written in Brajabuli [PKT. 594, 1985]. The following poem is appended as a specimen:

e dhanī e dhanī vacana śuna |
mādhava milaye bahuta puṇa ||
eta parihāra karaye ye |
tāhāre sundari bañcaye ke ||
doṣa nāhi kachu nayane cāha |
āpana sarasa-paraśa deha ||
hāsiyā sundarī cāhala phiri |
o kara-kamala dhayala hari ||
duhū-ka pūrala manera āśa |
vījana bījaï caitanya-dāsa || [PKT. 594.]

«'O you proud girl, listen to me: Mādhava can be had with great religious merit only. Who can, my pretty girl, cheat him, who takes so much pains (for the sake of love)? He has not the slightest blemish. Look up (at him with your) eyes, and reward him with a touch of your lovely (body).' Then the pretty girl (*i.e.* Rādhā) smiled and looked up, and Hari caught hold of her pretty hands. The desire of their heart was fulfilled: Caitanya-dāsa fanned them with a fan.»

Vīra-Hāmbīra, King of Viṣṇupura, also wrote poems with the *bh.* of Caitanya-dāsa [Bhakti-ratnākara ix]. But no Brajabuli poem of his is available. This Caitanya-dāsa has been dealt with later.

Parameśvara-dāsa [*c.* 1583 A.C.].

One Brajabuli poem, by Parameśvara occurs in the earliest portion of the Das MS. One Bengali poem on Caitanya-deva with the *bh.* of Parameśvara-dāsa is incorporated in PKT. [23]. This poem as well as another connected with it bears the *bh.* of 'Parameśvarī-dāsa' in GPT. [p. 246]. There is no doubt that these two poems come from one who was probably an eye-witness of the incident narrated therein. The poet therefore seems to be Parameśvara-dāsa, the disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu. In his later age he was an attendant of Jāhnavā-devī, the junior wife of Nityānanda-prabhu. Some facts of his life have been noted in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [pp. 541, 664, 1015]. He was present at the Khetarī festival.

The poem in the Das MS. and also another in a MS. [No. 201; VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. ii. 1, p. 116] are devoted to the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. I am not sure whether these two poems come from the same pen as the two former poems. One of these two poems on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend is quoted below. It should be noted that the poem contains the true ring of the poems by the so-called 'Caṇḍīdāsa.'

āra ki śyāmera bāśī kulerṅ dharamṅ thobe |
nāma dhari ḍāke bāśī bekatṅ habe kabe ||
niṣedha nā māne bāśī sadā kare dhvani |
bāhira-duāre kānṅ pāte nanadinī ||
nanadī jañjāla baṛa antara viṣāla |
āsiñā gharera mājhe pātibe jañjāla ||
ye deśerṅ bāśiyā baṭe se deśe mānuṣṅ nāi |
rādhāre badhite bāśī eneche kānāi ||
śrī-parameśvarṅ-dāse kay śuna rasavati |
bāśīrṅ kono doṣa nāñi kāliyārṅ yugati ||
[VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. ii. 1, p. 116.]

«'Will the flute of Śyāma (the Dark One, *i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) preserve (my) virtue (as one of a good family)? It calls me by the name, and (I am afraid) it may be out any day. The flute does not regard my forbidding, but it goes on sounding always. My sister-in-law (goes out) to the front door and listens (to what it is saying). She is big mischief, and is poisonous at heart. She may come to (my) room and give (me) trouble. Really there are no people where the bamboo flute came from. Kṛṣṇa has brought it down to kill Rādhā.' Śrī-Parameśvara-dāsa says, 'Listen to me, O Loving One! The flute is not to be blamed at all; it is really the intrigue of the Dark-complexioned One (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa).'»

Ātmārāma-dāsa.

In the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* there is a mixed Brajabuli and Bengali poem by Ātmārāma-dāsa [155], which is an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu. This poem occurs in PKT. [636=2302], and there are two poems, besides it, with the *bh.* of 'Ātmārāma.' Of these two one [2294] occurs in *Kṣaṇadā* under the *bh.* of Dvija Gaṅgā-rāma [2]. It may be that the poet was the same as the father of Nityānanda-dāsa, the author of the *Prema-vilāsa*, and was a contemporary and follower of

Nityānanda-prabhu. There were, however, two disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya named Ātmārāma-dāsa. But they are not likely to be the authors of the poems in question.

Nityānanda-dāsa [*c.* 1600 A.C.].

In KPS. there are four poems by Nityānanda-dāsa, of which only one is written in Brajabuli [p. 151]. The poems are quite commonplace. There are four Nityānanda-dāsas, any of whom may be the author of all or any of these four poems—(*i*) the younger son of the poet Vaṃśī-vadana, (*ii*) Caturdhurīṇa Nityānanda, the grandfather of the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* [*cf.* VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 101], (*iii*) a disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu [*cf.* Prema-vilāsa xx], and (*iv*) the son of Ātmārāma-dāsa and author of the *Prema-vilāsa.* As nothing is known about the literary activity of the first three the probability of the authorship of these lyrics lies with the author of the *Prema-vilāsa.* The *Prema-vilāsa* contains two Bengali lyric poems by its author, one on Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya's birth (ii), and the other on the occasion of the birth of Narottama-Ṭhākura [ix]. The real name of the author of the *Prema-vilāsa* was Balarāma-dāsa, and he was a disciple of Jāhnavā-devī. He has given some details of his life at the end of the work [xx]. This work was completed in Śaka 1522 [= 1600 A.C.].

CHAPTER VI

ŚRĪNIVĀSA-ĀCĀRYA AND HIS COLLEAGUES

Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [*c.* 1583 A.C.].

In this survey I do not mention Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya merely as a poet, as the total output of his lyrics is only five in number. But as a great Vaiṣṇava preacher, as a great spiritual teacher and as one of the foremost of the disseminators of Vaiṣṇava philosophical and literary works of the Gosvāmins at Vṛndāvana, Śrīnivāsa was pre-eminent among his contemporaries, and he exerted great influence on the development of Vaiṣṇava lyrical poetry. Among the disciples of Śrīnivāsa there are scores of poets, one of whom, Govindadāsa-Kavirāja, undoubtedly tops the list of the poets of Mediæval Bengal. Hence Śrīnivāsa must occupy a very prominent place in the history of not only Vaiṣṇava literature, but of Bengali literature in general.

The life and activity of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya is to be found in the *Prema-vilāsa* [1600 A.C.], in the *Karṇānanda* [1607 A.C.], in the *Anurāga-vallī* [1696 A.C.] and in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and *Narottama-vilāsa* [1750 A.C.]. I give here the briefest sketch of his life.

Śrīnivāsa was the son of Gaṅgādhara-Bhaṭṭācārya (*alias* Caitanya-dāsa) of Cākhandī (now destroyed by the erosion of the Hooghly). His mother was Lakṣmī-devī, the daughter of Balarāma-Ācārya of Jājigrāma in the same district. He was born in Śaka (?) 1438 (=1516 A.C.). As a boy he was exceptionally intelligent, and very soon he became an accomplished scholar. When still a boy, Śrīnivāsa met Narahari-Sarkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa, and thenceforward began his spiritual awakening. Finishing his education, he hurried towards Purī with the desire of having a sight of Caitanya-deva, but on his way he heard that the Master was no more. Greatly disappointed he came there and saw the followers of the Master living there. Then he successively visited Navadvīpa, Śāntipura and other places in Bengal where some of the Master's followers were yet living. Then he projected a visit to Vṛndāvana, but his father died, and the visit was delayed for some time. When he finally came there, Sanātana-Gosvāmin and Rūpa were already dead. There he became a student of Vaiṣṇava philosophy with Jīva-Gosvāmin who conferred on him

the title of Ācārya. At Vṛndāvana Śrīnivāsa was acquainted with Narottama-Ṭhākura and Śyāmānanda with whom he made a great and lifelong friendship. He became the disciple of Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa. On his way back home Śrīnivāsa was accompanied by Narottama and Śyāmānanda. Jīva-Gosvāmin sent along in his charge a wagon-load of works on Vaiṣṇava theology and philosophy, and requested him to disseminate those works in Bengal. The package was looted in the outlying forests of Viṣṇupura, but was ultimately recovered. After this loss Śrīnīvāsa came to the court of Vīra-Hāmbīra, the king of Viṣṇupura, and converted him and most of his courtiers to Vaiṣṇavism. After this his further conversions became easier. Śrīnivāsa married two wives, Īśvarī-devī and Gaurāṅgapriyā-devī. By his second wife he got three sons and three daughters. Of the children of the Ācārya I shall have occasion to speak later on.

As we have already told Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya wrote only five poems [Karṇānanda vi (pp. 111 ff., 116); PKT. 790, 3073; 839 (according to the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*; *cf.* VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 108)]. Of these the last two, which are written in honour of his *guru*, are written in Brajabuli.

The following Bengali poem is not unworthy of the pen of a really great poet. It describes the beauty of Kṛṣṇa. [The *Karṇānanda* version has nine couplets.]

vadana-cāda kona kūdāre kūdila go
ke nā kūdile dui ākhi |
dekhite dekhite mora parāṇa yemana kare
se-i se parāṇa tāra sākhī ||
ratana kāṛiyā ati- yatana kariyā go
ke nā gaṛiyā dila kāne |
manera sahite mora e pāca-parāṇi go
yogī habe uhāri dheyāne ||
amiyā-madhura bola sudhā khāni-khāni go
hātera upare nāhi pāō |
emati kariyā yadi vidhātā gaṛhita go
bhāṅgiyā bhāṅgiyā ubā khāō ||
madana-phāda o nā cūrāyā ṭālani go
ubā nā śikhiyā āila kothā |
e buka bhariyā muñi ubā nā dekhiu go
e baṛi marame mora bethā ||

nāsikāra āge dole e gaja-mukutā go
sonāy maṛita tāra pāśe |
bijurī-jaṛita yena cādera kaṇikā go
meghera āṛāle thāki hāse ||
karabhera kara jini bāhura balani go |
hiṅgula-maṛita tāra āge |
yauvana-banera pākhī piyāse maraye go
uhāri paraśa-rasa māge ||
nāṭuyā-ṭhamake yāyā rahiyā rahiyā cāyā
cale yena gaja-rāja mātā |
śrīnivāsa-dāsa kayā lakhile lakhila nayā
rūpa-sindhu gaṛhala vidhātā || [PKT. 790.]

«Who is the carver that has carved the moon-like face (of Kṛṣṇa)? Who has chiselled his two eyes? Looking and looking at them, my heart feels as my heart only knows. Who has polished gems, and very skilfully made (them into ear-rings) and put them on (his) ears? Meditating on them these my five vitals along with my mind will turn *yogī*. His sweet nectar-like words are like so many bits of manna: I cannot get them into my hands. Had the Creator fashioned it so, I would break them into pieces and eat (them one by one). Is it not a trap of love, that lovely tilt on his crest? Where has he learnt it? I have seen it indeed to my heart's content: yet this is the greatest despair of my heart. At the tip of his nose hangs a big pearl worked with gold on all sides. It looks like a bit of the moon framed in lightning and peeping through a cloud. The roundness of his arms defies the trunk of a young elephant: his hands are painted with *hiṅgula* (red dye). The bird of the wilderness of youthfulness dies in thirst: it hankers after the sweet of his touch only. He steps with the grace a dancer, and he stops and looks up: he walks like an elephant in ichor. Śrīnivasā-dāsa says: 'He cannot be seen (to satiety) even when seen: the Creator has made an ocean of loveliness.'»

Narottama-dāsa [*c.* 1583 A.C.].

Narottama-dāsa was the son of Rājā Kṛṣṇānanda-Datta who was a big land-holder of Rājashāhi, and his residence was at Khetarī, a place about twelve miles to the north-west of Boāliyā. It was about a mile off from the Ganges. Narottama's mother's name was Nārāyaṇī. From his childhood Narottama was pious and religiously minded.

After the death of his father Narottama made over the charge of his estate to his cousin Santoṣa-Datta (Santoṣa-Rāya), the son of Puruṣottama-Datta, the younger brother of Kṛṣṇānanda. He then went to Vṛndāvana where he got religious initiation from Lokanātha-Gosvāmin. According to the *Narottama-vilāsa* Kṛṣṇānanda was alive when Narottama left home for Vṛndāvana. In 1581 (or 1582) A.C. he returned to Bengal in company of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya and Syāmānanda. But he never married nor did he ever interest himself in worldly affairs. In A. C. 1583 (or 1584) Santoṣa-Datta, at his cousin's request, installed six images at Khetarī, and to celebrate it he held a big festival which continued for seven days. This festival is a land-mark in the history of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal. All the leading Vaiṣṇavas (some of the direct followers of the Master were still living) from the different parts of Bengal assembled there. The following Vaiṣṇavas, among many others, were present on the occasion :—

Jāhnavā-devī, Mādhava-Ācārya (two persons), Jñānadāsa, Manohara, Balarāma, Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Caitanya-dāsa (son of Vaṃśī-vadana), Śrīpati and Śrīnidhi (brothers of Śrīvāsa, an old follower of the Master), Śivānanda, Yadunandana-Ācārya, Nayanānanda-Miśra, Mādhava-dāsa, Parameśvarī-dāsa, Raghunandana, and most of the disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, Narottama-Ṭhākura and Syāmānanda.

This occasion saw the precise and scientific formation of the style of *Rasa-Kīrtana* which goes by the name of the 'Garāṇahāṭī' style; and the credit of this goes to Narottama alone. He, apart from being a very good poet, was an accomplished musician and a melodious singer.

ethā sarva-mahānta kahaye paraspare |
prabhura adbhuta sṛṣṭi narottama-dvāre ||
hena premamaya-vādya kabhu nā śunilū |
ehena gānera prathā kabhu nā dekhilū ||
narottama-kaṇṭha-dvani amṛtera dhāra |
ye piye tāhāra tṛṣṇā bāṛhe anivāra || [Narottama-vilāsa vii.]

The festival at Khetarī was the third festival in succession. The first was held at Katwa under the auspices of Yadunandana on the anniversary of the death of Gadādhara-dāsa. The second, a few

[1] These were Śrī-Gaurāṅga, Vallavī-kānta, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, Vraja-mohana, Rādhā-ramaṇa, and Rādhā-kānta.

months after, was held at Śrīkhaṇḍa under the auspices of Raghunandana on the occasion of the death anniversary of Narahari-Sarkār. All these three festivals were held within a period of about a year and a half.

Rāmacandra-Kavirāja, a very worthy person and the elder brother of Govindadāsa-Kavirāja, was the most intimate friend of Narottama. Narottama survived both Rāmacandra and Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [*cf.* PKT. 2979, 2980].

Narottama-dāsa was a good poet. His greatness as a poet cannot be judged from his Bengali or Brajabuli poems on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, which are not very much above mediocirty. But his 'prayers'—*prārthanā* poems—have immortalised him in Bengali literature These are mostly written in Bengali, and only one or two in Brajabuli (though Brajabuli forms are copiously found in his Bengali writings). In these prayer-poems there is no great flight of fancy, no flash of similes or metaphors, no jingling of assonance or *anuprāsa*, no brilliancy of style or language, and nothing intellectual or philosophical. These are as simple as any ordinary *payāra* or *tripadī* verse can be. But there is such a blending of yearning and pathos, such personal appeal and directness and simplicity that never fails to move even the most callously irreligious man. Maybe these poems contain Vaiṣṇava theological niceties that may not appeal to some or most of the ordinary readers, yet their sincerity and the ring of whole-hearted devotion is intensely appealing. These prayer-poems are sung reverently in the evening at every pious Vaiṣṇava home in Bengal. In these poems there is the true note of Vaiṣṇava-like humility which we find in the life of Caitanya-deva and in some of his immediate followers.

A few typical prayers by Narottama-dāsa are given below. In the translations, I am afraid, the elusive charm of the originals is quite lost.

gaurāṅga balite habe pulaka śarīra |
hari hari balite nayane bahe nīra ||
āra kabe nitāi-cāda karuṇā karibe |
saṃsāra-vāsanā mora kabe tuccha habe ||
viṣaya chāriyā kabe śubdha habe mana |
kabe hāma heraba śrī-vṛndāvana ||
rūpa raghunātha bali haïbe ākuti |
kabe hāma bujhaba se yugala-pirīti ||
rūpa-raghunātha-pade rahu mora āśa |
prārthanā karaye sadā narottama-dāsa || [PKT. 3046.]

« When will all my body bristle up (in joy) in taking the Name of Gaurāṅga? When will tears flow from (my) eyes when taking the Name of Hari? When will (my) precious Nitāī (Nityānanda) take pity (on me)? When will (my) worldly desires become as vain things for me? When will my mind give up the world, and so be cleansed? When shall I visit the glorious Vṛndāvana? When shall I yearn after Rūpa and Raghunātha? When shall I properly understand the love of the (Divine) Couple? May my hopes be in the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha. So does Narottama-dāsa ever pray. »

he govinda gopīnāthā, kṛpā kari rākha nija-pathe |
kāma krodha chayā-jane laiyā phire nānā-sthāne
viṣaya bhuñjāy nānā-mate ||
haïyā māyāra dāsa kari nānā abhilāṣa
tomāra smaraṇa gela dūre |
artha-lābha ei āśe kapaṭa-vaiṣṇava-veśe
bhramiyā buliye ghare ghare ||
aneka duḥkhera pare laiyāchilā vraja-pure
kṛpā-ḍora galāyā bāndhiyā |
daiva-māyā balātkāre khasāïyā sei ḍore
bhava-kūpe dilekā ḍāriyā ||
puna yadi kṛpā kari e-janāra keśe dhari
ṭāniyā tolaha vraja-bhūme |
tabe se dekhiye bhāla nahe bola phurāïla
kahe dīna dāsa narottame || [PKT. 3023.]

« O Govinda, Gopīnātha! do Thou take pity (on me) and keep (me) in Thy path. The six (passions headed by) lust (desire) and anger are as strong ropes dragging me from place to place and forcing (me) to partake of worldliness. A slave to *māyā*, I entertain various (worldly) desires: contemplation of Thyself is far away. With the hope of gaining wealth, in the garb of a false Vaiṣṇava, I roam from house to house. After great sufferings, Thou didst fasten me with the cable of pity around my neck and hast taken me to the land of the Vraja. But the divine *māyā* untied it perforce and threw me down (again) into the well of the world. If Thou feelest compassion (for me) again and draggest me out by holding me by the hair, it then looks all well; if not my cry to Thee is at an end. So says poor Narottama-dāsa. »

nātha he

kaupīna khuliyā leha kapāle sindura deha
paribāra deha nīla-sāṛī |
kaṅkaṇa keyūra diyā nija-dāsī bānāïyā
hāthe deha subarṇera cūṛī ||
hastete candana laiyā tava aṅge chiṭāïyā
phula-mālā diba tava gale |
tomāra nikaṭe raiyā tāmbula vadane diyā
tomāre dhariba nija-kole ||
dāsa nāma ghucāïyā dāsī nāma dharāïyā
rākhaha āmāyā nija-pāśe |
kahiyā rasera kathā ghucāha manera bethā
māthe deha su-cācara keśe ||
dāsī kari rākha vāme śunāha bāśīra gāne
purāha āmāra mana-āśa |
dūra kara kuṭī-nāṭi māthe deha sīthi-pāṭi
dhanya kara narottama-dāsa || [APR. 352.]

«My Lord! Take off my loin cloth, put a small point of vermilion on (my) forehead and give (me) a blue *sari* to wear. Giving me bangles and armlets and making me Thy personal serving maid, give me gold bracelets (to put on). Taking sandal-paste in my hand I would sprinkle it on Thy person, and I would hang a wreath of flowers round Thy neck. I would stand by Thee, would put betel in Thy mouth, and would hold Thee in embrace. Take away my name of *dāsa* (male slave[1]), endow me with the name of *dāsī* (female slave[2]), and keep me by Thy side. Talking words of love, do Thou remove the sorrows of my heart: give me beautiful tresses of hair on my head. Give me a place to Thy left: make me hear songs of Thy flute, and fulfil the desire of my heart. Take away all the petty worries; on (my) head put a woman's jewel for the front, and render Narottama-dāsa blessed.»

The poet's *Prema-bhakti-candrikā* is a poem of one hundred and nineteen couplets (in *tripadī* metre) containing the main tenets of Neo-Vaiṣṇava *sādhanā* in a very simple and highly poetical language. The prototype of this treatise seems to be the *Smaraṇa-darpaṇa* of Rāmacandra-Kavirāja, our poet's best friend and closest companion.

[1] Also the surname of a non-Brahmin, but adopted by Brahmin Vaiṣṇavas as well.
[2] Also the usual surname for a non-Brahmin woman.

In PKT. the Brajabuli poems of Narottama-dāsa number about a dozen. The following are given as specimens :

duhũ dohā-daraśane pulakita-aṅga |
dūre geo rajanī-ka viraha-taraṅga ||
yaiche viraha-jare lūṭhala rāï |
taichana amiyā-sāgare abagāï ||
duhũ mukha cumbaï duhũ mukha heri |
ānande dũhu-jana karu nānā-keli ||
sukhamaya-yāminī cāda ujora |
kuharata kokila ānanda-bibhora ||
vikasita su-kusuma malaya-samīra |
jhala-mala jhala-mala kuñja-kuṭīra ||
biharaye rādhā-mādhava raṅge |
narottama-dāsa heri pulakita-aṅge || [PKT. 323.]

« The bodies of the two, when they saw each other, bristled up in joy, and the pains of the previous night's separation subsided. Rāï (Rādhikā) swam in the sea of bliss to the extent she suffered from the fever of separation. They two looked into and kissed each other's face : in joy they disported at will. It was a pleasurable night and the moon was shining : the cuckoo, wild with joy, was singing ; beautiful flowers were all in bloom ; and a southern breeze was blowing. The garden house was all aglow. Rādhā and Mādhava were in playful sport : seeing it Narottama-dāsa is in exhilaration. »

rāï herala yaba so mukha-indu |
uchalala mana-māhā ānanda-sindhu ||
bhāṅgala māna rodana-hi bhora |
kānu kamala-kare mochaï lora ||
māna-janita dukha saba dūre gela |
duhũ mukha daraśane ānanda bhela ||
lalitā-viśākhā-ādi yata sakhī-gaṇa |
ānande magana bhela dekhi dui-jana ||
nikuñjera mājhe duhũ-keli-vilāsa |
dūra-hi dūre rahu narottama-dāsa || [PKT. 461.]

« When Rāï saw that moon-like face (of Kṛṣṇa), the sea of joy heaved up high in her heart. Her love-sulks were off : she was in a flood of tears. Kānu was wiping her tears with his pretty hands. All distress due to estrangement was removed, and they were extremely glad to see

each other's face. Lalitā, Viśākhā and all other friends were overjoyed to see the Couple. (Such is) their sport in the grotto; and Narottama-dāsa remained at a great distance (and looked on).»

The details of the life of Narottama-Ṭhākura are to be seen from the *Prema-vilāsa* of Nityānanda-dāsa, the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and the *Narottama-vilāsa* of Narahari-dāsa (Cakravartī).

Śyāmānanda ('Kṛṣṇadāsa') [*c.* A. C. 1583].

Śyāmānanda was a friend and colleague of Śrīnivāsa and Narottama. He was responsible for the spread of Vaiṣṇavism in the Orissa frontier. Śyāmānanda went to Vṛndāvana and read Vaiṣṇava philosophy with Jīva-Gosvāmin. He returned to Bengal in company with Śrīnivāsa and Narottama. His life can be found in detail in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*.

There are three poems in PKT. with the *bh.* of Śyāmānanda. Of these only one poem is in Brajabuli with a slight admixture of Brajbhākhā [2843]. In the *Siddhānta-candrodaya* there is another Bengali poem by Śyāmānanda [10].

Śyāmānanda was known also as 'Duḥkhī Kṛṣṇadāsa,' or simply as 'Duḥkhinī.' The lyrics with the *bh.* of 'Dīna Kṛṣṇadāsa,' or 'Duḥkhī Kṛṣṇadāsa,' or 'Dīna Duḥkhī Kṛṣṇadāsa' were very probably written by Śyāmānanda. This is supported by the poems PKT. 2358, 2359, 2360. These poems contain those epithets and deal with Caitanya-deva and Nityānanda-prabhu bestowing favour on Gaurīdāsa-Paṇḍita. Now this Gaurīdāsa-Paṇḍita was the *guru* of Śyāmānanda's *guru*. And the poet mentions Gaurīdāsa as 'prabhu' (Master). So there can be no doubt that the author of these poems was Śyāmānanda.

There is only one Brajabuli poem (with traces of Brajbhākhā) with the *bh.* of 'Dīna Kṛṣṇadāsa' [PKT. 1085]. It is quoted below:

soṅaro nava gaura-candra
nāgara banawāri |
navadvīpa-indu karuṇā-sindhu
bhakta-vatsala-kārī ||

vadana canda adhara raṅga
nayane galata prema-taraṅga
candra-koṭi bhānu-koṭi
śobhā nichawāri |

kusuma-śobhita cācara cikura
lalāṭe tilaka nasikā ujora
daśana motima amiyā hāsa
dāminī ghanawāri ॥

makara-kuṇḍala jhalake gaṇḍa
maṇi-kaustubha-dīpta kaṇṭha
aruṇa vasana karuṇa vacana
śobhā ati-bhārī ।

mālya-candana-carcita aṅga
lāje lajjita koṭi anaṅga
aṅgada balayā ratana-nūpura
yajña-sūtra-dhārī ॥

chatra dharata dharaṇī-dharendra
gāota yaśa bhakata-vṛnda
kamalā-sevita pāda-dvandva
baliye balihāri ।

kahata dīna kṛṣṇadāsa
gaura-caraṇe karata āśa
patita-pāvana nitāi-cānda
prema-dāna-kārī ॥ [PKT. 1085.]

'I contemplate on Gaura, a veritable second moon, a sportive lover with a garland of wild flowers (like Kṛṣṇa). He is the moon in the firmament of Navadvīpa. He is a veritable sea of compassion. He is greatly devoted to his followers. His face is like the moon. His lips are red. Tears of love flow from his eyes. His loveliness defies the beauty of millions of suns and millions of moons. His long and wavy locks are decorated with flowers. *Tilaka* (patch-decorations) beautify his forehead and nose. His teeth are like pearls. His nectarian smiles are like unto the flashes of lightning. Ear-ornaments shaped like a *makara* dazzle against his cheeks. His neck is beautified with the *kaustubha* gem. Rose-pink is the colour of his clothes. His speech is tender. All these make a marvellous display. His limbs are painted with sandal-paste and decorated with garlands. At his loveliness millions of gods of love are abashed. He has put on armlets, bracelets, jewelled anklets, and his holy thread. The wielder of the earth holds up the royal umbrella over his head. His devotees sing hymns (of devotion). His two feet are being massaged by Kamalā (the goddess of fortune). One cries out (in despair at the glory)—'I am a sacrifice to it all.'

So says poor Kṛṣṇadāsa. His hopes lie in the feet of Gaura, (and in) Nitāi, the moon-like, who purifies the outcast and who is the bestower of Divine Love.

Kṛṣṇadāsa [d. 1582].

In PKT. there are three poems in mixed Brajbhākhā (2859, 2860, 2861). These must have apparently been written by one who had lived at Vṛndāvana for some time at least. If Śyāmānanda is not the author of these songs, we must then ascribe them to the great Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja, who spent most of his long life in the Vaiṣṇava holy land. One of these poems [2859] describing Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is much sung by Bengal Vaiṣṇavas, and may be said to form part of the ritual of worship in a Kṛṣṇa temple or chapel. This wide celebrity of an otherwise ordinary poem could only be due to the fame of the author who composed it. Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja might consequently be regarded as the author of this one at least, and possibly also of the next one [2860] as the language and sentiments show close similarity. The last poem is probably not his, as in the *bh.* 'Śrī' is used before the name, which Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja in his humility would never do. The poem 2859 is given below, as being typical of the kind of litany or hymn sung in Vaiṣṇava service, to the accompaniment of the peculiar Bengali Vaiṣṇava drum (*khol*, or *mṛdaṅga*, with a clay body) and bell-metal cymbals.

jaya rādhe śrī- rādhe kṛṣṇa
śrī-rādhe jaya rādhe |
nanda-nandana vṛṣa- -bhānu-dulārī
sakala-guṇa-agādhe ||
nava-ghana-sundara nawala-kiśorī
nija-guṇa hitama-sādhe |
cācara-keśe maūra-śikhaṇḍaka
kuñcita-keśinī jāde ||
pītāmbara-dhara oṛhe nīla-sāṛī
ghana saudāminī rāje |
kānu-gale vana- mālā virājita
rāi-gale moti sāje ||
aruṇita-caraṇe mañjīra rañjita
khañjana-gañjana lāje |
kṛṣṇadāsa bhaṇe śrī-vṛndāvane
yugala kiśora birāje || [PKT. 2859.]

« Hail, O Rādhā, O Śrī-Rādhā, O Kṛṣṇa, O Śrī-Rādhā ! Hail, O Rādhā ! O Son of Nanda ! O the darling Daughter of Vṛṣa-bhānu, who art endowed with all virtues ! O Thou, beautiful as fresh (dark) clouds ! O Thou the young damsel ! O Thou who achievest the good of the world through Thy own goodness ! O Thou who hast the peacock feather on Thy curly hair ! O Thou who hast a bow at the tail of Thy plaited locks ! One puts on yellow garments and the other wears a (dark) blue *sari*: (as if) lightning is flashing against a mass of dark clouds. From the neck of Kṛṣṇa hangs a *vana-mālā*,[1] and a (necklace of) pearls beautifies the neck of Rāï (*i.e.*, Rādhikā). At their rosy feet jingle anklets (which) put to shame the notes of the *khañjana* bird. Kṛṣṇadāsa says: 'In Śri Vṛndāvana may the Young Couple reign supreme.' »

Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja completed the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* in Śaka 1503 (= 1581 A. C.) and not in Śaka 1537 (= 1615 A. C.) as is generally supposed.

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[1] A kind of wreath made of wild flowers.

CHAPTER VII

'GOVINDADĀSA'

Three distinguished men of the above name flourished in the annals of Vaiṣṇava literature in Bengal—(*i*) Govindadāsa Kavirāja, (*ii*) Govindadāsa-Cakravartī and (*iii*) Govindadāsa-Ācārya. It is convenient to treat them together, as there has been a considerable confusion among them and their compositions. I take the greatest of them first.

Govindadāsa Kavirāja [? 1535—? 1613 A.C.].

Govindadāsa Kavirāja, the greatest poet of Brajabuli literature and one of the great poets of Bengal, was born at Śrīkhaṇḍa (Burdwan District, near Katwa) probably in the third decade of the sixteenth century. His father Cirañjīva-Sena was one of the earlier followers of Caitanya-deva; he had left his native village Kumāra-nagara on the river Bhāgīrathī (Hugli), and settled at Śrīkhaṇḍa after he had married Sunandā, the only daughter of the celebrated Sanskrit poet and scholar Dāmodara-Sena, the author of the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, a treatise on music. (This work has been quoted from in Pitāmbara-dāsa's *Rasa-mañjarī*, VSP. edition.) Two sons were born to Cirañjīva, Rāmacandra and Govinda. Cirañjīva died early, leaving his two young sons under the care of his father-in-law. When they were of age they shifted their residence to their ancestral home at Kumāra-nagara, but later on they migrated to Teliyā Budhari (in Murshidabad District, on the way to Khetarī from lower Bengal) where they had acquired some landed property.

Rāmacandra was a very handsome and fair-complexioned person, and he was an accomplished scholar. As he was riding on a palanquin as a bridegroom on his way to his future father-in-law's place, Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya saw him and asked his companions who that extremely handsome young man was. On getting their reply he remarked that it would be a very happy thing if such a handsome and worthy person were to devote his life to Kṛṣṇa. This remark Rāmacandra heard and he

thought a lot about it, and as a result, the very day after his marriage he came to the Ācārya and begged for spiritual initiation from him. The Ācārya complied with his request. Thenceforward Rāmacandra Kavirāja became a great devotee. He followed his *guru* in almost all his travels and wanderings. Narottama-Ṭhākura when he met Rāmacandra, was greatly struck with his scholarship, piety and personality, and in no time they became such great friends that it was remarked that Narottama and the Kavirāja were a single personality, though they had separate bodies.

Govindadāsa like his grandfather Dāmodara was a Śakti-worshipper. But his brother's conversion and piety as well as personality moved him so much that he wished to be forthwith initiated into Vaiṣṇavism. This was not to happen for quite a long period. Meanwhile Govinda was married and had a son, Divya-siṃha (='the divine lion,' the vehicle of Devī). Govindadāsa fell ill and suffered for a long time, and his sickness was not to be cured. When he despaired of his life he wrote to his brother who then happened to be with Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, to make haste and fulfil his last desire so that he at least might die a Vaiṣṇava. The Ācārya, on his way to Khetarī, visited Govindadāsa at Kumāra-nagara, and initiated him to Vaiṣṇavism. Strange to say, after his initiation Govindadāsa recovered from his sickness. Govinda's wife Mahāmāyā, and his son Divya-siṃha also became disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. Govinda's conversion happened sometime before 1582 A.C.

Govindadāsa had already made a name as a poet. So the Ācārya requested him to narrate the legend of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in his poems. Govindadāsa had a mind to describe the life and incidents of Caitanya-deva, but his *guru* asked him not to do so, fearing that the poems of his predecessors on the subject might be superseded thereby.

The fame of Govindadāsa's poems soon crossed the borders of Bengal and reached Vṛndāvana. The scholars and saintly men there, with Jīva-Gosvāmin at their head, were immensely pleased with his poems, and as a mark of high appreciation they gave him the title of 'Kavirāja,' or 'Kavīndra' (the master poet).

Govindadāsa was present at the festival at Khetarī. He died probably in 1613 A.C.

[The materials for this history of Govindadāsa have been discussed in a monograph on Govindadāsa Kavirāja by myself (Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, B.E. 1336, No. 2, pp. 69-124). There authentic accounts

of Govindadāsa's life-history as well as the history of his literary activity have been given. It has also been conclusively shown therein that Govindadāsa Kavirāja was not a Maithil poet as a prominent Bengali writer believed, confusing him with a problematic Govinda-Ojhā of Mithilā as a sort of understudy of Vidyāpati in Bengali literature.]

In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* the Brajabuli poems by Govindadāsa number about four hundred and twenty-five; a few more are found in the *Padāmṛta-samudra* of Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura. Besides these, there are several poems by Govindadāsa in PKT. which have, for reasons of artistic expression (as otherwise the occurrence of the name of the poet would jar with the general sentiment or narration), been quoted without the colophon.[1] Among the poems containing the *bhaṇitā* of Govindadāsa there are at least twenty-one poems which contain a double *bhaṇitā*: thus, there are nine poems which contain the joint *bhaṇitā* of 'Vidyāpati' and 'Govindadāsa,'[2] three with the joint *bhaṇitā* of 'Govindadāsa' and 'Rāya Vasanta,'[3] one with the joint *bhaṇitā* of 'Rāya Santoṣa' and 'Govinda-dāsa,'[4] one with that of 'Narasiṃha, Rūpa-nārāyaṇa' and 'Govindadāsa,'[5] one with that of 'Bhūpati Rūpa-nārāyaṇa' and 'Govindadāsa,'[6] one with that of 'Govindadāsa' and 'Hari-nārāyaṇa,'[7] and two with that of 'Rāya Campati' and 'Govindadāsa,'[8] two with that of 'Śrī-vallabha' and 'Govindadāsa'[9] and one with that of 'Pratāpa-Ādita' and Govindadāsa' [KPS., p. 191].

With the exception of Vidyāpati all these persons were the poet's contemporaries and friends, and the poet had mentioned their names in his own lyrical compositions either to show his love or respect for them, or because he wrote that poem at their particular request.[10] The reason for mentioning Vidyāpati is that the poet completed some poems by the former, which were then current in mutilated form[11] and also

[1] *Cf.* PKT. 428, 995, 1296, 1382, 1639.

[2] PKT. 93, 261, 400, 1296, 1640, 1671, 1802; *Padāmṛta-samudra* (Second Edition, Berhampore, pp. 97, 109 [=Kīrttanānanda, pp. 118f., 191].

[3] PKT. 1050 1720, 2422 ['Rāya-Santoṣa' and 'Govindadāsa' in *Kīrttanānanda*, p. 45].

[4] PKT. 2415. [5] PKT. 2416. [6] PKT. 2420.

[7] PKT. 2407 [=Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 32].

[8] PKT. 531, 538 [v.l. 'Prāta-ādita' and 'Govindadāsa'].

[9] PKT. 225, 234 [=Kīrttanānanda, pp. 226f. 246].

[10] *Vide* VSPP., Vol. 36, p. 72 ff., 80 ff. [11] *Vide* VSPP., Vol. 36, p. 78.

to give retorts to some expressions of Vidyāpati. It is also possible that in some of these poems he had referred to his contemporary the younger Vidyāpati [see *infra*].

There was another Govindadāsa, Govindadāsa-Cakravartī, who was our poet's contemporary and who was also a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. Of this poet I shall speak later on. Though there is no doubt that the poems by these two poets bearing the identical name have been mixed up to a great extent, we can with a little care and trouble easily find out the best of them which undoubtedly belong to Govindadāsa Kavirāja, the master poet. Moreover Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura in his Sanskrit commentary on his anthology *Padāmṛta-samudra* has mentioned the proper author of a few of the poems with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Govindadāsa'.[1] None of the poems which Rādhāmohana ascribes to the Kavirāja are written in Bengali, from which it might be concluded that the poet did not write any poem in Bengali. But this conclusion seems, on the very face of it, absurd that a great Bengali poet should not write in Bengali. Moreover there are in Bengali some very fine verses, though possibly not as fine as the best Brajabuli ones that bear the name of Govindadāsa in the *bhaṇitā*. But as we have no means to judge which belongs to whom, it is best that we should discuss them under a separate joint heading.

Govindadāsa compiled an anthology of his own poems, which was known to Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura [Padāmṛta-samudra, pp. 17 f.]. It is at present too much to say whether it was named 'Gītāmṛta,' or anything else.

Of all the Brajabuli poets Govindadāsa Kavirāja was the best trained in Sanskrit literature and scholarship. His maternal grandfather was a great Sanskritist, and from him Govindadāsa and his elder brother Rāmachandra inherited their poetic inspiration as well as scholarly temperament. Very possibly the two brothers were his pupils. As a poet with a sound classical training would do, Govindadāsa drew largely upon classical lyric poetry (including 'Udbhaṭa' poems) for treatment in the vernacular. All the simple and complex figures of speech and other devices known in Sanskrit Rhetorics were utilised by our poet. But the greatest achievement of Govindadāsa Kavirāja is metrical perfection added to musical assonance and rhythmic movement. For this the poet had to take recourse to *anuprāsa*, which never

[1] *Vide* Padāmṛta-samudra, pp. 17, 21, 27, 30, 34, etc.

marred the beauty of his poems as it would have surely done in case of poems by an inferior poet. This love for alliteration and assonance is, of course, not infrequently responsible for the absence of depth of thought. Though only the external polish is apparent in his poems, it cannot be denied that the poet's power of describing the amorous sentiments and his colourful imagination were of a very high order. Being clothed in Brajabuli, an artificial language at the best, the sincerity and direct appeal of his poems were very often bound to be lost. But the music of his verses and rhythmic diction of his language, full of *tatsama* and *semi-tatsama* words and forms, compensate for everything. Inspite of all his literary blemishes Govindadāsa is the greatest poet of Brajabuli and one of the greatest poets of Bengali literature too.

The poet modelled his songs after those of Vidyāpati to whom he is often indebted for thought and for language as well. He is also supposed to have completed a few of the mutilated poems of that great Maithil poet. Govindadāsa Kavirāja had perfect command over metres of which he had used a great variety. The popularity and success of his poems were immediate and immense. Even now in 'Rasa-Kīrttana' his songs greatly predominate over the songs of all the other poets combined. Moreover Govindadāsa had written poems from all the psychological aspects and on all the different topics of the love story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in illustration of the analysis by Rūpa-Gosvāmin in his *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*.

With this brief preface on literary criticism of Govindadāsa Kavirāja's poetry, I now proceed to give a connected sketch of his Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa lyrics in barest outlines. The quotations will suffice to reveal all the merits and demerits of this great poet of Bengal.

The poet describes Kṛṣṇa's transcendental beauty in this manner :

aruṇita-caraṇe raṇita maṇi-mañjīra
ādha ādha pada calani rasāla |
kāñcana-vañcana vasana manorama
ali-kula-milita lalita-vanamāla ||
bhāle bani āota madana-mohaniyā |
aṅga-hi aṅga anaṅga-taraṅgima
raṅgima-bhaṅgima nayana-nācaniyā ||

mājha-hi khīṇa pīna-ura ambara
prātara-aruṇa-kiraṇa-maṇi rāja |
kuñjara-karabha-kara-hi kara-bandhana
malayaja kaṅkaṇa valaya virāja ||
adhara-sudhā-jhara muralī-taraṅgiuī
vigalita raṅginī-hṛdaya-dukūla |
mātala nayana bhramara janu bhrami bhrami
ūṛi paṛata śruti-utapala-phula ||
rocana tilaka cūṛe bani candraka
beṛhala ramaṇī-mana-madhukara-māla |
govindadāsa-cite niti niti biharaï
iha nāgara-vara taruṇa-tamāla || [PKT. 2424.]

«On his rosy feet tinkle jewel anklets; with half steps his gait is charming. The charming (upper) garment defies (the colour of) gold; there is a lovely *vana-mālā* (wreath of wild flowers) upon which bees are hovering. In his every limb love seems to be surging up: he causes his eyes to dance in sportive glee. Around his slender waist and strong thighs (is wrapped) a cloth as beautiful as the bright rays of the morning sun. On his arms, which resemble the trunk of a young elephant, there are beautiful ornamental sandal decorations, and also bangles and wristlets. His flute, like a river, is flowing with the nectar (of melody) from his lips, and the clothes (*or* banks) of the hearts of sportive maidens are falling away. His dancing eyes fly hither and thither like bees and run to the lotus flowers at his ears. There is lovely *tilaka*, or patch-mark, and also a well-set peacock's feather on the crest around which seems to be wound up the chain of bees which are but the hearts of girls, the *Gopīs*. This gallant person, (who resembles) a young *tamāla* plant, is always sporting in the heart of Govindadāsa.»

nanda-nandana- canda candana-
gandha-nindita-aṅga |
jalada-sundara kambu-kandhara
nindi sindhura bhaṅga ||
prema-ākula- gopa gokula-
kulaja-kāminī-kānta |
kusuma-rañjana- mañju-vañjula-
kuñja-mandira santa ||

gaṇḍa-maṇḍala- valita-kuṇḍala
uṛe cūṛe śikhaṇḍa |
keli-tāṇḍava- tāla-paṇḍita
bāhu-daṇḍita-daṇḍa ||
kañja-locana kaluṣa-mocana
śravaṇa-rocana-bhāṣa |
amala-kamala- caraṇa-kiśalaya[1]-
nilaya govindadāsa || [PKT. 2419.]

« The moon-like Son of Nanda has, in his person, a fragrance that surpasses the perfume of sandal. He is as beautiful as (dark) cloud; his neck is shapely like a conch; and (his graceful gait) defies the undulation of the sea. He has made the *Gopas* mad in his affection: he is the lover of the girls of the high families at Gokula. He (loves) to dwell in a fine garden house in a fair pleasaunce of flowers and *vañjula* plants. His round cheeks are decked with earrings: on his crest the wind plays through a peacock's feather. He is a master in the time-beat of the dance of amorous sports, and his arms surpass the staff (in roundness and strength). His eyes are like lotuses; (his sight) drives off sin; and his speech soothes the ears. Govindadāsa has his home in the lotus of his soft and pure feet. »

In the following poem the poet describes Rādhā's beauty:

śarada-sudhākara- maṇḍala-maṇḍana-
khaṇḍana vadana-vikāśa |
adhare milāyata śyāma-manohara-
cita-corāyāni hāsa ||
āju nava śyāma-vinodinī rāï |
tanu-tanu-atanu- yūtha-śata-sevita-
lābaṇi baraṇi nā yāï ||
kavarī-bakula-phule ākula-ali-kula
madhu pibi pibi utarola |
sakala-alaṅkṛti- kaṅkaṇa-jhaṅkṛti
kiṅkiṇī raṇa-raṇi bola ||
pada-paṅkaja para maṇimaya-nūpura
raṇa-jhaṇa khañjana-bhāṣa |
madana-mukura janu nakha-maṇi-darapaṇa
nichani govindadāsa || [PKT. 2463.]

[1] 'kiśalaya' should be read as 'kiśala.'

« The pervading loveliness of her face defeats the beauty of the orb of the autumn moon. Round her lips there is the suspicion of a smile that charms the mind and steals the heart of Śyāma. Rāï (=Rādhikā) to-day looks fresh and lovely and charms Śyāma: her beauty, which is wooed by hundreds of crowds of lovely gods of love, cannot be described. In the *bakula* flowers on her coiffure intoxicated bees are mad with drinking honey again and again. All her ornaments, bracelets and all, are tinkling; her girdle sets up a jingle. On her lotus feet there are jewel anklets which sound like the notes of the *khañjana*. Her (toe-) nails, that are but polished rubies, are indeed the mirrors of love: Govindadāsa (would gladly be) a sacrifice (to avert all evil). »

Rādhā has seen Kṛṣṇa, and she has fallen deeply in love with him, so that everything that reminds her of Kṛṣṇa has become very dear to her. So the poet describes her in this mood in the following poem :—

locane śyāmara vacana-hi śyāmara
śyāmara cāru-nicola |
śyāmara hāra hṛdaye maṇi śyāmara
śyāmara-sakhī karu kora ||
mādhava, ithe yadi bolabi āna |
acapala-kulavatī- mati umatāyali
kiye tuhū mohinī jāna ||
marama-hi śyāmara parijana pāmara
jhāmara mukha-aravinda |
jhara-jhara lora-hi lolita-kājara
vigalita locana-ninda ||
manamatha sāgara rajani ujāgara
nāgara tuhū kiye bhora |
govindadāsa kata-hū āśoyāsaba
milaba-hu nanda-kiśora || [PKT. 40.]

« Her eyes are (painted) black with collyrium; Śyāma (only is) her talk; her fine garment is of dark colour. A wreath of dark (flowers) with a pendant of dark emerald hangs on her breast; she embraces her dark-complexioned friends. Mādhava, do not please talk in another strain in this matter. You have moved the strong heart of a lady of good family;—what magic do you know! Śyāma is in her heart

of hearts; her people are all cruel (to her); her face is now like a withering lotus. Her streaming tears are wiping out the collyrium paint: sleep has departed from her eyes. Love is now) a wide, wide sea (to her): the night she passes keeping awake. O you gallant one, have you forgotten (her)? How long would Govindadāsa assure (her) that the Son of Nanda is sure to meet her? »

Rādhā was at last compelled to confess her love to one of her closest friends. She had seen Kṛṣṇa thus:

ḍhala-ḍhala sajala- jalada-tanu śohana
mohana-abharaṇa-sāja |
aruṇa-nayana gati bijuri-camaka jiti
dagadhala kulavatī-lāja ||
sajanī, yāïte pekhalū kāna |
taba dhari jaga bhari bharala kusuma-śara
nayane nā heriye āna ||
majhu mukha daraśi bihasi tanu moṛaï
vigalita mohana-vaṃśa |
nā jāniye kona manorathe ākula
kiśalaya- ale karu daṃśa ||
ataye se majhu mana jvalata-hi anukhana
dolata capala-parāṇa |
govindadāsa michaï āśoāsala
aba-hū nā milala kāna || [PKT. 73.]

« He had dressed up his person, lovely like a cloud laden with water, with brilliant decorations. His eyes were flushed red, and his movement was as the flash of lightning: it has burnt (to ashes) the decorum of a girl of a good family. My friend, I have seen Kṛṣṇa going on his way. From that moment the world has been full of flowery darts of Love, and I see nothing else. He looked at my face, and then he smiled and bent his body: (at this his charming flute fell down. Troubled with what desire I do not know, he was biting young twigs. Hence my heart is perpetually on fire: and my fleeting life is, as it were, on a swing. Govindadāsa has given (me) vain consolations: Kṛṣṇa does not come to me yet. »

Kṛṣṇa too has seen Rādhā and fallen in love with her. No meeting of the two lovers has yet been arranged, and Kṛṣṇa is extremely

love-sick. So a female friend of his (*dūtī*) comes to Rādhā and tells her of his sore plight, with a request to her to have trust in his sincerity.

mañjula-bañjula nikuñja-mandire
soñari so guṇa-gāma |
marama-antare japaye mantare
ekali tohāri nāma ||

rāmā he, tejaha kapaṭa-chanda |
madana-hilole to-binu dolata
nanda-nandana-canda ||
hima-himakara salila-śīkara
nindaï kālindī-tīra |
sarasa-candana- paraśe mūrchaï
sajala jvalata cīra ||
kaba-hũ uṭhata kaba-hũ baiṭhata
pantha herata tora |
amala-kamala- nayana-yugala
saghane galaye lora ||
eta-hũ yatane puruṣa-ratane
cite nāhi biśoāsa |
gahana-viraha- dahane dahaï
kahaï govindadāsa || [PKT. 217.]

«In that beautiful pavilion among the *bañjula* reeds he thinks of your goodness, and in his heart of hearts he mutters your name only as a *mantra*. My lady, give up your assumed ways. Without you, the moon-like Son of Nanda is hanging in Love's suspense. The cool moonbeams, spray of water, and the banks of the Kālindī (Yamunā) he deprecates: at the touch of sandal-paste he swoons away, and even wet clothes burn him. Now he stands up, now he sits down: now he looks along your way: from the lovely lotuses of his eyes tears are flowing ceaselessly. Even though he is in such distress you do not trust in that jewel of a man at your heart! He is burning in the vast flame of love. So says Govindadāsa.»

Rādhā is at last prevailed upon to meet Kṛṣṇa. She goes out but does not tell her companion where. Her motive is obvious, and her friend cannot check the temptation of cutting a joke at her cost.

cau-dike cakita- nayane ghana herasi
jhāpasi jhāpala-aṅga |
vacana-ka bhāti bujhaï nāhi pāriye
kāhā śikhali iha raṅga ||
sundari, kī phala parijana bāci |
śyāma-sunāgara- gupata-prema-dhana
jānalū hiya-māhā sāci ||
e tuā hāsa marama prakāśaï
prati-aṅga-bhaṅgima sākhī |
gāṭhi-ka hema vadana-māhā jhalakaï
eta-dine pekhalū ākhi ||
gahana-manorathe pantha nā herasi
jītali manamatha-rāja |
govindadāsa kahaï dhanī biramaha
mauna-hi samujhala kāja || [PKT. 227.]

« 'You are looking on all sides with frightened eyes, and you are covering up your already well-covered body. I do not understand the way you speak: where have you learnt this duplicity? My beauty, what is the good of deceiving your friends? I understand that you have guarded within your heart the treasure of secret love with the gallant Kṛṣṇa. This your smile reveals your heart, and your every gesture cries out as a witness. That the gold tied up at the hem of one's clothes is reflected on one's face is now verified with my own eyes. With engrossing love you do not see your way clearly: you have put to shame the god of love, the king.' Govindadāsa says: 'My lady, stop further talk: I understand the matter from her (*i.e.* Rādhā's) silence.' »

The lovers meet at last. Rādhā behaves like a young bashful girl who tastes of love for the first time. The poet's description of this scene is very realistic and charming, and it reminds one of the great poets of Classical Sanskrit.

dhari sakhī-ācare bhaï upacaṅka |
baïṭhe nā baïṭhaye hari-pariyaṅka ||
calaïte āli calaï puna cāha |
rasa-abhilāṣe āgorala nāha ||
lubudhala mādhava mugadhinī nārī |
ō ati-bidagadha e ati-goṅārī ||
paraśite tarasi kara-hi kara ṭhelaï |
heraïte bayana nayana-jala khalaï ||

haṭha-parirambhane thara-hari kāpa |
cumbane vadana paṭāñcale jhāpa ||
śūtalī bhīta putalī-sama gorī |
cīta-nalinī ali rahaï āgori ||
govindadāsa kahaï pariṇāma |
rūpa-ke kūpe magana bhela kāma || [PKT. 100.]

«Catching at the hem of her friend's *sari*, and being extremely nervous she sort of sat on (the edge of) Hari's bedstead. When her friend was about to depart, she too wanted to go away; but the lover, desirous of pleasures, barred her way out. Madhava was full of desire, and the girl was all devotion: the former was a cunning fellow, and the latter was all simplicity. (When Kṛṣṇa was about) to touch her she pushed his hands away with her own: (when Kṛṣṇa) looked at her face, tears welled up in her eyes. In his hard (*i.e.* forcible) embraces she trembled violently: at his kisses she covered her face up with the hem of her skirt. The lovely girl, terrified, then laid herself down (on the bed) like a doll: (and Kṛṣṇa looked like) a bee hovering about a painted lotus. Govindadāsa says that the result was that the lust of flesh (of Kṛṣṇa) was drowned in that well of (Rādhā's simple) beauty.»

Rādhā is waiting for Kṛṣṇa impatiently. Her friend comes to Kṛṣṇa and urges him to come to her at once, otherwise she might do something drastic.

mādhava, manamatha phirata aherā |
ekalī nikuñje dhanī phula-śare jara-jara
pantha nehārata terā ||
ūjara śaśadhara dīpa pajārala
ali-kula ghāghara-rola |
hanaïte hariṇī- nayanī daraśāyaï
ō-hi ō-hi piku bola ||
tuhū ati-manthara gamana durantara
madhu-yāminī ati-choṭī |
so ghara-bāhira karata nirantara
nimikha mānaye yuga-koṭi ||
āśā-pāśa lei gale baïṭhali
prema-kalapa-taru-mūla |
kīye amiyā kiye dharaba garala-phala
govindadāsa kaha phūra || [PKT. 318.]

« O Mādhava, the god of love is moving about unseen. That precious girl, hard hit with his flowery darts, is (waiting) all alone, looking along your way. The bright moon is the flaming torch; the hum of bees is the toll of bells; and the cry of the cuckoo—'Ohi, ohi'[1]—points out that girl with the eyes of a doe to be victimized. You are very slow; the walk is a very long one; and the springtime night is very short. She is constantly going out and coming in (in your expectation), and a trice appears to her as millions of aeons. With the noose of hope round her neck she is seated under the wishing-tree of love: whether it would bear nectarian or poisonous fruit—tell it frankly to Govindadāsa (*or* Govindadāsa says frankly that it may bear either nectarian or poisonous fruit). »

On a very cold wintry night Rādhā is secretly out for the trysting place. The poet thus describes her.

paukhalī rajanī pavana bahe manda |
cau-diśe hima himakara karu bandha ||
mandire rahata saba-hũ tanu kāpa |
jaga-jana śayane nayana rahu jhāpa ||
ō sakhi heri camaka mohe lāï |
aïche samaye abhisārala rāï ||
parihari taïchana sukhamaya-śeja |
uca-kuca-kañcuka bharama-hi teja ||
dhavalima eka vasane tanu gōï |
calali-ha kuñje lakhaï nāhi kōï ||
kamala-caraṇa tuhine nāhi dalaï |
kaṇṭaka-bāṭe kati-hũ nāhi ṭalaï ||
govindadāsa kaha ithe ki sandeha |
kiye bighini yāhā nūtana-neha || [PKT. 326.]

« It is a night in the month of Pauṣa (December-January): wind is blowing briskly; and frost on all sides has shut the moon out. Though staying behind doors all people are suffering (from bitter cold); and all the people of the world have ensconced themselves snugly in their beds even up to the eyes. My friend, it stupefies me (to find) that at such a time Rādhā is out to meet her lover! It is really strange that her feet do not even press the snow down, and that they do not slip anywhere

[1] *Literally* 'over there, over there!'

along her thorny path. Govindadāsa says: 'What is strange here? What can be an obstacle to the first love?' »

Rādhā waits and waits, but Kṛṣṇa does not come. At his delay a mutual friend of theirs comes to him and thus speaks to him.

hima-ṛtu-yāminī yāmuna-tīra |
tarala-latā-kula-kuñja-kuṭīra ||
tahī tanu thira nahe tuhina-samīra |
kaïche bañcaba śuna śyāma-śarīra ||
dhani tuhū mādhava dhani tuā nēha |
dhani dhani so dhanī parihara gēha ||
kulavatī-gaurava kaṭhina-kapāṭa |
guru-jana-nayana sakaṇṭaka-bāṭa ||
ko jāne eta-hū bighini abagāï |
aïchana samaye milaba tohe rāï ||
ithe yo pūraba duhū-manakāma |
tākara caraṇe hāmāri paraṇāma ||
govindadāsa taba-hū dhari jāga |
tuhū jani tejaba nava-anurāga || [PKT. 337.]

« 'It is a wintry night: the woodland pavilion, where creepers are all stirring (in the breeze), stands on the bank of the Yamunā. There is a sharp breeze (blowing), which is unbearable. Now listen to me, you dark-complexioned one: how can she stay on (there)? Bravo, you Mādhava! Bravo, your love! And three cheers for that girl who has left home (on such a night). The good name as a chaste lady is the stiffest door; and the way out is thorny with the (watchful) eyes of (her) superiors. Who could have guessed that she would brave so much danger only to meet you? For these reasons, my obeisance to the feet of him who shall fulfil the desire of you both (*i.e.* to the feet of the god of love).' Govindadāsa is awake and waiting (for your service) ever since; please do not neglect her first (advances of) love. »

In a quarrel of love there has occurred a temporary estrangement between the couple. Rādhā repents bestowing her love on such a fickle lover as Kṛṣṇa. So she thus speaks to her confidante.

kulavatī koï nayane jani heraï
herata puna jani kāna |
tanu heri jani prema bāṛhāyaï
prema karaï jani māna ||

sajanī, ataye māniye nija-dokha |
māna-dagadha jīu aba nāhi nikasaye
kānu-sañe ki karaba rokha ||
jo majhu caraṇa- paraśa-rasa-lālase
lākha minati mujhe kela |
tākara darašana bine tanu jara-jara
darašа paraśa-sama bhela ||
sahacarī mohe lākha samujhāyala
tāhe nā ropalū kāṇa |
govindadāsa sarasa-vacanāmṛte
puna bāhuṛāyaba kāna || [PKT. 434.]

«'Let no virtuous girl look upon another (*i.e.* a man) even with the corner of her eyes. If she must do it, let her not anyhow glance at Kṛṣṇa. If she must do it, let her not fall in love with him. But if she must do so, let her never be in the mood of love-sulk (*māna*) towards him. My friend, now I admit my own mistake. Burnt with sulk (*māna*), my life does not yet depart; how can I then be angry with Kṛṣṇa? He had made thousand apologies to me, with a desire of touching my feet only; without a sight of him my body is extremely sick. (Even) a sight (of him) has now become (as rare) as a touch (of his person). My friend argued with me a hundred thousand times: but to her I did not lend my ears.' Govindadāsa will again bring him back with (the help of these your) sweet and reviving words.»

Her friend now rates her for not paying heed to her words at the beginning of their love-affair. In this very charming poem, the poet, on behalf of Rādhā's companion, describes the painful sweetness of true love.

śunaïte kānu- muralī-rava-mādhurī
śravaṇe nibāralū tora |
heraïte rūpa nayana-yuga jhāpalū
taba mohe rokhali bhora ||
sundari, taïkhane kahala mo toy |
bharama-hi tā-sañe neha baṛhāyabi
janama goṅāyabi roy ||
binu guṇa parakhi para-ka rūpa-lālase
kāhe sōpali nija-dehā |
dine dine khoyasi iha rūpa-lābaṃ
jībaïte bhela sandehā ||

yo tuhũ hṛdaye prema-taru ropali
śyāma-jalada-rasa-āśe |
so aba nayana- nīra deï sīcaha
kahata-hi govindadāse ‖ [PKT. 435.]

« (When you were eager) to listen to the melodies of Kṛṣṇa's flute I had closed your ears : (when you were longing) to gaze at his beauty I had shut your ears. But you were then quite unreasonably angry with me. My dear, I had told you at that time that it was a great misfortune that you allowed your love for him to grow on and that you would have to pass your whole life in tears. Without first testing his sincerity why did you offer him your person, solely with the thirst for a man's beauty ? You are now losing your beauty and your grace; and your life is now in jeopardy. In expectation of rain water from the dark cloud, you have planted the tree of love in your heart, and now you must go on sprinkling it with your tears. So says Govindadāsa. »

With the above poem compare the following verse from the Century of Amaru [Amaru-śataka] :

anālocya premṇaḥ pariṇatim anādṛtya suhṛdas
tvayākāṇḍe māṇaḥ kim iti sarale preyasi kṛtaḥ |
samāśliṣṭā hy ete viraha-dahanodbhāsura-śikhāḥ
svahastenāṅgārās tad alam adhunāraṇya-ruditaiḥ ‖ [80]

« Not considering the sequel of (such) love and not taking your friends into confidence, why have you, my simple girl, adopted uselessly this attitude of sulk towards your beloved ? You have, with your own hand, embraced these charcoals giving up dazzling flames of painful separation. What is now the good of this crying in the wilderness ? »

Kṛṣṇa comes to Rādhā and supplicates her in the following manner :

madana kirāta- kusuma-śara dāruṇa
vṛndāvana-vana-mājha |
teñi ākula hari tohāri śaraṇa kari
parihari pauruṣa-lāja ‖

sundari, tuā diṭhi athira-sandhāna |
manamatha mārite joṛi nayana-śara
hānala hāmāri parāṇa ‖

duhū-śare jara-jara jivana-antara
kiye karaba nāhi jāna |
nija-yaśa cāï raï aba deyabi
adhara-sudhā-rasa pāna ||
maṇimaya-hāra- taraṅginī-tīra-hi
kuca-kanakācala-chāy |
aïche tapata-jane gopate rākhabi taba
govindadāsa yaśa gāy || [PKT. [1]]

«In the woods of Vṛndāvana the flowery darts of the hunter, the god of love, are extremely cruel. So I, Hari (*also* a lion), in trouble, seek your protection, giving up manliness and the sense of shame. But, my beauty, your glances are aimless missiles; the couple of darts (*i.e.* your glances), which were shot to kill the god of love, have pierced my heart. Now with the darts from both quarters my life and my heart are mortally wounded: I do not know what to do. Now, O Rādhā, you must have respect for your reputation, and you must give me a drink of the nectar at your lips. On the banks of the streamlet of (your) precious necklace and under the shade of the golden hills of (your two) breasts, you should keep confined such a distressed person (as I am); and then Govindadāsa will sing in your praise.»

Rādhā's love for Kṛṣṇa is getting more and more intense, and her people at home are getting more and more troublesome. But Rādhā does not care: her love is all in all to her. So she laments:

nava nava guṇa-gaṇa śravaṇa-rasāyana
nayana-rasāyana aṅga |
rabhasa-sambhāṣaṇa hṛdaya-rasāyana
paraśa-rasāyana saṅga ||
e sakhi, rasamaya antara yāra |
śyāma su-nāgara guṇa-gaṇa-sāgara
ko ahanī bichuraï pāra ||
guru-jana-gañjana gṛhapati-tarajana
kulavatī-kuvacana-bhāṣa |
yata paramāda saba-hū puna meṭaï
madhura-muralī-āśoyāsa ||

[1] This poem is interpolated between the songs 623 and 624 [PKT., Vol. ii, p. 7].

kiye karaba kula divasa-dīpa-tula
prema-pavane ghana ḍola |
govindadāsa yatana kari rākhata
lāja-ka jāle āgora ॥ [PKT. 902.]

«'His ever fresh goodness is the ambrosia for the ears: his person is the ambrosia for the eyes. His talks of love are the ambrosia for my heart; his company is the ambrosia for (the sense of) touch. O my friend! Who is there the girl who can forget the gallant hero Śyāma, the ocean of goodness, whose heart is all love? The taunts of my superiors, the loud chastisement of the master of the house, the slandering talks of ladies of noble conduct,—all these my troubles are compensated by the sweet consolations of his melodious flute. What shall I do with the family life? It is in fact (as useless as) a lamp in daytime, which is flickering violently in the gusts of love.' But Govindadāsa guards it carefully with the mantle of bashfulness.»

In a stormy and excessively rainy evening Rādhā is yearning to come out and meet Kṛṣṇa at the trysting place. Her friend tries to dissuade her in the following terms.

mandira-bāhira kaṭhina-kapāṭa |
calaïte śaṅkila paṅkila-bāṭa ॥
tahi ati-duratara bādala-dola |
vāri ki bāraï nīla-nicola ॥
sundari, kaïche karabi abhisāra |
hari raha mānasa-suradhunī-pāra ॥
ghana-ghana jhana-jhana bajara-nipāta |
śunaïte śravaṇa-maraṇa jari yāta ॥
daśa-diśa dāminī-dahana-bithāra |
heraïte uchakaï locana-tāra ॥
ithe yadi sundari tejabi geha |
prema-ka lāgi upekhabi deha ॥
govindadāsa kaha ithe ki vicāra |
chūṭala-bāṇa kiye yatane nibāra ॥ [PKT. 987.]

«'There is a strong door outside your home; the path is muddy and is dangerous for walk. In addition there is a very bad rain-storm raging. Can rain water be resisted by (your) dark-blue robes? My

pretty girl, how can you think of going out on love's errand (on such a night)? Hari is staying on the other side of the Mānasa-Gaṅgā. There are the repeated claps of thunder, which blast the very interior of the ears. The flash of lightning illuminates the quarters: on looking at it the very pupil of the eye is blinded. If now, my pretty girl, you leave home, then you really (intend to) lay down your life for the sake of love.' Govindadāsa says, 'What scruple can there be? Can any amount of efforts bring back a projected dart?' »

To this Rādhā replies in this manner.

kula-mariyāda- kapāṭa udaghāṭalū
tāhe ki kāṭha-ki bādhā |
nija-mariyāda- sindhu-sañe paẖāralū
tāhe ki taṭinī āgadhā ||
sahacari, majhu parikhana kara dūra |
yaïche hṛdaya kari pantha herata hari
soẖāri soẖāri mana jhūra ||
koṭi kusuma-śara barikhaye yachu para
tāhe ki jalada-jala lāgi |
prema-dahana-daha yāka hṛdaya saha
tāhe ki bajara-ka āgi ||
yachu pada-tale nija- jīvana sōpalū
tāhe ki tanu-anurodha |
govindadāsa kahaï dhanī abhisara
sahacarī pāola bodha || [PKT. 988.]

« 'I have forced open the doors of my family reputation: can then a wooden door be much of an obstacle? I have crossed over the sea of my own (good) reputation: can then a rivulet be impassable? My friend, do away scrutinizing me. My heart weeps when it remembers with how much yearning Hari is looking along my way. Can the water of clouds touch her on whom millions of love's arrows are raining down? Can blasts of lightning be of any account to her whose heart endures the burnings of flaming love? Can the appeal of the body stand against him at whose feet I have offered my own life?' Govindadāsa says: 'My sweet girl, say no more: (your) companion has come to her senses.' »

With the above two poems compare the following verse from the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* [3619].

'chidrānveṣaṇa-tatparaḥ priya-sakhi prāyeṇa loko'dhunā
rātriś cāpi ghanāndhakāra-bahulā gantuṃ na te yujyate |'
'mā maivaṃ sakhi vallabhaḥ priyatamas tasyotsūkā darśane
yuktāyukta-vicāraṇā yadi bhavet snehāya dattaṃ jalam ||'

«'The people now-a-days generally have the propensity of peeping into others' secrets. The night too is exceedingly dark. So it is not proper that you should go out.' 'Nay, not so, my friend. My lover is dearest unto me, and I am longing to meet him. If there now comes in any consideration of propriety then all is finished with love.'»

It is a beautiful autumn night. There is a bright full moon, and all the aspects of nature are full of charm and intoxication. Kṛṣṇa intends to hold a *Rāsa* dance on this very night. He plays a ravishing tune on his flute, and all the girls of the Vraja give up their activities at home and rush to the spot. This superb scene has received adequate treatment from Govindadāsa in the following charming poem.

śarada-canda pavana manda
vipine bharala kusuma-gandha
phulla mallikā mālatī yūthī
matta-madhukara-bhoraṇi |
herata rāti aïchana bhāti
śyāma mohana madane māti
muralī-gāna pañcama-tāna
kulavatī cita-coraṇi ||
śunata gopī prema rōpi
mana-hi mana-hi śpana sōpi
tāhi calata yāhi bolata
muralī-ka kala-lolani |
bisari geha nija-hū dēha
eka-nayane kājara-rēha
bāhe rañjita kaṅkaṇa eku
eku-kuṇḍala-dolani ||

śithila-chanda nīvi-ka bandha
bege dhāwata yuvati-vṛnda
khasata vasana raśana coli
galita-veṇi-lolani |
tata-hi beli sakhinī meli
kehu kāhu-ka patha nā heri
aïche milala gokula-canda
govindadāsa-gāani ‖ [PKT. 1255.]

« (It is) an autumnal moon ; a soft wind (is blowing) ; the woodland is saturated with the perfume of flowers ; *mallikā*, *mālatī* and *yūthī* flowers (are) in bloom, (and they are) deceiving the bees On seeing such beauty of the night Śyāma, intoxicated with the charm of love, (begins) to play the fifth note *(pañcama tāna)* that steals the hearts of chaste girls. The *Gopīs* hear it and they are filled with love. Mentally they offer themselves (to Kṛṣṇa) and run to the place from where issues the passionate music of the flute. They forget their home: they forget their body. (Some have) painted with collyrium only single eyes ; some girls' single arms only are decked with bracelets ; and some have only single earrings dangling. The knots of their girdles have become loosened. The maidens are rushing on with speed ; their clothes and girdles are slipping away (from their person), and their top-knots, becoming loose, dangle at their back. Then the friends meet, but they cannot take any notice of each other on the way. In this manner they came to the Moon of Gokula (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa). So sings Govindadāsa. »

For this poem the poet has borrowed much from the first chapter in the Rāsa episode of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* [x. 29. 1-8]. The scene, when the girls were rushing on in haste paying no attention to their persons, reminds us of the scene in the *Raghu-vaṃśa* and in the *Kumāra-sambhava* where the ladies of the town rush to the windows of their houses when Aja (or Śiva) is leading his marriage procession.

When the girls are rushing forward, Kṛṣṇa appears to them like a dark cloud. This imagery is very skilfully and poetically developed by the poet in the following poem :

surapati-dhanu ki śikhaṇḍa-ka cūre |
mālatī-jhuri ki balākinī ūre ‖

bhāla ki jhāpala vidhu-ādha-khaṇḍa |
karivara-kara kiye ō bhuja-daṇḍa ||
ō kiye śyāma naṭa-rāja |
jalada-kalapa-taru taruṇī-samāja ||
kara-kiśalaya kiye aruṇa-vikāśa |
muralī-khurali kiye cātaka-bhāṣa ||
hāsa ki jharaye amiyā makaranda |
hāra ki tāraka-dyoti-ka chanda ||
pada-tala ki thalakamala-ghana-rāga |
tāhe kala-haṃsa ki nūpura jāga ||
govin ladāsa kahaye matimanta |
bhūlala yāhe dvija rāya vasanta || [PKT. 1050.]

«Is it the rainbow, or is it the peacock's feather on his crest? Is it a wreath of *mālatī* flowers, or is it a chain of cranes in flight? Is it his forehead, or is it a crescent of the moon under obstruction (of a cloud)? Is that the trunk of a young elephant, or is that his shapely arm? Is it Śyāma, the king of dancers? Or is it a cloud that fulfils the desire of the bevy of young women? Are those (his) tender hands, or are they blooming lotuses? Is it the melody of his flute, or is it the notes of a *cātaka*? [1] Is it his smile, or is it honeyed nectar aflowing? Is it his necklace, or is it the dazzle of starlight? Is it his lotus feet, or is it the deep tint of *sthala-padma* flowers? Is it (a pair of) warbling ducks, or is it (a pair of) tinkling anklets? Govindadāsa says that the wise Brahmin Rāya Vasanta is infatuated with them (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa's feet).»

Kṛṣṇa will soon be leaving Vṛndāvana for Mathurā. Rādhā's friend knows of it, but she does not impart the news to her as it would cause her unnecessary heart-burning. But Rādhā perceives it in her heart of hearts. So she thus speaks to her friend:

jhāpala utapata-lore nayāna |
kaïche karata hiyā kahaï nā jāna ||
tuhū puna ki karabi gupata-hī rākhi |
tanu mana duhū mujhe deyata sākhi ||
taba kāhe gopasi ki kahaba toy |
bajara-ka vāraṇa kara-tale hoy ||

[1] A bird that is mythically reputed to drink only raindrops, and no ordinary water. It is always associated with the rain cloud.

jānalū re sakhi mauna-ka ora |
piyā paradeśa calaba mohe choṛa ||
gamana-ka samaye virodha jani koï |
piyā-ka amaṅgala yaïche nā hoï ||
samaya-samāpana kī phala āra |
prema-ka samucita aba-hū nivāra ||
govindadāsa ataye anumāna |
piyā paradeśī kāhe raha prāṇa || [PKT. 1601.]

«'My eyes are blinded with hot tears: I cannot describe how my heart feels. What can you do by keeping it away from me? My body and my mind are giving (me) forewarning. Why do you then conceal it (from me)? What more can I say to you? Can a thunderbolt be stopped with one's hands? I have understood, my friend, the purport of your silence: my darling will leave me and go away to a foreign land. Do not try to keep him back at the time of his departure, so that nothing inauspicious may occur to him. What is the good of further postponement? Self-control is now the only proper thing for love (to do).' Govindadāsa therefore surmises that life has no reason to stay on when the Beloved is about to go away.»

Kṛṣṇa has just left Vṛndāvana for good. Everything is empty, and it appears meaningless to Rādhā. So she laments to her friend in this manner:

śunala-hū māthura calaba murāri |
calata-hī pekhalū nayana pasāri ||
pālaṭi nehārite hāma raha hēri |
śūna-hi mandire āyalū phēri ||
dekha sakhi nīlaja-jīvana moï |
pirīti jānāyata aba ghana roï ||
so kusumita-vana kuñja-kuṭira |
so yamunā-jala malaya-samīra ||
so himakara heri lāgaye caṅka |
kānu bine jīvana kevala kalaṅka ||
eta-dine būjhala vacana-ka anta |
capala prema thira jīvana duranta ||
tāhe ati durajana-āśa-ki pāśa |
samvādi pā āota govindadāsa || [PKT. 1637.]

« (First) I heard that Murāri would be going to Mathurā : (then) he was actually going away and I looked on with my eyes. When I blinked again, I was looking on (but he was already out of sight), and I returned to my vacant home. Look here, my friend, my shameless life is now making a show of love by weeping bitterly. The same woodlands in blossoms, the same garden house, the same waters of the Yamunā and the same southern breeze, the same moon—when I look at all these it gives me pain (at my heart). Without Kṛṣṇa my life is (a series of) sheer sins. After all these days I have understood the significance of the dictum that love is fickle while life is hard and stable. Worse still is the fetter of hope from a hard, heartless person. (Why.) Govindadāsa does not yet return with a message. »

For the central idea of the above remarkable poem the poet is probably indebted to the following Sanskrit verse :

yāsyāmīti samudyatasya vacanaṃ viśrabdham ākarṇitaṃ
gacchan dūram upekṣito muhur asau vyāvṛtya paśyann api |
tac chūnye punar āgatāsmi bhavane prāṇās ta eva sthitāḥ
sakhyaḥ paśyata jīvita-praṇayinī dambhād ahaṃ rodimi ||

[Padyāvalī 323.][1]

« 'I am going away',—I had heard calmly these words of his when he was about to depart. While going away on a long journey he turned back again and again to look (at me), yet I remained unconcerned. Then I have come back home once again, and my vital forces are (as stable) as before. Friends, look here, life is really very dear to me, and I weep only as a mere show. »

There is not even the slightest hope of seeing Kṛṣṇa again at Vṛndāvana. Rādhā's love-sickness has therefore come to a very acute stage. In a climax of distress she desires that she may die so that the constituent elements of her body may yet give some pleasure to her Beloved. This poem is one of the finest lyrics in the whole range of Bengali literature.

«yāhā pahū aruṇa-caraṇe cali yāta |
tāhā tāhā dharaṇī haïye majhu gāta ||

[1] This poem has been ascribed to a poet named Rudra.

yo sarovare pahũ niti niti nāha |
hāma bhari salila hoï tathi-māha ||
e sakhi viraha maraṇa niradvandva |
aïche milaï yaba gokula-canda ||
yo darapaṇe pahũ nija-mukha cāha |
majhu aṅga-joti hoï tathi-māha ||
yo vījane pahũ bījaï gāta ||
majhu aṅga tāhe hoï mṛdu-vāta ||
yāhā pahũ bharamaï jaladhara-śyāma |
majhu aṅga gagana hoï tachu ṭhāma ||
govindadāsa kaha kāñcana-gori |
so marakata-tanu tohe kiye choṛi || [PKT. 1953.]

«'Wherever my master steps on with his rosy feet may my body become the earth therein. May the tank where my master takes his daily bath be filled with the water of my body. My friend, in separation death is preferable, if thereby the Moon of Gokula (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) be attained. May the brightness in my body be in the mirror wherein my master looks at his face. May the air (in my body) be in the fan with which my master fans himself. May (the ether in) my body fill up the space near about my master wherever he may happen to be.'[1] Govindadāsa says: 'O my girl with the complexion of gold! can he who has the complexion of emerald ever remain away from you?'»

The poet is indebted for the above poem to the following Sanskrit verse:

pañcatvaṃ tanur etu bhūta-nivahāḥ svāṃśān viśantu sphuṭam
dhātas tvāṃ śirasā praṇamya kuru mām ity adya yāce punaḥ |
tad-vāpīṣu payas tadīya-makure jyotis tadīyālaya-
vyomni vyoma tadīya-vartmani dharā tat-tālavṛnte 'nilaḥ ||
[Subhāṣitāvalī 355; Padyāvalī 340.]

«May (my) body be dissolved into the five elements, and may these, by all means, enter into their respective constituents. O Creator! I bow my head to Thee now and pray that Thou reduce me into the following—water in his (*i.e.* my beloved's) tanks, brightness in his

[1] The human body is believed to consist of the five elements—earth (*kṣiti*), water (*ap*), fire (*tejas*), air (*marut*), and ether (*vyoman*).

mirror, ether in the space about his house, earth on his path, and air at his palm-leaf fan.»

There are about thirty poems by Govindadāsa Kavirāja in PKT., which are on Caitanya-deva. These are all well-written poems, and they fully sustain the poet's reputation. These are all written in the *vandanā* or *prārthanā* style. The following poems are quoted as specimens :—

campaka-sona- kusuma kanakācala
jitala gaura-tanu-lābani re |
unnata-gīma sīma nāhi anubhava
jaga-mana-mohana bhāwāni re ||
jaya śacī-nandana re |
tribhuvana-maṇḍana kali-yuga-kāla-
bhujaga-bhaya-khaṇḍana re ||
vipula-pulaka-kula- ākula-kalevara
gara-gara antara prema-bhare |
lahu-lahu hāsanī gada-gada bhāṣaṇī
kata mandākinī nayane jhare ||
nija-rase nācata nayana ḍhulāyata
gāyata kata kata bhakata-hi meli |
yo-rase bhāsi avaśa mahī-maṇḍala
govindadāsa tahī paraśa nā bheli || [PKT. 3.]

«The loveliness of Gaura's complexion defeats the tint of *campaka* and *śoṇa* flowers as well as that of a hill of gold. His neck is upright: there is no end to his ecstatic feelings; and his movements delight the heart of the world. All glory to the son of Śacī, who is the ornament of the three worlds, and who destroys the dread of the deadly viper, the *Kali* age! His body is trembling in ecstatic joy, and his heart is intoxicated with (divine) love. His smiles are soft and frequent: his speech is emotional; and so many rivers are flowing down his eyes. He is dancing in self-ecstasy, and his eyes are rolling: he is singing in company of his ever so many devotees. But Govindadāsa has no experience of the joy which rendered the whole world entranced.»

« dekhata bekata gaura-candra
beṛhala bhakata-nakhata-vṛnda
akhila-bhuvana-ujora-kārī
kunda-kanaka-kāntiyā |

agati-patita-kumuda-bandhu
heri uchala rasa-ka sindhu
hṛdaya-kuhara-timira-hārī
udita dina-hī rātiyā ॥

sahaje sundara madhura deha
ānande ānande nā bādhe theha
ḍhuli ḍhuli ḍhuli calata khalata
matta-karivara-bhātiyā ।

naṭana-ghaṭana bhai gela bhora
mukunda mādhava govinda bola
royata hasata dharaṇī khasata
śohata pulaka-pātiyā ॥

asīma-mahimā ko kahū ora
nija para dhari karaï kora
prema-amiyā harakhi barakhi
tarakhita-mahī mātiyā ।

yo-rase uttama adhama bhāsa
vañcita ekali govindadāsa
ko jāne ki khane kona gaṛhala
kāṭha-kaṭhina-chātiyā ॥ [PKT. 1063.]

« Gaura the moon looks resplendent: he is surrounded with stars (in the form of) his devotees. He brightens the entire world, and his complexion is like that of *kunda* flower and gold. He is the friend of lilies (in the form of) the destitute and the outcast. On seeing (them) the sea of love surges up. He dispels the darkness within the heart's cave. He is up day and night. His person is by nature graceful and lovely: it is tossed about by the waves of joyful emotions. With uncertain steps he walks on in the manner of an elephant in rut. He is quite engrossed in dancing: he mutters, 'Mukunda, Mādhava, Govinda.'[1] He weeps, he laughs, and the earth quakes (with his heavy steps in dancing). Horripilation of joy adorns his person. Who can tell his infinite goodness? Without caring to ascertain whether one is his own (devotee) or an outsider he embraces every man. In gladness of his heart he showers down the manna of love, and the thirsty earth is mad with joy. Govindadāsa is the only one who is deprived of that blissfulness

[1] Different names of God.

in which both the good and the bad swim. Nobody knows who has created a hard-hearted fellow (as this Govindadāsa) and when. »

Govindadāsa owes his poetic inspiration to Vidyāpati mainly, and so it is quite in the fitness of things that he should write an ode to his predecessor. In fact he wrote two such poems, one of which is quoted below :

vidyāpati-pada yugala-saroruha-
niṣyandita-makarande |
tachu majhu mānasa mātala madhukara
pibaïte karu anubandhe ||
hari hari āra kiye maṅgala hoy |
rasika-śiromaṇi- nāgara-nāgarī-
līlā sphuraba ki moy ||
janu bāwāna kare dharaba sudhākara
paṅgu caraba kiye śikhare |
andha dhāï kiye daśa-diśa khōjaba
milaba kalpataru-nikare ||
so naha andha karata anubandha hī
bhakata-nakhara-maṇi-indū |
kiraṇa-ghaṭāya udita bhela daśa-diśa
hāma ki nā pāyaba vindu ||
soï vindu hāma yaïkhane pāyaba
taïkhane udita nayāna |
govindadāsa ataye abadhārala
bhakata-kṛpā balabāna || [PKT. 12.]

« The honey that oozes out from the two lotus-feet of Vidyāpati the intoxicated bee of my mind tries hard to drink of. O Hari! what else can bring blessedness? Will the sportive history of the two Lovers who are the crest-jewels of the *rasikas*, give inspiration to me? (My aspiration is as ludicrous as if) a dwarf tries to catch hold of the moon with his hand, or a lame man shall climb up to a mountain-top, or a blind man shall look about on all sides and shall find out rows of wishing trees. But he is never a blind man who follows the moon that glows in the toe-nails of a devotee (of God): that moon illumines the ten quarters. Shall I not get even an iota of its rays? When I shall get it, that very moment (my) eye (of spiritual perception) will open. So Govindadāsa concludes that the grace of a devotee is mighty powerful. »

Classical poets like Bhāravi and Māgha had shown their command over Sanskrit by writing verses embodying extreme instances of *anuprāsa* and *yamaka*. Our poet too shows his technical skill in several poems where all the words or most of them begin with particular sounds or syllables In the following poem the syllables *ka*, *na*, and *ga* predominate :—

kānane kāminī koï nā yāy |
kālindī-kūla-kalapataru-chāy ||
kuñja-kuṭira-māhā kādaï koï |
kare śira hānaï kuntala phoï ||
nalinī-nārī-gaṇa nāśala neha |
navīna-nidāghe nā jībaï keha ||
nabanī-ninditā nava-nava bālā |
nāgala viraha-hutāśana-jvālā ||
galata gāta gīrata mahī-māha |
gurutara-giriṣa adhika bhela dāha ||
gokule gopa-ramaṇī achu bhela |
garala-garāsane govinda gela || [PKT. 1728.]

In this poem the poet describes the state of the girls at Vṛndāvana after Kṛṣṇa had departed.

« No girl comes to the woodland, not even to under the shade of the *Kalpa* tree on the bank of the Kālindī (Yamunā). Some are weeping in the garden house, striking their foreheads with their hands, and dishebelling their *coiffures*. Love has almost killed the girls (tender like) the lotus: nobody will survive in this early summer. The young girls, who are as soft as butter, are all smarting with the pain of separation. Their limbs droop and they fall down on the ground: it is a scorching summer, and the heat is intense. Such are the *gopa* women at Gokula. Govinda(-dāsa) goes away to drink the poison . »

Govindadāsa had written a Sanskrit drama, entitled the *Saṅgīta-mādhava*, at the request of Santoṣa-Rāya, the cousin of Narottama-Ṭhākura. This work, which, according to the *Bhakti-ratnākara* deal with the early love affairs of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, has unfortunately not yet been published. When published it is sure to be of great interest, being the work of a poet of consummate skill and great merit. Extracts from this drama have been cited in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [pp. 17ff., 33f.].

The following Sanskrit lyric by Govindadāsa is cited in the *Pada-kalpa-taru* [379] as well as in the *Padāmṛta-samudra* [pp. 163 f.] :—

dhvaja-vajrāṅkuśa-paṅkaja-kalitam |
vraja-vanitā-kuca-kuṅkuma-lalitam ||
vande giri-vara-dhara-pada-kamalam |
kamalā-kara-kamalāñcitam amalam ||
mañjula-maṇi-nūpura-ramaṇīyam |
acapala-kula-ramaṇī-kamanīyam ||
ati-lohitam ati-rohita-bhāsam |
madhu-madhupīkṛta-govindadāsam || [PKT. 379.]

«I worship the lotus-feet of the Lifter of the great hill (*i.e.* Govardhana)—the lotus-feet that are bedecked with (the signs of) banner, thunderbolt, *aṅkuśa* (elephant-driving pin), and lotus,—the lotus-feet that are adorned with the saffron (dust) on the breasts of the damsels of the Vraja,—the lotus-feet that are spotless and are massaged by the hands of Kamalā (the goddess of fortune),—the lotus-feet that look charming with sweet-sounding bejewelled anklets,—the lotus-feet that awaken the desire of chaste and virtuous ladies,—the lotus-feet that are very red and that emit a very ruddy effulgence,—the lotus-feet that have made Govindadāsa a bee (drinking) the honey thereat.»

From the above study it is apparent that Govindadāsa was a great poet. Musical word-painting was his *forte*. Nevertheless in the depiction of the passions and disappointments of love and its intensity he has really very few equals. He has dealt more or less with every aspect of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, with the notable exception of the filial and friendly sentiments (*vātsalya* and *sakhya rasas*). When they are sung in right *Kīrtana* style the songs of Govindadāsa become extremely enjoyable. I now quote two lines from Govindadāsa's own writings to express my admiration for his poetry :

rasanā-rocana śravaṇa-vilāsa |
racaï rucira-pada govindadāsa ||

«Sweet to the tongue and a treat to the ears, Govindadāsa composes his radiant songs.»

Govindadāsa-Cakravartī ('Govindadāsa') [*c.* 1583 A. C.]

Govindadāsa-Cakravartī, who also used the *bk.* of 'Govindadāsa' in his poems, was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya and a contemporary and co-disciple of Govindadāsa Kavirāja. Govindadāsa-Cakravartī was a very pious man, and his looks commanded respect of all. He was a good musician and a good poet. The sobriquet 'Bhāvaka-Cakravarti' was given him by his *guru* and others for his religious fervour. The name of Govinda's wife was Sucaritā, and he had three sons, Rājavallabha, Rādhāvinoda, and Kiśorīdāsa [Karṇānanda (i)].

Govindadāsa-Cakravartī's poems are inextricably mixed up with those of the Kavirāja. Unless it is specifically mentioned by the anthologists —as has been done by the compiler of PKT. in respect of the six verses [1808—1814] of a long poem [1802—1813], and by the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* in respect of another [=PKT. 1704], and by the compiler of the *Padāmṛta-samudra* in respect of a few more—we are unable to attribute any poem, especially Brajabuli, to the authorship of Govindadāsa-Cakravartī. As regards those Brajabuli poems which are of outstanding merit there is no difficulty. They can very safely be assigned to the Kavirāja, as the latter was by far the superior poet. As regards the Bengali poems the difficulty practically ceases. There is nothing to prove that the Kavirāja had ever written any poem in Bengali. Those Bengali poems which bear the *bhanitās* 'Govindadāsiyā' and 'pāmari Govindadāsa' undoubtedly belong to Govindadāsa-Cakravartī. Rādhā-mohana-Ṭhākura ascribes four such Bengali poems [=PKT. 133, 267, 277, 1956] to Govindadāsa-Cakravartī.

The following poem is given as a specimen of Govindadāsa-Cakravartī's Brajabuli composition :—

ulasita majhu hiyā āji śoba piyā
daive kahala śubha-vāṇī |
śubha-sūcaka yata prati-aṅge bekata
atae nicaya kari māni ||
sajanī, saba-hi bipada dūre gela |
sukha sampada bihi āni milāyaba
aichana mati gati bhela ||
maṅgala-kalasa para dei nava-pallava
ropaha ṭhāma-hi ṭhāma |
graha-gaṇaka āni karaha vibhūṣita
turite milaye janu śyāma ||

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hārida dāṛima kājara darapaṇa
dadhi ghṛta ratana-pradīpe |
subaraṇa-bhājana lāja-hi bhari bhari
rākhaba-nayana-samīpe ||
nava-nava raṅgiṇī deï hulāhuli
vasana-bhūṣaṇa karu śobhā |
prāṇa-prāṇa hari nija-ghare āoba
govindadāsa-mana lobhā || [PKT. 1704.]

Kṛṣṇa has left Vṛndāvana for good. Rādhā in her extreme distress dreams that her lover will be coming to her next morning. So she says to her companion in the morning:

«My heart is overjoyed, as my darling is coming to-day. This auspicious hint has been given by Fate. Moreover all auspicious marks are manifest on my every limb. So I think it is certain (to happen). My friend, all my troubles are at an end. Fate will bring in all happiness and prosperity. So it appears from the state of my mind and from external indications. Do place auspicious pitchers at places, with fresh twigs on their top. Call in astrologers and bestow decorations on them, so that (through their help) I may meet Śyāma the quicker. Turmeric, pomegranates, collyrium, mirrors, curds, *ghee*, and rich lamps: (let all these be placed) on golden plates, together with fried paddy. Do place them in my ken. Let young and sportive girls raise a cry of joy, and let them be dressed up gaudily. Hari, the heart of my heart, shall return home!' The heart of Govindadāsa is set alonging.»

From the meagre extant specimens of his Brajabuli writings nothing much can be gathered about his poetic equipment. The two following Bengali poems may help us to understand Govindadāsa-Cakravartī's contribution to Vaiṣṇava literature. The first poem is on Caitanya-deva, and the second is on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. These two poems are really among the best of their kind.

rasiyā-ramaṇī ye |
madana-mohana gauraṅga-vadana
dekhiyā jīye ki se ||
ye dhanī raṅgiṇī hay |
bhāṅa-dhanuyā madana-bāṇe
tāra ki parāṇa ray ||

ye jāne pirīti-bethā |
se-ha ki dhairaja dharite pāre
śuniyā mukhera kathā ||
bilāsinīr̥ mane dukha |
ājānu-lambita bāhu heri kāde
parisara gorā-buka ||
(kata) kāminī kāmanā kare |
guruyā nitamba- vilāsa-vasana-
paraśa pābāra tare ||
govindadāsera cite |
gaurāṅga-cādera caraṇa-nakhara
tahāra mādhurī pīte || [PKT. 2131.]

«She is a susceptible girl: on looking at the face of Gaurāṅga that charms even the god of love, can she live (any longer)? She is a sportive lady: can she preserve her heart from the darts of love (issued) from the bows of his eyebrows? She knows the yearnings of love: can she restrain herself on hearing him speak? The *belle* has a great sorrow: she weeps on looking at the long arms and the wide chest of Gorā. Voluptuous women long for a touch of the fine cloth worn about his heavy hips. In the heart of Govindadāsa (there is the yearning) for a drink of the loveliness of the toe-nails of Gaurāṅga the moon.»

The following tender and delicate poem is adduced here as showing the best specimen of Govindadāsa's Bengali compositions on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend.

This poem describes Rādhā's feelings when Kṛṣṇa is away at Mathurā, with no intention of returning.

piyāra phulera vane piyāsī bhramarā |
piyā bine madhu nā khāy uṛe beṛāy tārā ||
mo yadi jānitām piyā yābe ie chāṛiyā |
parāṇe parāṇa diyā rākhitām bāndhiyā ||
kona nidāruṇa bidhi mora piyā nila |
e chāra parāṇa kene aba-hū rahila ||
marama-bhitara mora rahi gela dukha |
nicaya mariba piyārr̥ nā dekhiyā mukha ||

ei-khāne karita keli nāgara-rāja |
ke-bā nila ki-bā haila ke pāṛila bāja ||
se piyāre preyasī āmi āchi ekākinī ||
e chāra śarīre rahe nilāja parāṇī ||
caraṇe dhariyā kāde govindadāsivā |
muñi abhāgiyā āge yāiba mariyā || [PKT. 1655.]

«'In the flower gardens of my darling the thirsty bees do not drink honey without him: they only fly about. Had I known that my beloved would leave me and go away, I would have kept him bound, heart with heart. What a cruel Providence has taken my beloved away! Why does this my paltry body still survive? This sorrow abides in my heart. Without a sight of my darling's face I must die. In this very place the Prince of gallants held his sports. Who has snatched him away? What a calamity! Who has hurled this thunderbolt? I, the beloved of such a darling, am left alone, and (my) shameless life still remains in this miserable body!' Touching (her) feet her servant Govindadāsa weeps and says: 'Wretch as I am, I should die first.'»

Govinda-Ācārya [*c.* 1533 A. C.].

Besides the two Govindas (Govindadāsas) discussed above there was another lyric poet of the same name. This was Govinda-Ācārya who was a contemporary and follower of Caitanya-deva. Of him Mādhava-dāsa in his *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā* [1] says:

govinda-ācārya-pada karila vandana |
rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rahasya ye karila varṇana || [p. 20.]

«I worship the feet of Govinda-Ācārya who has depicted the secret (*or* joy) of the sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.»

Devakīnandana in his *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā* and Kavi-karṇapūra in his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (1576 A. C.) [verse 41 (p. 14, third edition, Berhampore)] also says that he was a lyric poet.

This shows that Govinda-Ācārya had written at least a respectable number of lyrics on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme. Some of these poems must have been mixed up with those of his two great namesakes.

[1] Edited by Śiva-candra Śīla, B.E. 1317.

The author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* quotes four lines from a Brajabuli poem which he specifies as by 'Śrī-Govinda-Ācārya Ṭhākura' [VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 115]. These lines are as follows :

ghana megha barikhaye bijurī camake |
tāhā dekhi prāṇa mora hurā-huri [1] kāpe ||
chāṛa chāṛa āñcala nilaja murāri |
lāja nāhika tora bāma para-nārī ||

"The clouds are pouring down heavily; lightning streaks are flashing. Looking at all this my heart quakes terribly. Let go, let go the hem of my garment, you shameless Murāri (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa)! Do you not feel ashamed? I am another's wife."

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[1] 'thara-hari'?

CHAPTER VIII

DISCIPLES OF ŚRĪNIVĀSA AND NAROTTAMA AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES

Rāya Vasanta [c. 1583 A.C.].

Rāya Vasanta was a Brahmin, and a disciple and friend of Narottama-Ṭhākura. He was a well-to-do person, and lived somewhere near Khetarī. When Rāya Vasanta went on pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana he was entrusted with a joint letter from Narottama, Rāmacandra Kavirāja and Govindadāsa Kavirāja to be delivered to Jīva-Gosvāmin [Karṇānanda v; VSPP., Vol. 36, pp. 61 ff.].

In PKT. there are about twenty-nine Brajabuli poems by Rāya Vasanta. Three additional poems are found with the joint *bh.* of Govindadāsa and Rāya Vasanta [1050, 1720, 2422]. Rāya Vasanta, by the way, was a friend of Govindadāsa [see *supra*, p. 107]. In the *Bhakti-ratnākara* there is a Bengali poem, an ode to his *guru* Narottama, by Rāya Vasanta, with the *bh.* of 'Dāsa Vasanta' [Bhakti-ratnākara i; VSPP., Vol. 36, p. 62].

Of the twenty-nine Brajabuli poems by Rāya Vasanta quoted in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, eight describe the beauty of Kṛṣṇa [2446-2453], one of which is cited below.

ki herilū nāgara navīna-kiśora |
śārada-śaśadhara- bayana manohara
raṅgiṇī-nayana-hi lubadha cakora ||
nīlendīvara- sundara locana
añjana aruṇa taruṇa-cita-cora |
māṇika adhara manohara vaṃśī
rasera taraṅgima mohita-mora ||
amiyā-vacana śravaṇa-anurañjana
gañjana nīrada-bhāṣa |
eka āra anupama jaga-mana-mohana
hāsi yena bijurī-prakāśa ||

nāsā tila-phula raṅgima-mukutā
jhalakata kuṇḍala gaṇḍa-hi lola |
cācara-keśa- pāśa nava-mālatī
tahi para śikhivara-cāda ujora ||
kuṅkuma-viracita tilaka-virājita
rājita janu dvija-rāja-ki rāja |
o-tanu-abharaṇa taṛid-iva nava-ghana
ura para bani vana-māla virāja ||
līlā-lābaṇi avani bharala rūpa
nakha-maṇi-darapaṇi timira bināśe |
rāya-vasanta-mana sebaï anukhana
aïchana caraṇa-kamala-madhu-āśe || [PKT. 2446.]

«What a lover, one in early youth I have seen! His face is charming like the moon in autumn: the eyes of damsels form the *cakora*[1] birds thirsting (for that moon). His eyes, lovely as blue lotuses, with crimson paint around, steal the hearts of young damsels. At his ruby-red lips there is a melodious flute (which lets out) a flood of love and (which) charms the peacocks. His sweet words soothe the ears, and surpass tones of the cloud; and his unique smile, beautiful like the flash of lightning, charms the heart of the world. His nose is (beautiful as) a *tila* (sesamum) flower, (at the tip of which there is) a prismatic pearl: (by the side of his) cheeks dangle (two) dazzling eardrops. His lovely locks are tied up with (a garland of) fresh *mālatī* flowers, and above it there are peacock's feathers bright with their eyes. Painted with saffron paste and adorned with *tilaka* (his forehead) looks as lovely as the moon of moons. Adorning his person there is suspended a beautiful *vana-mālā* against his chest, which resembles a streak of lightning across a dark cloud. His loveliness, gracefulness and his playfulness have filled the world (with joy): his mirror-like toe-nails destroy all darkness. The heart of Rāya Vasanta serves them with the hope of (a drink of) the honey at these lotus-feet.»

The following poem is a good specimen of the poet's Bengali composition:

[1] These birds are supposed by poets to drink the rays of the full moon.

sakhi he śuna śuna bāśī ki-bā bole |
ānanda-ādhāra kiye se nāgara
śilā kadamba-tale ||
bāśarī-nisāna śunite parāṇa
nikāś haïte cāy |
śithila sakala bhela kalevara
mana muruchaï tāy ||
nāma beṛhā-jāla kheyāti jagate
sahaje viṣama bāśī |
kānu-upadeśe kevala kaṭhina
kāminī-mohana phāsi ||
ki doṣa ki guṇa ekaï nā gaṇe
nā bujhe samaya kāja |
rāya-vasantera pahu binodiyā
tāhe ki lokera lāja || [PKT. 2916.]

«'O friend! just listen to what the flute says. Is it that (our) hero, the abode of joy, has come to under the *kadamba* tree? Hearing the notes of the pipe, my heart wants to leap out; all my limbs become lax, and my mind swoons away. The pipe (he plays on) is by nature contrary, and it is known to all in the world by the name of the "All-pervading Net": at the guidance of Kānu it is wantonly cruel, and it is a veritable enchanting maze for girls. Neither faults nor virtues does it count; nor does it respect time or duty.' The Lord of Rāya Vasanta is an enchanter: can there be in him any consideration for others?»

Dvija Gaṅgā-rāma [c. 1583 A.C.].

In the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* [2] there is a Bengali poem, an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu, with the *bh.* of 'Dvija Gaṅgā-rāma.' The same poem, however, occurs in PKT. [2294] with the *bh.* of 'Ātmārāma.' The colophons are different in the two versions. Thus the *Kṣaṇadā* has—

kali-andha-kūpe paṛiyā vipāke
ḍhākaye dvija gaṅgā-rāma ||

But PKT. has—

dīna-hīna yata udhārila kata
vañcita dāsa ātmārāma ||

We have already seen that there was a poet (or more than one poet) named Ātmārāma. But the evidence of the *Kṣaṇadā*, a work anterior to PKT., could not be lightly rejected. The poem can be taken to be really belonging to Gaṅgā-rāma. There cannot be the slightest objection to the existence of a poet called Gaṅgā-rāma, as I have found (in an unpublished MS. in the VSP. Library) a Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Gaṅgā-rāma *dvija*.' This poem runs as follows :—

nimikha bāraba su-diṭhe pekhaba [1]
gaura-vadana suṭhāna re |
nija-hu ketana haraba cetana
karaba amiñā-sināna re ||

gaura-vara dvija-rāja re |
āpa-ghara para nagara-mājha-hi
dūre sukha-caya bhājaba re ||

haba ki śubha-dina vāsa pahiraṇa
bhūṣaṇa-gaṇa [2] kari sāja re |
deva- [3] dūlaha saphala mānuṣa
ānanda-sāgara-māja [4] re ||

dhyāna tejaba gāna tāna-sō [5]
gāaba kaba-hu su-meli re |
saghane ghana-ghana heraba puna-puna
gaura-sundara-sukeli re ||

chuṭaba saṅkaṭa e-śubha nikaṭa
trāṇa [6] pāvaba bhava-mājha re |
gaṅgā-rāma dvija kaba-hu heraba
gaura-[7] līlā-rasa re || [VSP. MS. 2416.]

« Stopping all twinkle of the eyes I shall gaze on the handsome face of Gaura with a steady gaze. Losing my consciousness, my individuality, I shall bathe in ambrosia. O! the divine Gaura is a glorious moon; in my own home, in the midst of the city, and

1 MS. 'bhākhaba.' 2 'gaṇa.' 3 'deha.' 4 'mājha.' 5 'su.' 6 'tāna.' 7 'gori.'

afar off I shall ever enjoy (?) bliss. What a happy day will it be when I shall put on the dress (of a *Gopī*) and adorn myself with ornaments! I shall plunge in the sea of bliss, which is difficult even for the gods to attain, but easy for a man to succeed. I shall abandon all meditation. When shall I sing with melody in the midst of a good gathering (of Vaiṣṇavas)? When shall I see again and again, most intimately, the beautiful sports of the handsome Gaura? With this bliss near all danger will flee, and in the midst of being I shall obtain salvation. When shall I, the Brahmin Gaṅgā-rāma, witness the joyful sports of Gaurāṅga?»

There was one Baṛu Gaṅgā-dāsa, a cousin of Jāhnavā-devī and a disciple of Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita [Bhakti-ratnākara, pp. 673f.]. This 'Dvija Gaṅgā-dāsa' was present at the Khetarī festival. It may be that his full name was Gaṅgā-rāma and that he was the poet in question.

One Bengali poem, an ode to Narahari-Sarkār, by 'Gaṅgārāma-dāsa' occurs in CU. MS. 2376. The poet was evidently a follower of Narahari. Was he the same as the Brahmin poet Gaṅgā-rāma?

Kavirañjana (Vidyāpati ii).

There are a few Bengali songs in PKT. and in other similar works, having the *bh.* of 'Vidyāpati.' As Vidyāpati was a Maithil, he could not have composed these songs. It cannot also be held that there had been some earlier versions of them in Maithili, or Brajabuli even. The opinion generally held is that some Bengali poets passed their own compositions under the name of Vidyāpati. Though such a state of things is anything but rare in the history of Indian literature, yet, it must be held, that such a phenomenon is unprecedented in the history of Bengali Vaiṣṇava literature. The only parallel that can be found is that Rūpa-Gosvāmin used the *bh.* of his elder brother Sanātana in all his Sanskrit songs. The reason here, however, is obvious. For Rūpa-Gosvāmin, his brother, as his *guru* claimed his highest respect. In the case of Bengali songs with the *bh.* of 'Vidyāpati' no such motive of respect can be put forward. So we are forced to assume the existence of a second Vidyāpati who was a Bengali Vaiṣṇava of the school of Caitanya-deva.

Some evidence of the existence of a Bengali Vidyāpati is, however, forthcoming. And for this discovery the lovers of Bengali literature must be grateful to Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna. He has shown that

Rāmagopāl dāsa in his *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* and *Śākhā-nirṇaya* has mentioned that there was a disciple of Raghu-nandana of Śrīkhaṇḍa, named Kavirañjana. This Kavirañjana was a Vaidya, and also a native of Śrīkhanda [Śākhā-nirṇaya (Śrīkhaṇḍa, Caitanya Era 424), pp. 16f.]. He was a very good poet, and as his poems were composed after the model of Vidyāpati he was sometimes called 'choṭa Vidyāpati' (Vidyāpati the junior) [*op. cit.*, p. 17]. In the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* there are some songs attributed to this Vidyāpati. Editors of the collected songs of Vidyāpati, on the other hand, accept all the Brajabuli poems by Kavirañjana as works of Vidyāpati himself. But though in Bengal Vidyāpati seems to have an incredible number of titles and epithets, yet outside Bengal it is absolutely unknown that Vidyāpati had ever used the title or epithet 'Kavirañjana.' It cannot be maintained, as we have seen in respect of Govindadāsa Kavirāja, that each and every poem written in good Brajabuli and in classic style should be traced back to a Maithili original, real or imaginary.

The following Brajabuli poem is cited as a specimen of Kavirañjana's composition, and from a perusal of this song alone, it will appear that he was a very good poet.

udasala kuntala-bhārā |
murati śiṅgāra-lakhimī avatārā ||
atiśaya prema-vikārā |
kāminī karata purukha-vihārā ||
ḍolata motima-hārā |
yāmuna-jale yaiche dhūdha-ka dhārā ||
kuca-kumbha pālaṭala bayanā |
rasa-amiyā janu ḍhārala mayanā ||
priyatama-kara tahī debā |
sarasija-māhe janu rahala cakevā ||
kaṅkaṇa kiṅkiṇī bāje |
jaya jaya ḍiṇḍima madana-samāje ||
rasika-śiromaṇi kāna |
kavirañjana rasa bhāṇa || [PKT. 1078.]

The poem describes the beauty of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā disporting themselves.

Her massive locks are dishevelled. She is the goddess of amorous sport, embodied and incarnate. Their passionate love is excessive. So

the girl behaves as a man. The necklace of pearls dangles (against Kṛṣṇa's breast), as if a stream of milk (is being poured) over the waters of the Yamunā. Her vase-shaped breasts are turned upside down, as if the god of love is pouring out the nectar of love. Over them the hands of the dearest (lover) have been placed, as if (a pair of) *cakravākas* are sitting over (a pair of) lotuses. Bangles and bells at her girdle are jingling, as if the band of joy has been struck by the company of the god of love.

A Bengali song, an ode to Raghu-nandana of Śrīkhaṇḍa, appears with *bh.* of Kavi-śekhara in PKT. [2189], but in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* it occurs with the *bh.* of Kavirañjana [VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 44]. Both Kavi-śekhara and Kavirañjana seem to have been disciples of Raghu-nandana. Moreover their literary productions too bear close similarity, and as a matter of fact, some of the poems by Kavi-śekhara (the same as Rāya Śekhara) and by Kavirañjana have been claimed for Vidyāpati.

Rāya Śekhara (Kaviśekhara-Rāya).

Rāya Śekhara, or Kavi-Śekhara, as he very often styled himself, was the greatest poet of Brajabuli and Bengali lyric literature among the successors of Govindadāsa Kavirāja. Rāya Śekhara seems to have been a younger contemporary of Govindadāsa, as he apparently imitated the latter in some of his poems. Rāya Śekhara was a disciple of Raghu-nandana Gosvāmī of Śrīkhaṇḍa.[1] His native place was the village of Paṛāna-grāma in the District of Burdwan. From his title 'Rāya' and 'Nṛpa' it appears that he was a rich landholder.

The poet called himself Kavi Śekhara (or Kaviśekhara), Rāya Śekhara, Śekhara-Rāya, 'Dukhiyā' or 'Pāpiyā' Śekhara, or simply Śekhara.[2] Babu Nagendranāth Gupta, in his edition of the poems of

1 śrī-raghunandana-caraṇa kari sāra |
kaha kavi-śekhara gati nāhi āra ‖ [PKT. 2189.]

Two poems by this poet are odes to Raghu-nandana [PKT. 2372-73]. Also *vide* the *Śākhā-nirṇaya*, p. 15.

2 We give here the serial number of the Brajabuli poems of this poet cited in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, under the different names the poet chose to subscribe himself.

Rāya Śekhara, Śekhara-Rāya [984, 1064, 2090, 2107, 2158, 2160, 2161, 2373, 2515, 2582, 2584, 2642, 2727, 2753, 2781, 2992].

Kavi-Śekhara Rāya [2159].

Śekhara [240, 262, 486, 503, 596, 615, 985, 1062, 2499, 2522, 2523, 2598, 2633, 2648, 2683, 2704,-06, 2708,-09, 2715-17, 2724, 2743, 2749, 2754, 2793, 2796].

Vidyāpati (published from the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad), has incorporated all the poems of Kavi-śekhara as, according to him, 'Kavi-śekhara' was a title of Vidyāpati. We do not know whether 'Kavi-śekhara' was a title of Vidyāpati or not, but it is certain that Kavi Śekhara (or Kaviśekhara) was no other than our Bengali poet Rāya Śekhara.

We now adduce some specimens of Śekhara's Brajabuli writing. From these the reader will easily find out to what extent Śekhara was indebted to Govindadāsa Kavirāja.

The two following poems are odes to Caitanya-deva.

nirupama kāñcana- rucira kalevara
lābaṇi baraṇi nā hoï |
niramala vadana vacana amiyā-sāra
lāje sudhākara roï ||
heralū re sakhi rasamaya gaura |
veśa-vilāse madana bhela bhora ||
lola alaka-kula tilaka surañjita
nāsā khagapati-ūna |
bhāṅa kāmāna bāṇa ḍrg-añcala
candana-rekha tahe guṇa ||
kambu-kaṇṭhe maṇi- hāra virājita
kāma-kalaṅkita śobhā |
caraṇa-alaṅkṛta- mañjīra jhaṅkṛta
rāya-śekhara-mana-lobhā || [PKT. 2158.[1]]

« His lovely body, with the complexion of gold, is unrivalled: his gracefulness cannot be (fully) described. His face is stainless: his speech (is) a lake of sweetness; (at this loveliness of his face) the moon weeps out of shame. My friend, I have seen Gaura (who is) all sweetness: at his garb and grace the god of love is stunned. His

Śekhara-dāsa [257].

Kavi Śekhara, Kavi-śekhara [160, 259, 288, 327, 389, 523, 610, 614, 628, 667, 731, 904, 742, 966 1027, 1058, 1310, 1610, 1719, 1919, 1948, 2063, 2091, 2510-11, 2513-14, 2524, 2555, 2582, 2597, 2682, 2687, 2692, 2722-23, 2728, 2750, 2836].

Nṛpa Kavi-śekhara [1759].

Nava Kavi-śekhara [106, 232, 386, 1832].

[1] The first verse and the first foot of the next, in this poem, is identical with the corresponding portions of a poem by Govindadāsa [PKT. 1045].

locks are running truant, and his nose, decorated with the *tilaka*, defies (the beak of (Garuḍa) the king of birds. His brows are the bow, his sidelong looks are the arrows, and the line of sandal-paste is the string of it (*i.e.*, the bow). Around his conch-like neck hangs a precious necklace: the beauty of it shames to the god of love. His feet are adorned with tinkling anklets which are Rāya Śekhara's heart's desire.»

kundana-kanaka- kamala-ruci-nindita
suradhunī-tīra-vihārī |
kuñcita-kaṇṭha- kalita-kusumākula
kula-kāminī-manohārī ||
jaya jaya jaga-jīvana yaśodhīra |
jāhnavī yamunā yena jaladhara barikhana
aïche nayane bahe nīra ||
paduminī-pūraba- pirīte pulakāyita
parijana-prema-pasārī |
pahiraṇa pīta- patani-patitāñcala
pada-paṅkaja paracārī ||
rasavatī-ramaṇī rañjana rucirānana
rati-pati raṅgita tāy |
rasika-rasāyana rasamaya-bhāṣaṇa
racayati śekhara-rāyā || [PKT. 2160.]

«(His loveliness) defies the beauty of a lotus carved out of gold: he rambles by the bank of the Ganges. His neck with its lines is adorned with (a garland of) flowers: he steals away the hearts of chaste ladies. All glory to him who is the life of the world and who is unperturbed with fame! Tears flow from his eyes, just like (the streams of) the Ganges and the Yamunā, or the downpour of clouds. He horripilates in joy in remembering the former love of that lotus among women (*i.e.*, Rādhā): he is rich with the love of his devotees. He puts on a yellow cloth of which the skirt kisses the ground: he steps on with his lotus-feet. He charms loving girls: his face is beautiful, and (looking at it) the husband of Rati (*i.e.*, god of love) is infatuated. His sweet speech is the ambrosia to the loving hearts (*rasika*). Śekhara-Rāya composes (this) sweet song which is ambrosia to the appreciative.»

This poem is written in slavish imitation of Govindadāsa [PKT. 2824] from whom he has also borrowed *verbatim*. In spite of the poet's attempt

at assonance and smooth diction, it is but a very poor imitation at that. That Rāya Śekhara was not a great poet of Brajabuli is apparent from this clumsy result.

In fact, with the exception of the following poem and one or two others, all the Brajabuli poems of Rāya-Śekhara are imitations of Govindadāsa's poems and they are quite commonplace.

kājara-ruci-hara rayani viśālā |
tachu para abhisāra karu vraja-bālā ||
ghara sañe nikasaye yaïchana cora |
niśabada patha-gati calali-ha thora ||
unamata cita ati ārati-bithāra |
guruyā nitamba nava-yauvana-bhāra ||
kamalinī mājhā-khini uca kuca-jora |
dhādhase calu kata bhāve bibhora ||
raṅginī saṅginī nava nava jorā |
nava-anurāgiṇī nava-rase bhorā ||
aṅga-ka abharaṇa bāsaye bhāra |
nūpura kiṅkiṇī tejala hāra ||
līlā-kamala upekhali rāmā |
manthara-gati calu dhari sakhī śyāmā ||
yatana-hī niḥsaru nagara durantā |
śekhara abharaṇa bhela bahantā || [PKT. 2706.]

«A long night it is, a night black as lamp-black. On such a night the damsel of the Vraja (*i.e.*, Rādhā) goes to meet her lover. She, like a thief, steals away from home. With silent steps she walks slowly. With passionate longing, her heart is feeling exalted. Her hips are heavy with the accession of dawning youth. Her waist is slender like (the stalk of) a lotus: her two breasts are full. A victim of manifold emotions, she walks mechanically. Two youthful and sportive girls are her companions. She is in love for the first time, and she is intoxicated with (this) new sentiment. Ornaments on her person she deems as a mere burden: (so) she has put away anklets, girdle and necklace. The lotus flower she carries in her hand she spurned away. She supports herself against a dark-complexioned friend of hers, and slowly walks on. With great caution she at last gets clear of the terrible town, and (Rāya) Śekhara (follows her) carrying her ornaments.»

tuā aṅge pītima-cīre |
kuca-yuga daṃśala kīre ||
adhara-bimbu-phala tōri |
ko rasa nela nicori ||
vacana kahasi āna-bhāti |
kā-saṅe bañcali rāti ||
hṛdaya-nayana-gati-rīta |
heraïte pāyalū bhīta ||
iha rasa-kāhinī kahaï |
ucita-vacana tahī racaï ||
rāya-śekhara anumāne |
rāïka amiyā-sināne || [PKT. 2515.]

«[Rādhā met Kṛṣṇa overnight. So one of her friends speaks thus to her jestingly:] 'There is a yellow cloth[1] about your person. Are your two breasts nipped by a parrot? Who has sucked away the sap of your lips which are but a (ripe) *bimba* fruit. Your talks are ambiguous. With whom have you passed the night? Noticing your emotion, look, movement and activities I feel uneasy.' So she (*i.e.*, her friend) speaks out the love affair. (Rādhā) then thinks out a suitable reply. Rāya Śekhara supposes that Rādhā had a nectarian bath (overnight).»

Śekhara's Bengali poems are of the narrative type, and they are much better poems than his Brajabuli songs. The following poem is given as a specimen.

o mora bāchanī dhanī satīkula-śiromaṇi
khaneka viśrāma kara sukhe |
nā hay uchara velā sakhī-saṅge kara khelā
karpūra tāmbula deha mukhe ||
rūpa guṇa kāja tora parāṇa nichani mora
śutiyā svapane dekhō sadā |
tomā hena guṇa-nidhi āmāre nā dila vidhi
hṛdaye rahiyā gela sādhā ||
dhātāra māthāy bāja yena hena kare kāja
āmāre bhāṇḍila kona doṣe |
bāchārā vivāha tare hena nārī nāhi pūre
cāhiyā nā pāi kona deśe ||

[1] Rādhā was in a hurry to return home when it was morning. So by mistake she has put on the yellow cloth of Kṛṣṇa, leaving behind her own blue one.

yaśodā-viṣāda-kathā śuni vṛṣabhānu-sutā
vadane vasana diyā hāse |
pulake purala gā mukhe nā niḥsare rā
bhāsila rāṇīra sneha-rase ||
śekhara sarasa kari kahe śuna vrajeśvarī
rādhikā tomāra hena jāni |
sakhā saba pūre veṇu khiṛike dākiche dhenu
sājāo-gā rākhāla-śiromaṇi || [PKT. 2563.]

« [Of a morning Yaśodā says to Rādhā who has come to Yaśodā's house to play with Kṛṣṇa and other playmates:] 'O my precious child, you are the best of chaste girls. Do you rest awhile. The day is not yet far advanced. So you just play on with your mates, and put in your mouth betel leaf (spiced) with camphor. Your beauty and virtues, your activities I adore with all my heart. I think of you, awake or asleep. The providence has not given over to me such a treasure as you are: this desire of my heart must remain unfulfilled. May a thunderbolt fall upon the head of the Creator who is responsible for such an act, and who has cheated me without any fault of mine. Such a girl I do not find at this place to marry my son with. Nor can such a one be found out elsewhere.' On hearing these words of lament of Yaśodā, the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu (*i.e.*, Rādhā) laughed behind the hem of her skirt. She is full of joy: she could not speak a word; and she was carried away with the affection of the queen (*i.e.*, Yaśodā). In a delightful way Śekhara says, 'Listen to me, O queen of the Vraja. I know that Rādhikā is yours. Filling up their flutes the cow boys are calling the cattle out at the gates. You just go and dress the prince of the cowherd boys.' »

Some of the Bengali poems by Rāya Śekhara are written in the *dhāmālī* style [PKT. 2797, 2728].

Campati : Bhupati.

In PKT. there are ten poems of Campati, one with the *bh.* of 'Rāya Campati' [2025], one with the *bh.* of 'Campati' [481], and the rest with the *bh.* of 'Campati-pati' [480, 482, 532, 725, 1658, 1664, 1674, 1744]. Of these ten poems one is in pure Bengali [1674], one in Bengali mixed with Brajabuli forms [725], and the rest in Brajabuli.

In the same work there are twelve poems by Bhūpati, all of which are written in Brajabuli. Of these poems four have the *bh.* of 'Bhūpati'

[483, 539, 1726, 1878], two with the *bh.* of 'Bhūpatinātha' [478, 479], and six with the *bh.* of 'Siṃha Bhūpati.' [114, 477; 1080 Kṣaṇadā 147; 1698, 1736, 1983]. To these twelve we might add another Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Nṛpati Siṃha Kavi' [PKT. 1940]. Gopāla-dāsa in his *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* quotes one line of verse in Brajabuli from a poet 'Nṛsiṃha Bhūpati.' These two also may be ascribed to Bhūpati. The *bh.* of the verse in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* is very significant. I shall discuss it below under the head Nṛsiṃha-deva.

The seven poems 477-483 [four with the *bh.* of Bhūpati and three with that of Campati] are quoted successively in PKT. under the section on 'durjjaya māna' (firm attitude of love-sulk). But the poems 478 and 483 have the variant *bh.* of Campati, and the poems 480-82 have the variant *bh.* of Bhūpati, in some MSS. But what is most remarkable is that in the MS. of Mr. Sajanīkānta Das [A.C. 1353-56] all these songs are given successively and in the same order, with the *bh.* of Bhūpati.

We have seen previously that there are two poems with the joint *bhaṇitā* of Rāya Campati and Govindadāsa [PKT. 531, 538],[1] and from this the conclusion is inevitable that Campati and Govindadāsa were friends. Now these two songs, with the joint *bhaṇitā*, also deal with *māna*, and if studied closely the last couplets of these two songs will reveal that Govindadāsa had in his view those songs of Campati (or Bhūpati) on 'durjjaya māna.' The couplets containing the *bh.* run thus—

viraha-mocana e tuā locana-
kone herabi kāna |
rāya-campati vacana mānaha
dāsa-govinda bhāṇa ||

[PKT. 531.]

« [A friend of Rādhā speaks to her to give up her anger against her lover:] 'You should look at Kṛṣṇa with (at least) the corner of your eyes, which will do away with all miseries suffered in disunion.' Listen to the speech of Rāya Campati. So says Govindadāsa. »

[1] The printed text of the VSP. edition has the joint *bh.* of 'Prāta Ādita' and Govindadāsa. I have rejected this and accepted the variant reading given there [PKT., Vol. i, p. 356].

jānaha puna puna so piyā parikhana
soï pūje pāca-bāṇa |
rāya-campati o-rasa gāhaka
dāsa-govinda bhāṇa ||

[PKT. 538.]

« [A friend of Rādhā expostulates with her on behalf of Kṛṣṇa :] 'You know your lover thoroughly through so many tests. He, in fact, is (devotedly) worshipping the five-arrowed god (*i.e.*, the god of love).' Rāya Campati is an expert in respect of this sentiment. So says Govindadāsa. »

From the above discussion is it too much to conclude that Campati and Bhūpati were the same person ?

I now quote two Brajabuli poems, one with the *bhaṇitā* of each, showing the similarity of style. These two poems, it should be mentioned here, have no variant *bhaṇitā*.

madana-kuñja teji calali catura dutī
pavana-ka gati-sama gela |
kṣiti nakhe lekhi dekhi mukha jhāpala
rāï utara nāhi dela ||
caturī dūtī taba mana-hi bicārala
kahata lalitā sañe bāta |
kāhe vimukha bhai baïṭhali dūbarī
ki bhela āju-ka rāta ||
heri lalitā sakhī mṛḍu mṛdu bolata
hāmāri karama mati bheli |
nāgara kiśora kuñje niśi bañcala
candrāvalī-sañe keli ||
hāsi hāsi niyaṛe yāï dūtī baïṭhala
kahata-hi madhurima vāṇī |
iha laghu dokhe rokha yaba mānasi
ko kahe tohe siyānī ||
uṭha uṭha sundari māna dūra kari
bāhu pasāri karu kora |
phaṭaki hāta bāta nāhi śūnala
kope bharala tanu jora ||

rāīka niṭhura- vacana śuni sahacarī
kope bharala saba-gāta |
bhūpatināṭha rokhe taba bolata
yaba-hū phaṭakala hāta ‖ [PKT. 479.]

« The clever intermediary (*dūtī*) left the pleasure pavilion and proceeded with the agility of the wind. Rādhā—who was scratching on the earth with her finger-nails—saw her and covered up her face. She vouchsafed no answer. The clever *dūtī* then thought something, and she opened conversation with Lalitā. 'Why the tender girl is out of sorts to-day and sitting apart? What has happened this night?' Glancing (at Rādhā) her friend Lalitā replied in undertone. 'It has happened as our fate willed. The young gallant has passed the night in the pavilion in sports with Candrāvalī.' Smiling softly the *dūtī* went up (to Rādhā) and sat by her side. Then she put in softly: 'If you take offence in such small matters, who will take you to be a clever girl? Get up, my dear, and giving up your attitude of sulk, you stretch out your arms (to your lover) and close them in embrace.' (At this Rādhā) snatched her hand away: she was deaf to her entreaties. Her person heaved in high anger. On hearing the cruel speech of Rādhā all her friends were greatly offended. Bhūpatināṭha (in his capacity as the intermediary) replied (to her) in anger when she snatched her hand away. »

so saba-śaṭha-guṇa- guru-vara gurutara
achu guṇa jalanidhi-sāra |
hāma abalā ati tāhe dūkhita-mati
kaïchane pāïye pāra ‖
sajani, āra kata kara paralāpa |
so mujhe yaïchana kayala-hī apamāna
so baṛa hṛdaya-ka tāpa ‖
yo vara-nārī sāra kari leala
so pada sebaü ānande |
tākara lāgi jāgi niśi royaü
pibaü so makarande ‖
tāhe lāgi anna- pānī saba tejaü
japa karu tākara nāma |
campati-patikara soï yuvatī-vara
gāota tachu guṇa-gāma ‖ [PK. 532.]

« [Rādhā replies:] He is by far the topmost of the crooked people. His virtues are like those of the ocean. I am, on the other hand, a very helpless girl, not to say in a sorry plight. How can I fathom their depths? My friend, how long will you continue your senseless talks? The way he has insulted me will ever remain smarting at my heart. Let him joyfully massage the feet of the best girl he has chosen. Let him pass sleepless nights, crying for her. Let him drink of the honey (of her love). Let him give up food and drink for her sake. Let him mentally repeat her name (as an incantation). Then let that girl, dearest to the Master of Campati, sing in praise of him. »

Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura remarks that Campati was an officer of Pratāpa-rudra of Orissa. That may be or may not be true. But he was a Bengali all the same [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 36, pp. 82ff.].

Nṛsiṁha-deva.

As yet we know only four poems of Nṛsiṃha or Narasiṃha-deva. Two are in Brajabuli [PKT. 1159, 1324]. Both are in the same metre, *toṭaka*, and have the same verse (containing the *bh.*) as the last line of both. Of the other two, which are written in Bengali, one describes the anointing ceremony of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa [PKT. 1584], while the other describes the feelings of Yaśodā when her son is about to set out for pasturing the cattle [Saṅkīrttanāmṛta 85].

I have mentioned in connection with Campati and Bhūpati that Gopāladāsa refers one Brajabuli verse to 'Nṛsiṃha Bhūpati.' From this one is tempted to connect Nṛsiṃha-deva with Campati-Bhūpati.

About Nṛsiṃha we know this much that he was the landlord of 'Pakva-pallī,' and that he, as well as his courtier Rūpa-nārāyaṇa, was the disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura. The history of their conversion has been given in full in the *Prema-vilāsa.* As we have seen above, both Nṛsiṃha and Rūpa-nārāyaṇa appear to have been friends of Govindadāsa Kavirāja.

One Brajabuli poem in PKT. [1944] contains the joint *bhaṇitā* of 'Nara-nārāyaṇa Bhūpati' and 'Vijaya-nārāyaṇa.' Has this Nara-nārāyaṇa anything to do with our poet? It should be added that 'Vijaya-nārāyaṇa' figures with 'Rūpa-nārāyaṇa' in the *bhaṇitā* of PKT. 2388.

Mohana-dāsa.

All that we know of the poet Mohana or Mohana-dāsa is that the poet was a Vaidya and that he was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karṇānanda (i)].

In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* there are twenty-three Brajabuli poems by Mohana-dāsa.[1] Two poems by Mohana-dāsa have been incorporated in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 14, 16]. Twenty-one poems belonging to this author occur in the earlier portions of the Das MS.

Kṛṣṇa comes home with the cattle back from pasture. This scene is described in the following poem.

vana-sañe āota nanda-dulāla |
godhūli-dhūsara śyāma-kalevara
ājānu-lambita vana-māla ||
ghana-ghana śṛṅga- veṇu-rava śunaïte
barajavāsi-gaṇa dhāy |
maṅgala-thāri dīpa kare vadhū-gaṇa
mandira-dvāre dāṛāy ||
pītāmbara-dhara mukha jini vidhu-vara
nava-mañjarī avataṃsa |
cūṛā-mayūra śikhaṇḍaka-maṇḍita
bāyaï mohana-vaṃśa ||
barajavāsi-gaṇa bāla-vṛddha-jana
animikhe mukha-śaśī heri |
bhukhila-cakora cāda janu pāola
mandire nā calaye pheri ||
go-gaṇa saba-hū goṭhe parabeśala
mandire calu nanda-lāla |
ākula panthe yaśomatī āola
mohana-bhaṇita rasāla || [PKT. 1209.]

Nanda's darling son is returning from the woodland (*i.e.*, pasture field). His dark body is grey with the dust kicked up by the cattle: a *vana-mālā*[2] dangles up to his knees. On hearing the repeated sound of bugles and blast of trumpets the people of the Vraja run to meet them.

[1] 99, 186, 396, 397, 418, 572, 600, 1201, 1202, 1209, 1211, 1383, 1384, 1491, 1581-83, 1761, 1961, 2017, 2029, 2317, 2677.

[2] A kind of wreath of wild flowers.

The ladies, with the ceremonial plate and lamp for auspicious welcome, come out and take their stand at the doors (of their houses). (Kṛṣṇa) is dressed in yellow robes: his face censures (the beauty) of the moon. Fresh flower-buds he has put on as earrings; he has decorated his crest with a peacock's feather, and he is playing on the charming pipe of reeds. The people of the Vraja, whether young or old, gaze at his moon-like face without a wink, as if a hungry *cakora* has found the moon; and they have not the heart to return home. All the cattle now enter their sheds, and Kṛṣṇa walks home. Then Yaśomatī runs up in joy (to meet him). Delicious is the narration by Mohana.»

Rādhā and her friends are going to market at Mathurā to sell milk, curd and ghee. On the way she happens to meet Kṛṣṇa standing under a *kadamba* tree.

dadhi ghṛta gorase sājāiyā pasāra |
cīra-hī jhāpana deola tāra ||
kiṅkarī-gaṇa saba śira para nela |
mukharā-saṅge dhanī tahī cali gela ||
sahacarī-saṅga-hi vinodinī rāī |
dūra-hi kānu-ka darasana pāī ||
pulake purala tanu gada-gada bola |
ghāma-hi bhīgala nīla-nicola ||
ko iha keli-kadamba-ka mūla |
nava-meghe bijurī-jaṛita samatūla ||
bāhu tuliyā uha ḍākaye kāy |
mukharā kahaye iha nava-rasa-rāyā ||
pantha-hi māgaye gorasa-dāna |
mohana kahe mohe aïchana bhāna || [PKT. 1384.]

« Taking curd, ghee and milk in pots for sale they covered them with cloth. Then the servant girls took them on their heads, and the precious girl followed them under the lead of Mukharā. The ravishing Rādhā, walking in company of her friends, espied Kṛṣṇa from afar. Her body horripilated, and her talks became incoherent. Her blue robes were drenched with perspiration. (She asks:) 'Who is there standing at the foot of the *keli-kadamba* tree, resembling a dark cloud surrounded by lightning streaks? Whom does he beckon by raising his arm?' Mukharā replies: 'Here is the young prince of lovers: he is demanding tolls for milk (and its products), on the way.' Mohana adds: 'So it seems to me also.' »

The following poem describes Rādhā's impatience for meeting Kṛṣṇa who is delaying elsewhere.

samaya vasanta saba-hū mana toṣaï
kānane kusuma-vikāśa |
malayācala-hī bhujaga-bhaye māruta
calata himācala-pāśa ||
e sakhi, aïchana sukhadaya māha |
kā-sañe kānta kāma paripūraye
majhu udabega baṛhāha ||
atiśaya-capala- carita ati-lampaṭa
hāmāri marama nāhi jāna |
iha sukha-samaye āna-sañe bilasaye
eta-hū ki sahaye parāṇa ||
kahaïte rāïka gara-gara antara
locana jhara-jhara vāri |
saba sahacarī-gaṇa kātara-antara
mohana sahaï nā pāri || [PKT. 2029.]

« 'It is spring-time, it gladdens everybody's heart; and the woodlands are aglow with flowers. Afraid of the snakes in the Malaya hills, the wind blows towards the Himālayas (*i.e.*, a pleasant southern breeze is blowing). My friend, at such a lovely time, with whom is my lover enjoying himself, (thereby) increasing my anguish? He is excessively fickle-minded, and a great rake too: he does not know my heart. At such a joyous time he is sporting with another (girl). Can my heart endure as much?' While saying this Rādhā's heart is overflowed (with emotion): her eyes shed torrents of tears. (At this) all her companions are pained at heart, and Mohana cannot bear this (any longer). »

Vallabha-dasa (i, ii, iii) [*c.* 1583 A.C.].

In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* there are seventeen poems with the *bh.* of 'Vallabha-dāsa' (of which seven are in Brajabuli, and the rest in Bengali), seven with the *bh.* of 'Vallabha' (of which only four are in Brajabuli), and only one (Brajabuli) poem with the *bh.* of 'Srī-vallabha' [1022]. PKT. 773 (a Brajabuli poem) appears with the *bh.* of 'Govindadāsa,' but according to the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* this poem belongs to 'Vallabha-Caudhurī.' In GPT. there are a few additional Bengali poems

by Vallabha-dāsa, two of which are of special interest. I shall discuss them subsequently. An additional Brajabuli poem is found in the *Saṅkīrtanāmṛta* [205]. Another poem occurs in APR. [433].

Now all these songs, especially the Bengali ones, suggest the hand of a single poet. The style and subject-matter of the Bengali songs and the nature of the *bhaṇitās* strongly warrant this presumption. The *bhaṇitā* of PKT. 1022, when compared with the *bhaṇitās* 2383, 2384, 2982 and 2983, will show that Śrī-vallabha was the same person as Vallabha-dāsa. In two of his poems [PKT. 225, 234] Govindadāsa Kavirāja has mentioned the name of 'Śrī-vallabha' along with his own name. This is clear evidence that Vallabha-dāsa or Śrī-vallabha was a friend of the great poet. Again Vallabha-dāsa had written an entire poem in appreciation of the Kavirāja [GPT., p. 481]. This poem is, by the way, of good historical interest in connection with the life of the great poet. Now from this it seems that Vallabha-dāsa was the same person as Śrī-vallabha.[1]

There were two contemporary persons with the name 'Śrī-vallabha,' either of them was or were the poet or poets in question. They were—(*i*) Śrīvallabha-Ṭhākura of the village Deuli, who was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karṇānanda (i), p. 17], and (*ii*) Śrīvallabha-Majumdār, a Brahmin disciple of Rāmacandra Kavirāja [Karnānanda (ii), p. 26]. The author of the odes to Narottama-Ṭhākura was probably Rādhāvallabha-Caudhurī [Narottama-vilāsa xii].

Śri-vallabha, the disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, seems to have been the author of the poem [PKT. 2981]. The four poems on Narottama [PKT. 2384, 2982, 2983; GPT., p. 478] should be ascribed to Rādhāvallabha-Caudhurī. In one poem the poet remarks that he survived his teachers and friends, Śrīnivāsa, Narottama, Rāmacandra and Govindadāsa [PKT. 2981, also *cf.* 2983]. This poem is quoted below.

gorā-guṇe āchilā ṭhākura śrīnivāsa |
narottama rāmacandra govindadāsa ||
eku kāle kothā gela dekhite nā pāï |
thākuk dekhibaṛ kāja śunite nā pāï ||
ye karila jaga-jane karuṇā pracura |
hena prabhu kothā gela ācarya-ṭhākura ||

[1] Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna wants to connect this friend of the Kavirāja with the author of the *Vaṃśī-śikṣā*. This is manifestly impossible [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 191].

rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-guṇa ye kaila pracāra |
kothā gela śrī-ācarya-ṭhākura āmāra ||
hṛdaya-mājhāre mora rahi gela śela |
jīte āra prabhu-saṅge daraśa nā bhela ||
e chāra jīvane mora nāhi āra āśa |
saṅge kari leha prabhu e vallabha-dāsa || [PKT. 2981.]

'My master Śrīnivāsa, and Narottama, Rāmacandra and Govindadāsa, were all (rapt) in the sweetness of Gaura's life. But all at a time they are gone away, I cannot find where. Let finding be, I do not even know where. Where is my master gone, Ācārya the master, who was so compassionate to the people of the world? Where has he gone my master, Śrī-Ācārya, who had given currency to the graceful stories of the divine sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa? This painful regret will always abide in my heart that I shall never again meet my master as long as I live. In this useless life of mine I entertain no other hope than this: 'Master mine, please take to your side this your servant Vallabha!'»

The Brajabuli poems by 'Vallabha-dāsa' are quite remarkable. The following are given as specimens:

o-mukha śarada- sudhākara-sundara
iha nalinī-dala gañje |
o-tanu nava-ghana- sundara rañjita
iha thira dāminī puñje ||
dekha rādhā-mādhava jori |
duhū-ka paraśa-rase duhū pulakāyita
duhū dohā rahala āgori ||
o nava-nāgara saba-guṇe āgora
iha se kalāvatī-sīma |
o ati-catura- śiromaṇi bidagadha
e saba-guṇa-hi garīma |
madhura-vṛndāvane śyāma-gorī-tanu
duhū nava-kiśorī-kiśora ||
narottama-dāsa āśa caraṇe rahu
śrīvallabha-mana bhora || [PKT. 1022.]

«That face (*i.e.*, of Kṛṣṇa) is as beautiful as the moon in autumn: this face (*i.e.*, of Rādhā) defies the petal of the lotus. That

body is as lovely as a tinted dark cloud: this one (resembles) a flash of lightning. Just have a look at the couple, Rādhā and Mādhava. Both of them are full of joy at the touch of each other's person. They are locked in each other's embrace. He there is a young gallant endowed with all the virtues: she here is the perfection of accomplished ladies. He there is very clever and witty: she here is gifted with all good qualities. In the sweet Vṛndāvana there is the young couple, one dark-complexioned, the other fair. May the heart of Śrīvallabha be devoted to and have hope in the feet of Narottama-dāsa. »[1]

A friend of Rādhā comes to her and speaks about Kṛṣṇa's love-sickness.

sundari tuhū baṛi hṛdaya-pāṣāṇa |
kānu-ka navamī- daśā heri sahacarī
dharaï nā parā parāṇa ||
kataye kṣīṇa-tanu kahaï nā pāriye
tejata tāhe ghana śvāse |
tejata parāṇa aïche anumāniye
rahata tohāri āśoyāse ||
ki jāniye ki khane nehārala tuā rūpa
taba dhari ākula bheli |
khane khane camaki camaki aba muruchae
heri royata sakhī meli ||
koï yaba tohāri nāma kahe śravaṇa-hī
taba-hī nayana-parakāśa |
eta-hū nideśa kahala tohe sundari
pāmari vallabha-dāsa || [PKT. 97.]

« O my beauty, you are very hard-hearted. His companions have lost heart on seeing Kānu (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) in the ninth stage (of love-sickness). His body has been so much reduced that it cannot be expressed (in adequate terms). He sighs heavily. He will give up the ghost, so it seems: he only lives in hope of you. I do not know at what moment he had eyed your beauty. Thenceforward he has become impatient. Now he gives sudden starts and then he swoons away. On meeting (your) companions he weeps with

[1] This is, in all probability, a composition of Rādhāvallabha-Caudhurī (see *infra*).

them. If anybody mentions your name within his earshot, he looks up (at once). This is the message that the wretched Vallabha-dāsa submits to you, my lovely girl! »

In the following Bengali poem Vallabha-dāsa mentions the works of Narottamadāsa-Ṭhākura and pays his tribute to them. For this it has some historical interest.

nare narottama dhanya granthakāra agragaṇya
agaṇya puṇyera ekādhāra |
sādhane sādhaka-śreṣṭha dayāte ati gariṣṭha
iṣṭa prati bhakti camatkāra ||
'candrikā' pañcama sāra tina 'maṇi' sārātsāra
'guru-śiṣya-saṃvāda-paṭala' |
tri-bhuvane anupāma 'prārthanā' granthera nāma
'hāṭa-pattaṇ' madhura kevala ||
racilā asaṃkhya pada haiyā bhave gada-gada
kavitvera sampad se saba |
yebā śune yebā pare yebā tāhā gāna kare
seï jāne padera gaurava ||
sadā sādhu-mukhe śuni śrī-caitanya āsi puni
narottama-rūpe janamilā |
narottama guṇādhāra vallabhe karaha pāra
jalete bhāsāo puna śilā || [GPT., pp. 478 f.]

«Narottama is the blessed among men. He is the foremost of authors, and is the sole receptacle of innumerable merits. In devotion he is the best devotee; in mercifulness he is the very greatest. To his God he has the most wonderful devotion. (Of his works) the five *Candrikās* [1] are pithy, the three *Maṇis* [2] are pithy of the pithiest, the *Paṭala* [3] that contains a discourse between a *guru* and his disciple, and the book called *Prārthanā* (prayer) are unparalleled in the world, and the *Hāṭa-pattana* is all sweetness. In an ecstatic state he has composed innumerable songs which are the ornaments of poesy. Whoever hears them, whoever reads them, and whoever sings them—he alone knows their value. It is frequently

[1] Prema-bhakti-candrikā, Siddha-prema-bhakti-candrikā, Sādhya-prema-candrikā, Sādhana-bhakti-candrikā, Camatkāra-candrikā.

[2] Sūrya-maṇi, Candra-maṇi, Prema-bhakti-cintāmaṇi.

[3] Upāsanā-paṭala.

heard from good men that Śrī-Caitanya came again and reincarnated in Narottama. Narottama, the receptacle of all virtues, do you save Vallabha and thus cause a stone to float in water again. »

The Brajabuli and Sanskrit lyrics in the *Kṣaṇadā*, which bear the *bh.* of 'Vallabha,' do not belong to our poet Vallabha-dāsa. They probably belong to 'Hari-vallabha' (Viśvanātha-Cakravartin).

Kavi-vallabha [*c.* 1598 A.C.].

In PKT. there is a single Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Kavi-vallabha.' No other lyric—whether Bengali or Brajabulī—by 'Kavi-vallabha' occurs in any of the known anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. This poem, which is a very fine one, and a universal favourite with Bengalis everywhere, runs as follows : [1]

sakhi he, ki puchasi anubhava moy |
soï pirīti anu- -raga bākhāniye
anukhana nautuna hoy ||
janama avadhi haite o-rūpa nehāralū
nayana nā tirapita bhelā |
lākha lākha yuga hāma hiye hiye mukhe mukhe
hṛdaya juṛana nāhi gelā ||
vacana-amiyā-rasa anukhana śūnalū
śruti-pathe paraśa nā bheli |
kata madhu-yāminī rabhase goyāyalū
nā bujhalū kaïchana keli ||
kata bidagadha-jana rasa anumodaï
anubhava kāhu nā pekhi |
kaha kavi-vallabha hṛdaya juṛāite
mīlaye koṭi-me eki || [PKT. 937.]

« 'Dear friend, what do you ask me about all that I feel? That love I call *anurāga*, which becomes ever anew. Ever since my birth

[1] Some of the lines differ from the given text in the version which is usually sung by *Kīrtaniyās* and others. The current version is the following. It is believed (and there is no sure ground for this belief) that the poem is the work of the great Vidyāpati of Mithilā : Mr. Nagendranāth Gupta gives it as such in his *Vidyāpati* (No. 834) in what is evidently a reconstructed Maithili version.

I have gazed at that loveliness (of Kṛṣṇa), but my eyes have not yet had their fill; for *lacs* and *lacs* of aeons I have (enjoyed this beauty), heart to heart, face touching face, yet my soul remains unsatisfied! I have listened incontinently to the ambrosia of his speech; still (I feel as if) its (elusive) touch (*i.e.*, sweetness) has been ever lost to my ears! So many spring-tide nights I have passed in an ecstasy of love's bliss, yet I do not know even now what love's sports are!' 'Many are the persons, wise in their knowledge of love, who talk highly of *rasa* (essence of love); but nowhere do I find the inner perception;' says Kavi-vallabha, 'To soothe the heart only one is found among a *koṭi* (ten millions).'

This poem had been cited by Sāradā-caraṇa Mitra in his collection of Vidyāpati's poems under the *bh.* of Vidyāpati. But no authentic source of this version had been given by him. Satīśa-candra Rāy, however, had shown, on internal evidence, that in its frankly philosophical cast the poem is a learned production and was posterior to the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* of Rūpa-Gosvāmin, and as such it cannot be ascribed to Vidyāpati [PKT., Vol. V, pp. 26 ff.].

The poet Vallabha-dāsa, who has been discussed above (pp. 158 ff.), does not seem to have been the author of this piece. We know of one Kavi-vallabha, the author of the *Rasa-kadamba*,[1] who was a very good poet. This Kavi-vallabha lived at Āroṛā near Mahāsthāna by the river Karatoyā [*op. cit.*, p. 84]. His father was Rāja-vallabha, and from this it is evident that Kavi-vallabha was his real name. The poet belonged to the Śrīkhaṇḍa school, his *guru* being Uddhava-dāsa. He wrote the *Rasa-kadamba* at the instance of Mukuṭa-Rāy (a Brahmin) who was a disciple of Narahari-Sarkār [*op. cit.*, p. 83]. In all probability this Kavi-vallabha was the author of the poem in question.

'Vidyā-vallabha.'

In the *Kṣaṇadā* there is one Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Vidyā-vallabha.' The poem which describes the fresh youth of Rādhā, runs as follows:

1 The *Rasa-kadamba* by Kavi-vallabha, edited by Tārakeśvara Bhaṭṭācārya and Āśutoṣa Caṭṭopādhyāyā, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, 1332 B.E. The date of its composition is *Śaka* 1520 (=1598 A. C.).

kṣaṇe kṣaṇe nayana koṇa anusaraï |
kṣaṇe [kṣaṇe] vasana dhūli bharu bharaï ||
kṣaṇe kṣaṇe daśana-ka khaṭā-khaṭi [1] hāsa |
kṣaṇe kṣaṇe (eka) adhara āge gahe vāsa ||
bālā śaïśava taruṇima bhēṭa |
lakhaï na pāriye jētha kanēṭha ||
hṛdaya-ja [2] mukulita heri thori thōri |
kṣaṇe añcala dei kṣane bhaye bhōri [3] ||
cawāki calaye kṣaṇe kṣaṇe cale manda |
manamatha-pāṭha-ke kare anubandha ||
dūti sañāni karaha soï ṭhāṭa |
paṇḍita hāma-hi paṛhāyaba pāṭha ||
cetana majhu jhaṣa-ketana manda |
abagahi leï śikhāwa rasa-mantra (=manta) ||
āpana tana-kāñcali [4] hāme deyaï |
yatana-hi prema-ratana bhari leyaï ||
vidyā-vallabha iha ājīva |
ihā binu duhū-ka jīu nā jīva || [Kṣaṇadā 6.]

« 'Now (the pupils of) her eyes follow the corners (*i. e.*, she gives a side-long glance), and now again she fills up (the hem of) her skirt with dust (*i. e.*, trails the hem of her garment on the ground). Now she smiles, exposing the dazzling white of her teeth, and then she (bashfully) covers up her lips with (the hem of) her *sari*. The young girl is on the meeting ground of childhood and youthfulness: one cannot judge which is more prevailing (*literally*, which is the older and which the younger). Finding her breasts budding slightly she now covers them up with her *sari*, but in the next moment she has forgotten all about it. Now she runs forward with a start, and then immediately she walks in a slow gait. (It seems as if) she is conning the lessons taught by the god of love. O you clever *dūtī* (messenger)! do please bring it about in such a manner that I, a master (in the arts of love), may (have occasion to) teach her the lessons myself. The fish-bannered (god of love), till now tardy, is awake! Let me bathe (in her love) and impart to her the *mantra* (secret formula) of

[1] 'chaṭā-chaṭi,' as in the PKT. version ascribed to Vidyāpati, is the better reading, which is followed in the translation. 'khaṭā-khaṭi' might be justified, taking this onomatopoetic as expressive of brilliance or dazzling light (*e.g.*, Modern Bengali usage with 'raudra'). [2] Text 'hṛdaye.' [3] 'bherī.' [4] 'kāñcana.'

love ecstasy (*rasa*)! Let her give over to me the garment covering her breasts, and through my care, let her take it back filled with the jewels of love.' This (*i. e.*, love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) is the sustenance of Vidyā-vallabha; without this (union) the life of the Two cannot subsist.

A shorter and somewhat different version of this poem occurs in PKT. with the *bh.* of Vidyāpati. It is as follows :

khene khene nayana kona [1] anusaraï |
khene khene vasana dhūli tanu bharaï ||
khene khene daśana chaṭā-chaṭi hāsa |
khene khene adhara āge karu vāsa ||
caŭki calaye khene khene calu manda |
manamatha-pāṭha pahila anubandha ||
hṛdaya-ja makulita heri heri thora |
khene ācara dei khene haye bhora ||
bālā śaïśave tāruṇa bheṭa |
lakhaï nā pāriye jeṭha kaneṭha ||
vidyāpati kahe śuna vara kāna |
taruṇima śaïśava cinhaï nā jāna || [PKT. 83.]

A comparison of the two versions shows that the former is an improvement upon the latter. If the *bhaṇitā* portion of the *Kṣaṇadā* version is not corrupt, here we find a fresh poet Vidyā-vallabha, who, it may be, had worked upon or supplemented a poem by Vidyāpati.

Rādhāvallabha-dāsa.

There are altogether seventeen poems with the *bhaṇitā* of Rādhāvallabha. All these poems bear the impress of a single writer. Two of these poems [2379, 2380] clearly show that Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya was the *guru* of the poet. But it is a bit of worry to find that Śrīnivāsa had no less than three disciples by the name of Radhā-vallabha,—(*i*) Rādhāvallabha-Maṇḍala, (*ii*) Rādhāvallabha-dāsa, and (*iii*) Rādhāvallabha-dāsa Ṭhākura. Which of them was (or were) the poet (or the poets)?

The answer is indirectly given by the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*. He refers to one poem by Rādhāvallabha-Cakravartī citing only the first

[1] PKT., Vol. I, p. 63, reads 'nāyana-koṇe,' which is evidently wrong.

two words. These two initial words have not yet been traced in any of his extant poems. But the fact remains that he wrote poetry. Now Rādhāvallabha-dāsa Ṭhākura was apparently a Brahmin. The epithet 'Ṭhākura' has been used to point him out as such. So this third Rādhā-vallabha must have been the poet.

In PKT. there are only seven Brajabuli poems with the *bh.* of Rādhā-vallabha [196, 220, 774, 1392, 1725, 2037, 2324]. An additional poem is found in GPT. [p. 467]. The historical poems by this poet are rather important [PKT. 2361-63, 2368, 2370; GPT., p. 467]. He devotes two poems to his *guru* [PKT. 2379, 2380], and a third to Jñānadāsa [GPT., p. 470].

The following poem describes the feeling of Kṛṣṇa when he has fallen in love with Rādhā for the first time.

sajani, aparupa pekhalū bālā |
himakara-madana mihita mukha-maṇḍala
tā-para jaladhara-mālā ||
cañcala-nayane heri mujhe sundarī
mucakāyaï phiri gela |
taikhane marame madana-jvara upajala
jibaïte saṃśaya bhela ||
ahaniśi śayane sapane āna nā heriye
anukhana soï dheyāna |
tākara pirīti-ki rīti nāhi samujhiye
ākula athira parāṇa ||
marama-ka vedana tohe parakāśala
tuhū ati caturī sujāna |
so puna madhura- mūrati daraśayabi
rādhā-vallabha gāna || [PKT. 196.]

'My friend, I have seen a wonderful girl. Her face is a compound of (the five arrows of) the god of love: over it there is a mass of clouds.[1] Glancing at me with her flitting eyes, she wore a slight smile

[1] The five arrows are the following flowers—*bandhūka, madhūka, nīlotpala, tila* and *kunda*, which are compared respectively to Rādhā's lower lip, cheeks, eyes, nose and teeth; cf. *Gīta-govinda*, X. The mass of clouds is the tresses of her hair.

and turned away. From that very moment I was down with love-sickness, and my life is in a crisis. Day and night, whether lying on bed or sleeping, I see nothing else: she is (the object of) my perpetual contemplation. I do not understand the way of her love: my heart is troubled and impatient. I cry out the distress of my heart to you (alone); and you are a very clever and good girl. You shall just show me that sweet vision again.' So sings Rādhā-vallabha (*or* the Lover of Rādhā).

Kṛṣṇa's *dūtī* (female messenger) comes to Rādhā, and thus pleads for Kṛṣṇa.

sundari suvadani tuhū ageyāna |
giridhara purukha taruṇa nava-kaiśora
anukhana tohāri dheyāna ||
yachu mukha koṭi- śarada-śaśi-lābaṇi
so tuyā daraśana āśe |
yachu rūpa lalita madana murachāyaï
so tuyā paraśa abhilāṣe ||
yachu guṇa akhila- bhuvana karu kīrttana
tuyā guṇe tachu mana bhora |
ko bihi aparupa tohe niramāyala
śyāma-hṛdaya-maṇi-cora ||
supurukha-pirīti amiyā-sukha-sāgara
ataye karabi avagāha |
tākara vacane jīü niramañchaha
lāja dharama geha nāha ||
so sukumāra- hṛdaya bhela ākula
mīlaha tāhe ati sādhe |
kaha rādhā-vallabha yaba-hū nā mīlaha
prema karaba paramāde || [APR. 430.]

'O (my) pretty girl with a lovely face! You are an ignoramus. The man who lifted the hill up—a young fellow in early youth—is always thinking of you. He, whose face has the loveliness of a hundred lakhs of autumnal moons, (abides) with the hope of seeing you. He, at whose graceful beauty the god of love swoons away, (lives) with the desire of your touch. He, whose goodness the whole world sings about, is absorbed in contemplating your virtues. Who is the Creator that has fashioned you—the thief that has stolen the treasure of Śyāma's

heart. So you should bathe (yourself) in the nectarian sea of joy, the love of a good man. You just offer your life at a word from him: the lover is (a girl's) bashfulness, virtue and home. That tender-hearted (lover) is excessively passionate: you do meet him with great eagerness. Rādhā-vallabha says: 'If you do not meet him, (your) love will cause you trouble.'»

Rādhā-vallabha had written a few Bengali poems in *Dhāmālī* style. One is quoted below, another is to be found in the *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī* [p. 173].

mana-moha- -niyā gorā
bhuvaṇḍ-mohaniyā |
hāsirḍ chaṭā cāderḍ ghaṭā
barikhe amiyā ||
rūperḍ chaṭā yuvati-ghaṭā
bukḍ bharite cāy |
manḍ-garaberḍ manḍ-gharḍ
bhāgila madanḍ rāy ||
raṅīnḍ pāṭerḍ ḍorḍ dui-dike
sonārḍ nūpurḍ pāy |
jhunurḍ jhunurḍ bejyā yāy
kāmḍ camake tāy ||
mālatī-phule bhamarḍ bule
nava-loṭanerḍ dāmḍ |
kula-kāminīrḍ manḍ majila
gīmḍ-dolanīrḍ ṭhāmḍ ||
ākhirḍ ṭhāre prāṇe māre
kaite saite nāri |
rādhāvallabhḍ- dāse kay
manḍ karile curi || [PKT. 2142.]

«Gorā charms the heart, nay, he charms the world. The radiance of (his) smile is like the rays of so many moons: it rains down sweetness. The bevy of ladies desire to fill their hearts with (his) beauty. His lordship, the god of love, has smashed their pride and bashfulness. On his two sides (flaps) the upper garment of coloured silk: there are golden anklets in (his) feet, and they tinkle at each step, which makes Love to start up. Over the *mālatī* flowers in his ample fresh garland the bees hover. At the style (of the garland) hanging

around his neck the heart of a lady of a good family is charmed. With his glance he takes the life away: it cannot be spoken about nor tolerated. Rādhāvallabha-dāsa says: 'He has stolen the heart.'

Rādhā-vallabha had written a few historical lyrics on the lives of Sanātana, Rūpa, Raghunātha-Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha-dāsa Gosvāmins [GPT., p. 462 ff.]. The language of the following poem is interesting, being a curious mixture of Brajabuli and Hindi. The metre is that f Hindi.

dhani dhani govardhanḅ-dāsḅ
dhani cāḍḅpurḅ grāmḅ |
dhani govardhanḅ-ko purohitḅ
ācāryḅ balarāmḅ ||

yachu gṛha kayala dhani
sādhu-ta haridāsḅ |
sādhanḅ bhajanḅ kayala bahu
raghu yachu-ka pāśḅ ||

govardhanḅ-ko nandanḅ raghunāthḅ
ati-hū mahat |
.....haridāsḅ niyaṛe
paṛala bhāgavatḅ ||

sādhanḅ bhajanḅ-ko bhedḅ bātāoye
bhavāmbudhi-ko bhelā |
yaisā guru haridāsḅ jīu
taisā raghunāthḅ celā ||

dhanḅ daulat koṭhā emārat
sabha-hu sampad choṛi |
bharā yauvanḅ-me raghunāthḅ-dāsḅ
bhai gela bhikhārī ||

deśḅ-deśāntarḅ ghumi ghumi
vṛndāvanḅ cale śeṣḅ |
kaṭhorḅ sādhanḅ kayala kata
asthi-carma śeṣḅ ||

rādhā-kṛṣṇa bhaji bhaji
deha kayala pātḅ
rādhāvallabhḅ so pada-pallavḅ
sadāï dharata māthḅ || [GPT. p. 467.]

« Twice blessed is Govardhana-dāsa.[1] Blessed is the village Cādapura.[2] Blessed is Balarāma-Ācārya, the family priest of Govardhana, whose house was sanctified by the saint Haridāsa. Under his (*i. e.*, Haridāsa's) guidance Raghu performed devotional duties. Govardhana's son Raghunātha is a very great person: he read the *Bhāgavata* under Haridāsa, the *Bhāgavata* which prescribes the different devotional duties and is a boat in the sea of *bhava* (worldly existence). As is the master Haridāsa, so is his disciple Raghunātha. Giving up riches and properties, houses and palaces, and vast wealth, Raghunātha, in his prime youth, became a (religious) mendicant. Wondering from land to land, he at last came to Vṛndāvana. He practised many austerities so that he was reduced to bone and skin. Worshipping and worshipping Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, he laid down (his) life. Rādhāvallabha holds up his precious feet upon (his) head. »

'Rādhā-dāsa' [*ante* 1653 A.C.].

It is quite a mystery that no poem of Rādhā-dāsa (or, to be more precise, no poem with the *bh.* of Rādhā-dāsa) occurs in any of the known and published anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyric literature. The only known work which contains any such poem is the *Rasa-mañjarī* of Pītāmbara-dāsa, where, however, only one poem with the *bh.* of Rādhā-dāsa occurs [pp. 55f.]. Notwithstanding this apparent ignorance or averseness to the poet on the part of the compilers of the anthologies there is good reason to believe that Rādhā-dāsa was a distinguished writer of verses.

The oldest portion of the Das MS. contains twenty-seven poems by Rādhā-dāsa. Eighteen of these poems are included—along with two others, one by Govindadāsa and the other by Jagannātha-dāsa—under the caption 'Rāsa-pañcamadhyāya.' These eighteen poems on the *Rāsa* theme by Rādhā-dāsa form a little MS. entitled the *Aṣṭādaśa-padāvalī* [VSP. MS. 2353]. This MS. is dated, the date of copying being B. E. 1111 (=A. C. 1708). In these poems the poet has followed the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* more or less faithfully.

[1] Father of Raghunātha-dāsa.

[2] Their native place, near Saptagrāma.

Now the question arises, who was this 'Rādhā-dāsa'? The last poem on the *Rāsa* theme contains the *bh.* of 'Rādhāvallabha-dāsa.' The last couplet of the poem in question runs thus :

kaṛpūra candana kasturi-rasa ghana
(vṛndā-)vipina sukha-rāse |
madhukara kokila rati-jaya-maṅgala
kahu rādhāvallabha-dāse ‖ [Das MS.].

'Rādhā-vallabha' must have then been the full name of this poet. The question next arises, was the poet the same Rādhā-vallabha as has been discussed above? The poet Rādhā-vallabha, as we have seen, wrote mostly in Brajabuli while 'Rādhā-dāsa' does not seem to have written much in Brajabuli, there being only one such poem. The poet Rādhā-vallabha, as we know, was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, but there were other contemporary Rādhā-vallabhas. Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya had three disciples named Rādhā-vallabha—(*i*) Rādhāvallabha-Maṇḍala, (*ii*) Rādhā-vallabha-dāsa and (*iii*) Rādhāvallabha-dāsa Ṭhākura [Karṇānanda i; Prema-vilāsa ii], while Narottama-Ṭhākura had two—(*i*) Rādhāvallabha-Datta, his nephew and (*ii*) Rādhāvallabha-Caudhurī Prema-vilāsa xx; Narottama-vilāsa xii]. It is of course impossible to say—at least at the present state of our knowledge—which of these was our poet 'Rādhā-dāsa.'

The two following poems—one in Bengali and the other in Brajabuli—are cited from VSP. MS. 2353.

śuniñā kānura kaṭu kātara kāminī |
heṭa-mukha haiyā saba lekhac dharaṇī ‖
puna puna nayāne vacana dhari dhari |
parāṇa harila āge o rūpa-mādhurī ‖
punu muralīra svare ānila ṭāniyā |
e[be se] dharama-patha deha bujhāïyā ‖
pati-kula-satī jāti jīvana yauvane |
vraja-vadhū sāpiyāche o rāṅgā-caraṇe ‖
strī-vadha pātake he tomārā nāhi bhaya |
pūtanā ābāla-kāle badha mahāśaya ‖
gopikā badhile eve puribeka sādha |
viṣa miśāïyā pura muralīra nāda ‖
ye hokā se hokā gopī tomāra caraṇe |
rādhā-dāsa kahe nilū abhaya-śaraṇe ‖

« On hearing the dreadful (words) of Kṛṣṇa the young women were distressed. With hanging heads they scratched the ground (with their toes). Looking up (at Kṛṣṇa) repeatedly (they uttered these) words slowly: 'The sweetness of (your) beauty had previously carried away our hearts. Then again you have brought us down forcibly with the notes of your flute. But now you teach us the path of propriety and morality! good ladies living with their husbands, the girls of the Vraja have dedicated their sense of propriety, youthfulness, and life even at those rose-hued feet (of you). You have indeed no scruple for the sin of murdering women, as you slew Pūtanā when a child—you are a gentleman indeed! Now by slaying the *Gopīs* your wishes will be fulfilled. (That is why) you blow notes out of your flute, notes mingled with poison! Be that as it may, (we) the *Gopīs* have taken refuge at your feet.' So says Rādhā-dāsa. »

The Brajabuli poem, quoted below, is rather corrupt at places. It describes the *Rāsa* dance.

sukha vṛndā vipine	sukha[ma]ya	rāsa-rabhasa-raṅgiyā ‖
bihare mādhava	madhura kāminī	vṛndā rohinī-saṅgiyā ‖
cāru.....	gaṇḍa cumbana	uraja-khaṇḍana-bhātiyā ‖
bandha nīvi-ra [1]	muñcata añcala [2]	māla-toṛala chāṛīyā ‖
kūjita kaṇṭha-	nināda (su-)madhura	valayā nūpura kāñciyā ‖
toṣi rati-pati	aṅgera vasati [3]	vṛndā-niśi-rasa-rañjiyā ‖
veśa-bhūṣaṇa-	keśa vigalita	...aṅgurī-bhātiyā ‖
pravīṇa-kāminī	kānu nija-kare	kata bhūṣaṇa-kātiyā [4] ‖
adhika gaurava	garve garabatī [5]	gorī-maṇḍala chātiyā ‖
gupata kānane	kānu gopinī	rādhā-dāsa anāthiyā [6] ‖

[VSP. MS. 2353.]

« In the blissful Vṛndā-strand, he is the sportful one, joying in the blissful joys of *Rāsa*. Mādhava sports, in the company of sweet women—Vṛndā, and Rohiṇī (and others). Fair....., kissing cheeks, and beautifying the incision (by nails) of breasts. The knot of the cloth-belt (is freed), and the upper garment is given up, and the rings for the feet (*malla toṛala*) are abandoned. The tinkle of the bracelets, the anklets

[1] MS. 'niviṛa' [2] MS. 'bañcala' [3] =vāsa-bi(?) [4] MS. 'kātiyā'
[5] =garabita (?) [6] =rādhā-dāsa-ka nathiyā (?)

and the zone ornament is sweet, like a beautiful music from the throat (of a singer). Pleasing even the lord of Rati (the god of love) by the fragrance (?) of his body, he is the adorner of the joys of the nights at Vṛndāvana. His garments and gems, and his hair are all disarranged .....with the lustre of his finger rings. Kānu with his own hands adorns his lady love, already experienced in the art of love, with so many ornaments. The hearts of the fair women feel proud with the pride of an excessive honour. In the secret woods are Kānu and the *Gopinīs*, who are the masters of Rādha-dāsa.»

Prasāda-dāsa.

Prasāda-dāsa, and his brother Jānakīrāma-dāsa, who was also a poet, were the sons of Karuṇākara-Majumdār, a Kāyastha, residing at Vanaviṣṇupura. The brothers were good scribes, and so they got the title of 'Viśvāsa.' They became disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. [Karṇānanda i; Prema-vilāsa xx]. There are two poems of Prasāda in the Das manuscript, in one of which he subscribes himself as 'Dukhiyā Prasāda.' In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* there is a single Brajabuli poem by Prasāda-dāsa, which is quoted below.

saba-hū milita yamunā-tīra
añjali pūri piyata nīra
baiṭhala tahī tarura chāya
bīca nanda-nandanā ।

navīna-nīrada-baraṇa-joti
nāsāye lalake jhalake moti
ure vilambita kadamba-māla
bhāle tilaka-candanā ॥

kunda-kalikā-kalita-cūṛe
manda-pavane barihā uṛe
kaṭi-taṭe kiye pīta vasana
bāhe śobhita kaṅkaṇā ।

hasita-lalita vadana-indu
alape upaje gharama-vindu
lola nayana-kamala-yugala
tāhe lalita añjanā ॥

nakhara ujora yaichana canda
cakora-nikara lāgala dhanda
lubadha heri caraṇe gheri
saghane karata cumbanā |

aruṇa adhare purata veṇu
ghānaiyā gherata saba-hū dhenu
sahaje sundarī virahe bhora
dūre baraja-aṅganā ||

śuni śuni gopī harala bola
bhāve avaśa cita bibhora
rahi rahi rahi camaki uṭhata
tharahi dharaï kampanā ||

aneka yatane cetana pāï
calali yāhā sundarī rāï
pheri herata beri beri
aïchana mana-rañjanā |

dāsa prasāda karata āśa
amiyā adhika madhura bhāṣa
śuni tirapita śravaṇa-sukha
tāpa-nikara-bhañjanā || [PKT. 2575.]

« All (the cowherd boys) are assembled on the bank of the Yamunā. They drink the water (of the river) with the cup of their hands, and then sit under the shade of the tree near the Son of Nanda. He has a complexion resembling the tint of dark cloud: at the tip of his nose hangs a dazzling pearl. Over his chest dangles a garland of *kadamba*, and on his forehead there are decorations of sandal paste. On his crest decorated with *kunda* blossoms, a peacock's feather quivers in a soft breeze: around his waist is draped a yellow cloth; and his arms are ornamented with bracelets. His moon-like face looks lovely in smiles: on it drops of perspiration appear with the slightest exertion. The pair of his lotus eyes is dancing, and they are beautified with collyrium. His nails are bright like the moon, about which the *cakora* birds are in a puzzle. On seeing them (*i.e.*, the nails) these birds are hungry, and they hover around and kiss them. He plays on the pipe with his rosy lips, and all the cattle crowd around him. The girls of the Vraja, from afar, are full of pangs of love. On hearing the music the *Gopīs* have lost the power of speech; they are full of ecstatic sentiments; they muse and muse,

and then wake with a sudden start and tremble violently. After great trouble they regain consciousness and go to where the lovely Rādhā is. They turn back and look again and again. Such is his supreme attractiveness. Their servant Prasāda hopes that (Rādhā's) sweet words that defy nectar may give pleasure to the ears when heard, and may remove all distress and pain. »

Besides the Brajabuli poem cited above there are four Bengali poems by Prasāda-dāsa incorporated in PKT. Three of these poems deal with Yaśodā's love for Child Kṛṣṇa, and the remaining poem [278=2305], which occurs in the *Kṣaṇadā* [210] also, in an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu.

Vrajānanda.

All that is known about Vrajānanda is that he was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya and that he lived at Vṛndāvana [Karṇānanda i]. There is a single Brajabuli poem by this poet in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, which is quoted below.

nāgara-nikaṭa sañe dotī āola
rāï sunāgarī-ṭhāma |
śyāma-ka kata dukha dekhaï nā pāriye
kahaïte āyalū hāma ||
ko jāne kakhana dekhala tohe śyāmara
tuyā rūpa karata dheyāna |
rādhā-nāme dvi-guṇa tanu moṛaï
ḍhaïraja nā dhari parāṇa ||
śuna kahi sundari toy |
so hena sunāgara saba-guṇa-sāgara
tohe se purukha-vadha hoy ||
tuhū ramaṇī-dhanī- mukuṭa-śiromaṇi
mohe nā karu āna chanda |
kaha vrajānanda vilamba nā kara dhani
heraha śyāmara-canda || [PKT. 127.]

« The messenger came from the gallant lover to the good heroine Rādhā. (She said :) 'I cannot witness so much distress of Śyāma : so I have come to tell (you). There is no knowing when Śyāma saw you.

But he always thinks of your loveliness. At the name of Rādhā he is doubly distressed, and his soul becomes impatient. Listen to me, my beauty, as I tell you. To you comes the blame of killing a man like him who is such a gallant *bean* and who possesses infinite goodness. You are a girl and the diadem of the entire host of accomplished women : do not say no to me.' Vrajānanda (too) submits : 'Do not tarry, my lady, (go and) see Śyāma, the moon.' »

Śivarāma-dāsa.

Śivarāma-dāsa, according to the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and the *Narottama-vilāsa*, was a disciple of Narottamadāsa-Ṭhākura. Nothing further is known about him. In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* there is about a score of Brajabuli poems by Śivarāma ; in five of which there is some mixture of Hindi [1070-72, 1518, 1557].

Specimens of his Brajabuli composition are given below :—

aïchana śunaïte mugadhinī ramaṇī |
sakhī-gaṇa-iṅgite avanata-bayanī ||
lāje vacana nāhi kare parakāśa |
sakhī-gaṇa kahata-hī priyatara bhāṣa ||
kahaïte nā kahasi rajanī-ka kāja |
hāmāri śapati tohe yadi kara lāja ||
pahila-samāgama lāgi eta dūkha |
puna milane kata pāyabi sukha ||
aïche vacana śuni kahe mṛdu hāsi |
śivarāma-dāsa iha rasa parakāśi || [PKT. 255.]

« On hearing that, and understanding the meaning of her friends the simple girl lowered her face. Out of bashfulness she could not utter a syllable. Then her friends talked these sweet words to her : 'Though manifest, you are not telling us about the last night's affairs. We exhort you that you do not be bashful. So much pain (you feel at) the first meeting ! But in the next meeting you would find so much pleasure.' On hearing these words she smiled softly and began to speak. Śivarāma-dāsa here develops the sweet sentiment. »

śyāma rāsa-rasa-raṅgiyā |
nava-yuvarāja yuvati-saṅgiyā ||

cañcala-gati- caraṇe calata
saṅgīta-suraṅgiyā |
nāce manohara gati.....
...aṅga-bhaṅgiyā [1] ||
bīṇa-adhika vividha yantra
bāoye upāṅgiyā |
madhura tāla thaï thaï thaï
bolata mṛdaṅgiyā ||
kānu lapata sura-mohona
lāla mañjīra māna ri |
rucira tā tā thaiyā thaiyā thaiyā
gāota sura-tāna ri ||
vṛṣabhānu-nandinī kiśorī gorī
gāota anupāma ri |
śivarāma ānande nāhika ora
herata rasa-dhāma ri || [PKT. 1070.]

«Śyāma, who delights in the sport of *Rāsa*, and who is a young prince, (is dancing) in the company of young damsels. He is moving in quick steps to charming music. He dances in charming steps and with delightful movements of the body. Lutes and other musical instruments are being played to accompaniment. Drums (*mṛdaṅga*) are raising a beautiful note—*tā tā, thai thai thai.* Kānu raises a charming music with his lovely anklets, and he is singing a fine melody in proper beats and harmony. The beautiful young daughter of Vṛṣabhānu is singing exquisitely. Śivarāma has lost his consciousness in joy, and is looking at the embodiment of *rasa* (love).»

Śyāmadāsa (ii).

The probable candidates for the poetic fame of Śyāmadāsa (ii) are as many as four: (*i*) Śyāmadāsa Cakravarttī, a brother-in-law and disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, (*ii*) Śyāmadāsa-Caṭṭa, another disciple of the same, (*iii*) Śyāmadāsa-Cakravarttī, son of Vyāsa (-Ācārya)-Cakravarttī, both disciples of the same, and (*iv*) Śyāmasundara-dāsa, a Brahmin and disciple of the same. [For Śyāmadāsa (i) see Addenda.]

[1] This line is metrically defective.

Let us first discuss the poems that bear the *bh.* of Śyāmadāsa. In PKT. there are six such poems, all in Brajabuli [1289, 1330, 2095, 2350, 2352, 2845]. In GPT. there is an additional Bengali poem [p. 272]. In the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* there are one Bengali and two Brajabuli poems [71, 130, 316]. In APR. there are eleven songs of which five are in Brajabuli [303, 304, 306-308]. Lastly in the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* there are two songs, one in Bengali, with the *bh.* of Dvija Śyāmadāsa, and the other in Brajabuli, with the *bh.* of Śyāmacāda-dāsa, which is an obvious mistake for Śyāmadāsa as is evident from the metre.

Now there is one interesting fact about the Brajabuli poems by Śyāmadāsa. These are more or less tinged with Brajbhākhā forms and idioms. This cannot be explained except on the assumption that the poet had lived for some time at Vṛndāvana. Now the *Karṇānanda* mentions that Śyāmasundara-dāsa lived at Vṛndāvana. But as the *bh.* is uniformly Śyāmadāsa, and not even once Śyāma-sundara or Śyāmasundara-dāsa, we may reject him.

Śyāmadāsa-Cakravarttī, the son of Vyāsa-Ācārya, was a worthy person and a scholar too. He must have been to Vṛndāvana for his religious education. It is of course a fact that poems with the *bh.* of Śyāmadāsa are not the work of a single poet. It is also possible that there was a Brajbhākhā poet of the same name.

The following Brajabuli poem is quoted as a specimen :—

rādhe pyāri āye bāoye rabāba |
eka-hi locana yantra-tantra-hi
aura kāna-mukha mājha ||
īṣata nācani gīma dolani
alaka-tilaka sāja |
heri murachita śyāma-sundara
adhare muralī bāja ||
druma āveśita pulaka-carcita
maura nāce duhū pāśa |
rāi raṅgiṇī cau-dige beṛhala
śyāmadāśa tachu āśa || [APR. 303.]

Rādhā, the dearest girl, is coming forward, playing on the *rabāb*. One of her eyes is fixed upon the strings of the instrument, while the other is rivetted on Kṛṣṇa's face. Her gait is dancing, her neck is moving

in beat, and she is profusely decorated with *tilaka* tracings. On seeing her Śyāma the lovely one is greatly moved. He blows his pipe with his lips. Trees are bristling up in joy and are in a trance as it were. On both sides (of the two lovers) peacocks dance. Her companions make a circle round Rādhā (and Kṛṣṇa). Śyāma-dāsa hopes thereat.»

Yadunandana-dāsa (ii) [*c.* 1607 A.C.].

Yadunandana (ii) was born in a Vaidya family at the village Mālihāṭi near Katwa. He was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, and had later become an attendent of the Ācārya's daughter Hemalatā-devī who lived at Būdhaï-pāṛā. The poet has given his account, though very briefly, in his *Karṇānanda*, a historical work dealing with the activities of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. This work was completed in *Śaka* 1529 (=1607 A.C.).

Yadunandana (ii) was a prolific writer. Besides his lyric poems and the *Karṇānanda*, he had translated in Bengali verse, under the title *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba*, the Sanskrit drama *Vidagdha-mādhava* of Rūpa-Gosvāmin. He had similarly treated the Sanskrit epic poem *Govinda-līlāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, and also the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* along with the *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā*, the commentary thereon by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Some of the lyric poems of Yadunandana, found in the anthologies, are taken from his translations of the *Vidagdha-mādhava* and the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*.

Yadunandana (ii) was certainly the last of the great poets of Brajabuli. As a translator he has not been surpassed by any. The diction of his Bengali verses is smooth and dignified.

In PKT. there are more than two scores of Brajabuli verses with the *bh.* of 'Yadunandana,' and a few more with the *bh.* of 'Yadu' and 'Yadunātha.' 'Yadu' can very well be an abbreviation of the fuller name 'Yadunandana.' But the trouble is that Yadunandana (ii) has often subscribed himself as Yadunātha in his *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba* for obvious metrical reasons. So it is difficult to assign them to the proper poet or poets.

The following Brajabuli poem, taken from the *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba*, is undoubtedly from the pen of Yadunandana-dāsa (ii) :—

parijana-sudhādhara-vāṇī |
nā śunasi kāhe ageyānī ||

bāṛhāyasi kāhe ati roṣa |
nā guṇasi hari-guṇa-doṣa ||
michāï māne daha rāï |
kāhe tanu sutāpasi tāï ||
tohe lāgi sutāpita kāna |
ataye tejaha tuhū māna ||
hṛdaye karuṇā upajāï |
diṭhi-kone nirakhi kānāñi ||
ati kātara rasa-rāja |
e yadunandana kahe kāja || [Act V]

«[Rādhā is in a mood of *māna*. Her friend expostulates with her thus:] -Why, you stupid girl, do you not pay heed to the words of advice given by your companions? Why do you entertain such anger (in your heart)? You do not seem to judge whether Hari is at fault or not. O Rādhā, you are for nothing suffering in (your unreasonable attitude of) love-sulk. Why do you then neglect your person? Kṛṣṇa is also suffering because of you. So do you give up (this) sulky mood. Have compassion at heart and bestow a look on Kṛṣṇa. That jolly lover is very depressed. This is (your) duty, says Yadunandana.»

The following poem must be counted among the very best poems in Brajabuli literature:—

so vara-nāgara-rāja |
taṇana-tanayā-taṭe nīpa-taru-nikaṭe
hilana naṭavara-sāja ||
marakata-ratana- mukura jini lābaṇi
prati-tanu pirīti-pasāra |
śārada-cāda- phāda mukha-maṇḍala
kuṇḍala śravaṇe vihāra ||
nācata bhaṅa- madana-dhanu-bhaṅgima
diṭhi khañjana-naṭa-jora |
bāndhulī-adhare muralī-rava-mādhurī
umatāyala mana mora ||
ūṛata cūṛe cāru śikhi-candraka
manda-pavana saṅe mela |
kahe yadunandana śravaṇa-rasāyana
tanu mana saba hari nela || [APR. 263.]

« That prince of gallant lovers, dressed as a great dancer, is standing at his ease under a *nīpa* tree by the bank of the Daughter of the Sun (Yamunā). The loveliness of his complexion surpasses that of a mirror made of pure emerald. Every item of his person is a riot of love. The oval of his face is (as beautiful) as the round of the moon. Earrings decorate his ears. Under the arches of the eyebrows that are the veritable bows of the god of love dance his eyes like a pair of hopping *khañjana* birds. The sweetness of the notes of the flute at his lips that resemble buds of *bāndhulī* flower has intoxicated my heart. On his crest shivers the lovely peacock's feather in slight breeze. So says Yadunandana in a way that is ambrosiac to the ear : ' He has stolen everything, both body and soul.' »

The following Bengali poem, also from his *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba* is a good specimen of Yadunandana's power of effective translation. The influence of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja is quite noticeable here :—

kadambera vana haite kibā śabda ācambite
āsiyā paśila mora kāne |
amṛta nichiyā peli ki mādhurya padāvalī
ki jāni kemana kare prāṇe ||
sakhi he, niścaya kariyā kahi tore |
hā hā kulāṅganā-mana grahibāre dhairya-gaṇa
yāhe hena daśā haila more ||
śuniyā lalitā kahe anya kona śabda nahe
mohana-muralī-dhvani eha |
se śabda śuniyā kene hailā tumi vimohane
raha nija citte dhari theha ||
rāi kahe kebā hena muralī bājāy yena
viṣāmṛta ekatra kariyā |
jala nahe hime yanu kāpāïche saba tanu
prati-tanu śītala kariyā ||
astra nahe mane phuṭe kāṭārite yena kāṭe
chedana nā kare hiyā mora
tāpa nahe uṣṇa ati poṛāye āmāra mati
bicārite nā pāïye ora ||
eteka kahiyā dhanī udvega bāṛila jani
nāre citta prabodha karite |
kahe śuna āre sakhi tumi mithyā kaile dekhi
muralīra nahe hena rīte ||

kona sunāgara eha mahāmantra paṛe yeha
harite āmāra dhairya yata |
dekhiyā ai-saba rīta camaka lāgila cita
dāsa-yadunandanera mata ‖ [Act. i]

«[Rādhā speaks to her friend on hearing the notes of Kṛṣṇa's flute:] 'From within the *kadamba* grove what a note comes to my ears all on a sudden! What a sweet song! One is tempted to throw away ambrosia as being nothing to it. I cannot describe what my heart feels. My friend, I tell you (this) for certain: can the heart of a girl of a good family ever check itself (on hearing) that which is responsible for this my condition?' On hearing this Lalitā replies: 'This sound is nothing but the melodies of the enchanting flute. On hearing it why are you perturbed? Just restrain your heart.' Then Rādhā speaks again: 'Who is he that plays upon the flute in this way, as if mixing up a portion of nectar and gall? It is no water, but it makes me shiver and renders my limbs all cold; it is no weapon, but it pierces my heart as if with a dagger; even then it does not cut my heart into two; it is not heat, still it is very hot and it burns my determination (to ashes); and when I ponder I come to no conclusions.' Speaking thus the precious girl becomes all the more impatient; she can in no way console her heart, and she says: 'Listen to me, my friend; you have lied to me, I see; such can never be the way of a flute. He is some gallant lover who is uttering an incantation to take away all my self-control. On seeing all this affair, wonder has sprung on my heart as on that of the servant Yadunandana.'»

Mathurā-dāsa.

Mathurānātha-dāsa or Mathurā-dāsa was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karṇānanda i]. Nothing further is known about the poet. In PKT. there is one Bengali poem with the *bh.* of Mathurā-dāsa [789]. This poem shows that the poet must have been a good scholar of Sanskrit. In the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta*, however, two Brajabuli poems are found with the *bh.* of 'Mathureśa-dāsa' [206, 317]. There is nothing remarkable in them.

Giridhara-dāsa.

There is only one Brajabuli poem by Giridhara-dāsa in the *Kṣaṇadā* [301 = APR. 415]. In the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* there is another poem with the *bh.* of Giridhara-dāsa [386], which is found with the *bh.* of Govinda-dāsa in PKT. [430]. As this poem lacks the finish of the Kavirāja, it is quite possible that Giridhara-dāsa was the real author of the piece.

Giridhara-dāsa was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. He was one of the persons to whom the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* has acknowledged his indebtedness.

Divyasiṃha [*c.* 1583 A.C.].

Divyasiṃha was the son of Govindadāsa Kavirāja, and like his father he was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karṇānanda i]. The name Divyasiṃha ('divine lion' the *vāhana* of Śakti) supports the fact that Govindadāsa Kavirāja was a worshipper of Śakti in his earlier life.

The only available poem by Divyasiṃha is a Brajabuli one, occurring in the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* [191]. This poem, which describes Rādhā's agonies on seeing Kṛṣṇa from a distance and falling at once in love with him, is quoted below :—

yaba dhari pekhalū kālindī-tīra |
nayane jharaye kata vāri athīra ||
kāhe kahaba sakhi marama-ka kheda |
cīta-hī nā bhāye kusumita śeja ||
nava-jaladhara jiti baraṇa ujora |
heraïte hṛdi māhā païṭhala mora ||
taba dhari manasija hānaye bāṇa |
nayane kāhna binu nā heriye āna ||
divyasiṃha kahe śuna vraja-rāmā |
rāï kāhna eka-tanu duhū eku ṭhāmā ||

« Since I have seen the bank of the Kālindī (Yamunā), tears stream down incessantly from my eyes. To whom, O my friend, shall I confide the secret pangs of my heart? Even the flower-strewn bed does not appeal to me. He whose shining complexion puts to shade the tinge

of dark cloud, has entered into my heart as soon as merely eyed. Thenceforward the god of love is piercing me with his shafts, and I do not see with my eyes anything or anybody except Kṛṣṇa. Divyasiṃha replies: 'Listen to me, O girl of the Vraja, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are the same personality, and they are always together.'

Gokulānanda [*ante* 1653 A.C.].

In the earlier portion of the Das MS. there are nine poems (all in Bengali) by Gokulānanda. One Bengali poem—an ode to Advaita-prabhu—with the same *bhaṇitā* occurs in PKT. [2351]. One Brajabuli and two Bengali poems (including the one cited in PKT.) by Gokulānanda have been incorporated in GPT.

I quote here the only Brajabuli poem by Gokulānanda. The language of the poem is not pure: it contains more Bengali than is usual. Its metre also is defective, showing indifferent copying.

saṅge parikara gaura-vara-sundara
yāota suradhunī-tīra |
o-rūpa nehāri cita umatāola
sarama bharama geo haïnu athīra ||

sajanī gorā-rūperē kataï mādhurī |
satī kulavatī hāma aïchana beyākula
nimikhete haïla baürī ||
atanu-kusuma-śare antara jara-jara
dūre geo loka-parivāda |
gaura-rūpa-sāyare jīvana (yauvana) ḍāraba
iha majhu mane sādha ||
yata guru-garabita sabaṁ hāma tejaba
nā karaba kulera vicara |
gokulānandera hiyā rūpera sāyara mājhe
ḍūbala nā jāne sātāra ||[1] [GPT., p. 147.]

[1] The compiler of GPT., without any justification, ascribes this as well as the other two poems to Gokulānanda-Sena *alias* Vaiṣṇava-dāsa, the compiler of PKT. But there is not the least evidence to show that Vaiṣṇava-dāsa had ever used his real name in the colophon of any of his poems.

« In company with his followers Gaura the handsome and superb was going to the bank of the Ganges. Looking at that beauty all my bashfulness and decorum fled away, and I became restless. O friend! manifold are the charms of Gorā's loveliness: I am a lady of a noble family, and yet I am so much perturbed, and in a moment, have become mad, as it were. My heart is pierced through and through with the darts of the Bodyless One (*i.e.*, the god of love): slander by men is at a distance (*i.e.*, is of no concern to me). In the sea of Gaura's loveliness I shall throw down my life and my youthfulness: this is the desire of my heart. All sense of decorum and reverence for my superiors I will forsake: I will care nothing or the dignity of my family. The heart of Gokulānanda has drowned itself into the sea of that loveliness, and it does not know how to swim (back). »

I quote below one Bengali poem by Gokulānanda from the earlier portion of the Das MS.

dekha nā śrī aparupa nikuñjera mājhe |
rādhā-śyāma anupāma kibā se birāje ||
cāhite jhāmare ākhi rūpa gorā kālā |
vinodā vinodinī rūpe nidhuvana ālā ||
samāna vayasa veśa kiśorī kiśora |
duhākāra rūpa dekhi saba-hū bibhora ||
kuñje nā guñjare ali maūrī nā nāce |
piku bisarala dhvani mukha heri āche ||
rūpa dekhi sārī śuka bisarala gāna |
animikhe dekhe rūpa jharaye nayāna ||
āhā mari mari mṛgī tṛṇa mukhe kari |
mṛga-śiśu dekhe rūpa stana mukhe kari ||
gokulānandete kahe ki baliba tāhā |
mari mari balihāri āhā āhā āhā ||

« Look at the superb beauty in the woodland grove: Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the unparalleled (couple), look so resplendent. Eyes, when looking at (their respective) fair and dark complexions, become dazed: the loveliness of the Charming Lady and the Charming Gallant has illumined the pleasure garden. The Youngwoman and the Youngman are of the same age and are dressed equally (fine): everybody (man

and animal) is ravished, looking at their superb beauty. The bee does not hum in the grove, nor does the peahen dance: the cuckoo has forgotten its notes, and is gazing on at their faces. On looking at their beauty the *sārikā* (mynah) and the *śuka* (parrot) forget their song: with eyes that have stopped their twinkle they feast on that beauty, and their eyes are streaming (with tears of joy). O the wonder! the doe with grass in her mouth and the fawn with its mother's teat in mouth are looking on. Says Gokulānanda: 'How shall I describe it? Ah me! I feel carried away, ah!'»

Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya had three disciples named Gokulānanda: (*i*) Gokulānanda-Ācārya, the elder son of Haridāsa-Ācārya, (*ii*) Gokulānandadāsa-Cakravarttī, and (*iii*) Gokulānanda-dāsa [Karṇānanda i (pp. 9, 15); Prema-vilāsa xx]. It is quite possible that any one (or more than one) of these three was (or were) the poet (or poets) in question.

Gokuladāsa (i).

In PKT. there is a single Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of Gokuladāsa. The poem is only a series of names and epithets of Kṛṣṇa, the Supreme Deity [2975]. According to the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [x] Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya had a disciple named Gokuladāsa who was a good poet ('kavīndra'). He came originally from 'Kaṛhaï' and settled later at Seragaṛa in Pañcakoṭa.

> pañcakūṭe seragaṛa-vāsī śrī-gokula |
> pūrva-vāsa kaṛhaï kavīndra bhaktyātula ||
>
> [*op. cit.*, p. 619].

It may be that this Gokula or Gokuladāsa was the poet of the piece. 'Gokula' may also be a short form of 'Gokulānanda.'

Vaṃśīdāsa (ii).

We have seen previously [p. 42] that the poet Vaṃśī-vadana used the *bh.* 'Vaṃśī-dāsa' as well. But there is evidence to show that there was also another poet Vaṃśīdāsa who was posterior to Vaṃśī-vadana. Of the five poems with the *bh.* of 'Vaṃśī-dāsa' and

twelve poems with the *bh.* of 'Vaṃśī' in PKT. a few may belong to the later poet.[1] A few other poems with the *bh.* of 'Vaṃśī-dāsa' occur in APR.

The only poem that can be unhesitatingly assigned to Vaṃśīdāsa (ii) is an ode to Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. This poem also shows that the poet was, in all likelihood, a disciple of the Ācārya. The poem is quoted below.

jaya re jaya re mora gaurāṅga-rāy꣺ |
jaya nityānanda-candra jaya gaura-bhak a-vṛnda
sītānātha deha pada-chāy꣺ ||
jaya jaya mora ācārya-ṭhākura
agati patita ati |
karuṇā kariyā sva-caraṇe rākha
e mora pāpiṣṭha-mati ||
tomāra caraṇa bharasā kebala
nā dekhi āra upāy꣺ |
mora duṣṭa-mane rākha śrī-caraṇe
ei māgo tuā pāy ||
sadā manoratha ye kichu āmāra
sakala jānaha tumi |
kahe vaṃśīdāsa pura saba āśa
ki āra kahiba āmi ||[2] [GPT., p. 5.]

« 'Twofold glory be to my Gaurāṅga the King! Glory be to the moon-like Nityānanda! Glory be to the host of Gaura's devotees! O Lord of Sītā (Advaita)! give me the shade of thy feet. Twofold glory be to my Ācārya-ṭhākura (*i.e.*, Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya! (I am) hopeless and very wretched: taking pity (on me), do thou keep at thy feet this my sinful heart. My only hope (lies) at thy feet: I do not find any other way. My erring mind—do thou keep at thy feet: this I desire at thy feet. All my desires thou knowest full well: do thou fulfil them. What more shall I say?' So says Vaṃśīdāsa. »

[1] Satīśa-candra Rāy was of firm opinion that all these seventeen poems belong to Vaṃśī-vadana [*vide* PKT., Vol. V, p. 180].

[2] Apparently this poem may seem to be an ode to Advaita-prabhu, but he is mentioned regularly as 'Ācārya-prabhu' and never as 'Ācārya-ṭhākura.'

This Vaṃśīdāsa (ii) seems to have been Vaṃśīdāsa-Ṭhākura, a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, of whom the *Karṇānanda* says :

> śrī-vaṃśīdāsa-ṭhākuraḍ yei mahāśaya |
> prabhuraḍ priya śākhā hay madhura āśaya ‖ [i].

According to the *Prema-vilāsa* [xx], Vaṃśīdāsa-Ṭhākura (or Vaṃśīdāsa-Cakravarttī as the *Bhakti-ratnākara* mentions him) was present at the festival at Khetarī.

One Vaṃśīdāsa translated the *Nikuñja-rahasya-stava* (consisting of thirty-two verses) of Rūpa-Gosvāmin. The translation consists of thirty-three lyrics (including the introductory piece) written mostly in Brajabuli. These have been published by Nitya-svarūpa Brahmacārī from Vṛndāvana (*Saṃvat* 1957). It is quite likely that this Vaṃśīdāsa was the same poet as has been discussed above.

Dharaṇī.

Four poems by Dharaṇī have been cited in PKT., of which three are written in Brajabuli [858, 2381, 2454]. One Bengali poem by Dharaṇī occurs in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 261 f.].

Inspite of his apparently small output Dharaṇī was quite a good poet, as will be evident from the poem quoted below.

> āre manamatha nāhi tuā dharama-vicāra |
> ko karu dokha rokha karu kā-saṅe
> baṛa tuhū murukha goṅāra ‖
> śunaïte rūpa kalā guṇa mādhurī
> teṅi diṭhi herala kāna |
> soï yodha-pati tāhe nāhi pārali
> hṛdaye hānali pāca-bāṇa ‖
> kiye guṇe rati tohe pati kari mānala
> nāma ke rākhala kāma |
> nāśasi kāma kulaṭā-pada deosi
> aba tohe cīnalū hāma ‖
> devī-pati śiva jīva tuā rākhala
> chiye chiye e baṛe dūkhe |
> tā-saṅe vāda sādhi yaiche dhāoli
> taïche anala dila mukhe ‖

aba hāma śambhu ārādhaba tuā lāgi
puna tohe karaba vināśa |
virahiṇī-gaṇa yena kiye ghara kiye vane
yāhā tāhā sukhe karu vāsa ||
dharaṇī-ka vāṇī māna tuhū sundari
śambhu ārādhabi kāy |
manamatha-koṭi mathana karu yo jana
so tuā caraṇa dheyāy || [PKT. 858.]

« [Afflicted with love for Kṛṣṇa Rādhā soliloquizes :] 'You god of love ! You have really no sense of justice. One commits a blunder, but offence is taken against another ! You are really an uncultured boor. On hearing of his beauty, accomplishments, virtues and gracefulness—and only then—my eyes looked at Kṛṣṇa. A commander of the army as he is, you could not prevail upon him : therefore you shot your five arrows at my heart. For what virtue of yours did Rati accept you as her consort? Who gave you the name of 'Kāma' (god of love, *literally* desire)? You undo my activities, and you bring upon me the notoriety as an immoral woman : now I have seen through you. Śiva, the husband of the Devī (the Mother Goddess), let your spirit remain. Fie, fie ! it is a great shame. Just as you played him false and tried to run away, so did he burn you to ashes (*literally* put fire into your mouth). Because of you I shall have to pray to Śambhu that he may destroy you once again, so that (henceforward) the lovelorn women in separation from their lovers may be care-free anywhere at home or in the woodland, and may be in perfect peace.' 'Listen now to the words of Dharaṇī, O Fair Lady ! Why should you pray to Śambhu ? The person who vanquishes millions of gods of love meditates on your feet.' »

One of the Brajabuli poems by Dharaṇī [PKT. 2381] is an ode to Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, where the poet mentions the latter as his master ('pahu-mora śrī-śrīnivāsa'). Dharaṇī, therefore, seems to have been a disciple of the Ācārya. But no mention of his name has been made in any of the works describing the activities of the Ācārya. It is also not unlikely that the poet was a disciple to a disciple or descendant of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya.

Rasika-dāsa (Rasikānanda) [*c.* 1583 A. C.].

In PKT. there is one Bengali poem with the *bh.* of 'Rasikānanda' [2824], and one Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Rasika-dāsa' [541].

Three Bengali poems (of which one is the same as PKT. 2224) with the *ṭhs.* of 'Rasika' [p. 172], 'Rasikānanda' [pp. 369f.] and 'Rasika-ānanda' [p. 371] occur in GPT. All the three songs are on Caitanya-deva, the last two depicting the sorrowful incident of the Master's shaving his head on the occasion of his *sannyāsa*. These two poems are extremely realistic, and they bear the impress of one who either saw the incident himself or heard it from one who had actually seen it. It shows that the poet Rasikānanda had a vivid imagination. One Bengali poem by 'Rasika-dāsa' occurs in the earlier portions of the Das MS.

The following is the only Brajabuli poem by Rasika-dāsa. There is quite a number of Bengali forms in it, and it is as much Bengali as Brajabuli.

nā kaha re sakhi uhāra kathā |
dviguṇa hṛdaye nā deha vyathā ||
yaichana catura śaṭhera pahũ |
taichana tāhāra dūtī se tuhũ ||
nikuñje hṛdaye dharala ye |
tāhāre nā kaha sebaü se ||
soï kalāvatī nibase yāhā |
turite gamana karaha tāhā ||
emati tāhāre sādhaba yāï |
ye sukha pāobi avadhi nāï ||
puna nā āsiha āmāra pāśa |
śuniyā calala rasika-dāsa || [PKT. 541.]

« [Rādhā is cross with her lover, and she speaks to his messenger:] 'Do not, O friend, speak of him (*i. e.*, Kṛṣṇa): do not redouble the sorrow of my heart. As he is the clever master of cheats, so you are his (fitting) messenger. Go and tell her, who embraced him in the garden house, to minister to his pleasures. You go quickly where that accomplished girl is; and speak to her in such a manner that it will bring you unlimited happiness. Never come back to me again.' On hearing this Rasika-dāsa moved away. »

The poet was, in all probability, the celebrated disciple of Śyāmānanda, the colleague of Śrīnivāsa. Rasikānanda was a Brahmin. His father, Rāja Acyutānanda, was a rich landholder. Their native place was Rayanī in modern Dhalbhum. Rasikānanda's wife was Mālatī [Prema-vilāsa xx].

Rasikānanda and his brother Murāri were of the greatest help to Śyāmānanda in the spread of Vaiṣṇava religion in South West Bengal and the Orissa border. Rasikānanda was present at the Khetarī festival [Narottama-vilāṣa vi].

There is mention of another Rasika, one Rasika-dāsa, among the disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Prema-vilāsa xx ; Karṇānanda i]. It may be that he was responsible for some of the poems with the *bh.* of 'Rasika' or 'Rasika-dāsa.'

'Tulasī-dāsa.'

In the *Kṣaṇadā* there is a Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Tulasī-dāsa.' The poem is quoted below :—

rādhā kānu nikuñja-mandira-mājha |
caüdike vraja-vadhū maṅgala gāota
teji kula-bhaya-lāja ||
śarada-yāminī o kula-kāminī
teracha nayane cāy |
madana-bhujaṅgame rāï-re daṃśala
heli paṛaye śyāma-gāy ||
kānu-dhanvantari rāï kole kari
auṣadha-cumbana dāna |
nāgara nāgarī o-rase āgarī
rāi-kānu ekaï parāṇa ||
sārī śuka pika maṅgala gāota
ati se sulalita tāna |
vṛndāvana bhari rasera bādara
tulasī-dāsa rasa gāna || [Kṣaṇadā 305.]

Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (are seated) within the garden pavilion; round about them the youngwomen of the Vraja are singing their glory, not caring for family prestige and propriety. An autumn night (as it is), that bashful girl [1] (*i. e.*, Rādhā) looks askance (at her lover): she is (at once) bitten by the god of love as by a serpent, and she reels down against Śyāma's person. Kānu, the divine physician, takes her up in

[1] Literally 'the young woman of good family.'

his arms and gives her the medicine of his kisses. The gallant lover and the beloved girl both are adepts in that art (*i. e.*, in the ways of love): Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa have the same soul between them. The *sārikā*, the *śuka*, and the cuckoo are singing a song celebrating them—all in a very charming manner: throughout the entire Vṛndāvana there has set in the monsoon of *rasa* (divine love), of which Tulasī-dāsa sings in joy).

This poem appears in the *Kīrttanānanda* thus:

dekha rāi mādhava duhū baïṭhata
nikuñja-mandira-mājha re |
caudike vraja-vadhū maṅgala gāyata
teji kula-bhaya lāja re ||
śarada-yāminī o kula-kāminī
teracha-nayane cāy re |
madana-bhujaṅgame rāï[-ka] daṃśala
he[li] paṛe śyāma-gāy re ||
kānu-dhanvantari rāï kole kari
barikhe cumbana-dāna re |
nāgara nāgarī o rasa-sāgari
[rāï] kānu ekaï parāṇa re ||
sāri śuka pika maṅgala gāyata
ati se sulalita tāna re |
vṛndāvana bhari rasera bādara
ulasita o-rasa gāna re || [Kīrttanānanda, p. 155.]

The last line of this poem has an echo in a poem by the poet (*kavi*) Śekhara [Kīrttanānanda, p. 261]. Thus:

vṛndāvana bhari rāsera bādara
kavi-śekhara iha rasa gāy ||

From this one is tempted to ascribe the poem to Śekhara (or Kavi-śekhara). The last cæsura of the *Kīrttanānanda* version is frankly a misreading of the corresponding portion of the *Kṣaṇadā* version. The *Kṣaṇadā* was known to Gaura-sundara, the compiler of the *Kīrttanānanda*; he cited two poems by 'Harivallabha' who was probably no other than Viśvanātha-Cakravartin), in his anthology [pp. 187, 161].

The problem however is not so simple. A work, preceding the *Kṣaṇadā* by about half a century (*viz.*, Das MS., earlier part), quotes another version of this poem, closely akin to the *Kṣaṇadā* version, where occurs the *bh.* of Govindadāsa. The Das MS. version runs as follows :—

rādhā-śyāma nikuñja-mandira-mājha |
caudike vraja-vadhū maṅgala gāyata
teji kula-bhaya lāja ||
śarada-yāminī sundara-kāminī
cañcala-locane cāy |
madana-bhujaṅgame rāï-re ḍaṃśala
ḍholi pariche śyāma-gāy ||
nāgara nāgarī o-rase āgarī
karata-hi puṣpa-ki rāsa |
nānā yantra meli bājata muralī
kahata-hī govindadāsa ||

It should be noted that the last couplet here is entirely different and that the poem lacks one couplet. Now the question is, who was the original writer of the poem ? Govindadāsa has of course the oldest available evidence in his favour, but Tulasī-dāsa's version materially differs from Govindadāsa's version as regards the last couplet. Was the poem really by Govindadāsa, and later it was amplified with a couplet bearing the name of Tulasī-dāsa ? Or was it due to the fact that there was a still earlier (fragmentary) prototype to which both Govindadāsa and Tulasī-dāsa are indebted ? And so also Śekhara (or Kavi-śekhara) ?

The only Tulasī-dāsa known in Neo-Vaiṣṇava literature in Bengal is one Tulasīrāma-dāsa, a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. He was a weaver by caste [Prema-vilāsa xx ; Karṇānanda i].

Raghunātha-dāsa (ii).

The poet Raghunātha-dāsa (ii), to whom should be ascribed the Brajabuli poem PKT. 2387 (an ode to Jayadeva) as well as an ode to Jīva-Gosvāmin [Bṛhad-bhakti-tattva-sāra, Vol. II, pp. 871 ff.], was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, as is evident from the following Brajabuli poem which is an ode to the Ācārya :—

bhāvera bhūṣaṇa rūpa ||
vṛndāvana guṇa nāma vilāsa |
varṇana gaura-cāda abhilāṣa ||
vaiyāsaki-sama śrī śrīnivāsa |
viracita-līlā-guṇa-vilāsa ||
bāhu viśale dhari deaï kora |
bālaka-keli karata pahū bhora ||
bāula saba-jana rodana hāsa |
vañcita bhela tahī raghunātha-dāsa ||

[VSP. MS. 2322.]

«.....(His) beauty is an embellishment to his devotional feelings. His supreme enjoyment is in the glory of Vṛndāvana, and in the Name. His highest desire, talking about Gaura the moon (*i.e.* Caitanya-deva). The resplendent Śrīnivāsa, like the son of Vyāsa (*i.e.* Śuka-deva), dilates upon the sportiveness and virtues (of God). With his big arms he gives embrace (to all miserable people); and in (divine) ecstasy the master makes boyish sports in company with boys. All the people have become mad, as it were: they weep, they laugh. (Only) Raghunātha-dāsa is deprived thereof.»

A Bengali poem (an ode to Caitanya-deva) by this poet occurs along with the above poem in the same MS. One poem in KPS. [p. 14] probably belongs to this Raghunātha-dāsa.

Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya had two disciples by the name of Raghunātha: (i) Raghunātha-Kara, and (ii) Raghunātha-dāsa [Prema-vilāsa xx]. One of these two must have been the poet in question.

Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa.

Eleven poems (Bengali and Brajabuli) by Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa occur in the oldest part of the Das MS. (1653-1656 A.C.). Nine of these poems are on the *Subala-saṃvāda.*[1] Three Bengali poems on the same

[1] 'Subala-saṃvāda' (the message of Subala) is the technical term for an episode of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. Kṛṣṇa is extremely anxious to meet Rādhā, and Subala, her brother, acts as the messenger. He meets Rādhā at her home and exchanges his own garb with her. He then stays at home impersonating Rādhā, while the latter, dressed up as Subala, meets Kṛṣṇa in the pasture ground where Kṛṣṇa is waiting. Nobody suspects her.

episode as well as an ode (in Brajabuli) to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa occur in KPS. [pp. 43f., 95, 96 f.]. The Brajabuli poem, which occurs in the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* also, runs as follows :—

dhenu carāyata veṇu bājāyata
yamunā-tīra-pulina vane |
(priya) sudāma śrīdāma subala mahābala
e-saba gopa-sakhā sagaṇe ||
(naṭa-) veśa sukeśa- cūṛā śikhi-sājani
mālatī-māla prasanna gale |
(śruti-) pāśa-vilāsa- maṇi makarākṛti
kuṇḍala maṇḍita gaṇḍe dole ||
kaṭi-dhaṭi pīta balāyani kāchani
kiṅkiṇī kāñcana-dāma ghane |
caraṇa-kamala- dale śaśi-maṇḍita
khaṇḍita tāpa bhajanta jane ||
jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa- pahu govardhana-
dhāraṇa dhīra devendra-maṇi |
akhila brahmāṇḍa bhāṇḍa kari maṇḍita
tā-kara āge kāhā-ko gaṇi ||

[KPS., pp. 43f.; Pada-kalpa-latikā, p. 29.]

« He herds the cattle and plays on his flute in the woods on the banks of the Yamunā, in company of his dear *Gopa* boys such as Sudāma, Śrīdāma, Subala, Mahābala and others. He is robed as a dancer: his beautiful locks, tied in a top-knot, are adorned with peacock's feathers, and a garland of blooming *mālatī* flowers dangles from his neck. By his cheeks swings a pair of ear-ornaments fashioned in the form of the *makara* (dolphin) and bedecked with jewels. The lower part of his body is superbly dressed with a yellow coloured piece of cloth, and a girdle of gold, decorated with tiny bells incessant (in their sweet tinkle). The petals of his lotus feet (*i.e.*, his toes) are bedecked with moons (*i.e.*, toe-nails), which destroy all the sufferings of the devotees. The Master of Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa, who lifted up the hill Govardhana, is the wise Lord of gods, and he looks upon the whole universe as a tiny pot: who can, therefore, surpass him ? »

Was this poet Jayakṛṣṇa-Ācārya, the son of Śrīdāsa and grandson of Haridāsa-Ācārya of Kāñcana-gaṛiyā ? According to the author of the

Karṇānanda [iii] Jayakṛṣṇa-Ācārya was a disciple of Rāmacandra Kavirāja, but according to the author of the *Narottama-vilāsa* [xii] he was a disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura.

'Jayacandra-dāsa.'

In APR. there are three Bengali poems [492-494] on the *Subala-milana* episode by 'Jayacandra-dāsa.' It is quite likely that these poems have come from the pen of Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa discussed above, and that 'Jayacandra' is a scribal error for 'Jayakṛṣṇa.'

Jānakī-vallabha.

In APR. there is a single Brajabuli poem by Jānakī-vallabha. It is as follows :—

ki kahaba niṭhura murāri |
aba ki jibaï vara-nārī ||
tuā tanu neha-bhujaṅge |
daṃśala komala aṅge ||
aukhada gada nāhi māne |
tāgā tuhārī dheyāne ||
śyāma du-ākhara manta |
te dhanī-dhairaja anta ||
eka āchaye pratikāre |
tuhāri pāṇi pāṇi-sāre ||
tuā diṭhi sāraka āśe |
aba-hi bahaï mṛdu ś(v)āse ||
śunaïte murachita kāna |
jānakī-vallabha ageyāna ||[1] [APR. 495.]

« [A friend of Rādhā comes to Kṛṣṇa and describes Rādhā's love-sickness. Rādhā has been compared here to a person bitten by a poisonous snake.] 'What shall I say to thee, O cruel Murāri (*i. e.*, Kṛṣṇa) ! Is the fair lady still living ? Her love (inspired by) thy slender body, like a

[1] 'śuni' (?).

snake has bit her tender limbs. The poison cannot be checked by medicine: only thought of thee (can act as) the strong bandage (tied above the bitten spot to stay the poison). (If she but hears) the two syllabled *mantra* (secret formula), which is thy name, *Śyāma*, the fair lady's self-control is at an end. Only one remedy is there: it is (a touch of) thy hand, which will be like the 'water-remedy' (*pāni-sāra*, a process in curing snake-bite). In expectation of a sight of thee as a sovran remedy, her breath still continues, though very faintly.' On hearing this Kṛṣṇa lost his senses; and Jānakī-vallabha too lost his consciousness.»

There was one Jānakīvallabha-Caudhurī among the disciples of Narottama-Ṭhākura [Prema-vilāsa xx]. He was, in all probability, a Brahmin; as Narahari-Cakravarttī mentions him as 'Jānakīvallabha-Caudhurī Ṭhākura' [Narottama-vilāsa xii].

'Dvija Jānakī.'

Two poems with the *bh.* of '*dvija* Jānakī' occur in the oldest portion of the Das MS. 'Jānakī' may be the short form of the fuller names 'Jānakī-vallabha' or 'Jānakī-nātha.' As we have seen above the poet Jānakī-vallabha was, very probably, a Brahmin. One Brahmin (*vipra*) Jānakī-nātha was present at the Khetarī festival. The former, however, has the better chance of being the author of the poems in question.

'Dāsa Jānakī.'

One Bengali poem with the above *bh.* occurs in the oldest portion of the Das MS. Though there is mention of one Jānakīrāma-dāsa among the disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karṇānanda ii; Prema-vilāsa xx], I am inclined to think that the poet 'Dāsa Jānakī' was the same person as 'Dvija Jānakī.'

Gaurakiśora-dāsa.

A MS. [2050] in the library of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad contains a few poems by Gaurakiśora-dāsa. One of these poems bear the *bh.* of 'Kiśora-dāsa,' apparently *metri causa*.. [As I am not sure that

the poet Kiśora-dāsa was the same as the poet in question I have dealt with the former separately.]

The following poem is quoted as a specimen of the poet's Brajabuli writing :—

phāguā khelata raṅge nadīyā-vihārī |
gadādhara dāmodara saṅge narahari ||
śrīvāsa mukunda vāsu āra śrī-mukunda |
gorā-aṅge phāgu dei nehāre ānanda ||
cau-dige bhakata saba gāoye bāoye tāla |
ānande nācata pahu śacīra dulāla ||
śrī-yugalakṛṣṇa pahū dei karatāri |
gaurakiśora-dāsa yāoye balihāri ||

« The Gallant of Nadīya (*i. e.*, Caitanya-deva) was joyously engaged in *Holi* sport in company of Gadādhara, Dāmodara, and Narahari. Śrīvāsa, Mukunda, Vāsu and Śrī-Mukunda were throwing the red powder at Gorā's person, and were looking on with delight. Around (them) the devotees were singing and beating measure, and the Master, the beloved Son of Śacī, was dancing in joy. Śrī-Yugalakṛṣṇa, the master, was clapping hands (in unison). Gaurakiśora-dāsa is entranced thereat. »

From this poem one may conclude that Caitanya-deva had a follower named Yugalakṛṣṇa and that the latter was the *guru* of the poet. But no such follower of the Master is known to us, and so I hesitatingly include Gaurakiśora among the poets of the late sixteenth century. It may be that the poet was a much later one.

'Kiśora-dāsa' [? *c.* 1583 A. C.].

There is a Brajabuli poem by Kiśora-dāsa in the later portion of the Das MS. The same poem *minus* the last line containing the *bh.* occurs in the oldest portion of the same MS. Two Bengali poems with the *bh.* of 'Kiśora' have been cited in APR. [480, 481]. Another Bengali poem by Kiśora-dāsa occurs in KPS. [pp. 145f.].

It has been mentioned above that the poet Gaurakiśora-dāsa had at least once used the shorter form 'Kiśora-dāsa' as the *bhaṇitā*. We may also suppose, for the sake of argument, that some other poet such as Vraja-kiśora, Nanda-kiśora, etc., may have done the same. But as there

is nothing to disprove the existence of a poet Kiśora-dāsa he should be accepted as a distinct poet.

The following Brajabuli poem is a remarkably good one, which would be regarded as being not unworthy of the pen of Govindadāsa Kavirāja :—

jaya jaya jaya bijaï kuñje
kuñjara-vara-gamanī |
prema-taraṅge bharala aṅge
saṅge baraja-ramaṇī ||
gagana-maṇḍala ati-niramala
śarada sukhada yāminī |
nīla-vasana hāṭaka-varaṇa
jhalakata ghana dāminī ||
drimiki drimiki rabāba-pākhāja-
ṭhāma-ṭhamaki calanī |
runu runu runu jhunu jhunu jhunu
bājata nūpura kiṅkiṇī ||
yantra-tantra tāna-māna
dhani dhani nava-yauvanī |
tā-nā-nā-nā-nā-nā sulalita-vīṇā
bāyata sughaṛa ramaṇī ||
milala śyāma- kuñja-dhāma
anupāma-sukha-śohinī |
dāsa kiśora sukherś nāhi ora
heri śyāma-mana-mohinī ||

« Hail! Hail! Hail! The girl with the gait of an elephant (*i. e.*, Rādhā) is proceeding to the bower-pavilion. Her limbs are surging with the waves of (the sea of) love. In her train are the young women of the Vraja. The vault of the sky is bright and clear, and the autumn night brings happiness to all. Her garment is blue coloured, and her complexion is that of gold: (it look as if) lightning is flashing through a mass of clouds. She walks to the concert of *rabāb* and *pakhāwaj*: her anklets and the tiny bells at her girdle jingle and tinkle musically. All sorts of musical instruments (are playing) perfect music; —wonderful, wonderful! the lady in her early youth! Her clever companions are playing on sweet-toned lutes—*tā-nā-nā nā-nā-nā*! She (*i. e.*, Rādhā), resplendent with unparalleled blissfulness, meets the Dark-complexioned One (*i. e.*, Kṛṣṇa) in the garden house. On looking at the

face of the charmer of the heart of the Dark-complexioned Lover Kiśora-dāsa's joy knows no bounds. »

Kiśorī-dāsa [? *c.* 1583 A. C.].

I have come across one Bengali poem by Kiśorī-dāsa [VSP. MS. 202], which is quoted below. The poet is otherwise quite unknown.

ki herilāmṅ kālindīra ghāṭe |
se-rūpe koṭi madana nā āṭe ||
jalada-baraṇa seï yuvā |
yuvatīra jāti-kula-ḷubā ||
hiyā jara-jara anurāge |
tā bine jhagaṛa saba lāge ||
diyā jāti-kulera bidāy |
śaraṇa lailāmṅ tachu pāy ||
kiśorī-dāsera cite jāge |
se-rūpa dekhiba cala āge ||

« 'What indeed did I see at the bathing *ghat* on the Kālindī (*i. e.* Yamunā) ! Tens of millions of gods of love cannot rival that loveliness. That young man with the complexion of the dark clouds is the pool to sink the caste and family ties of young women. My heart is being eaten up with love: without (a sight of) him everything strikes me as a (bootless) wrangle. Bidding adieu to my caste pride and family ties I have taken refuge at his feet.' The thought rises in the heart of Kiśorī-dāsa: 'Let us go forward and have a look at that Gracefulness.' »

We have previously seen that Parameśvara-dāsa sometimes mentioned himself as Parameśvarī-dāsa. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that Kiśorī-dāsa sometimes mentioned himself as Kiśora-dāsa, or *vice versa*. Śyāmānanda had a disciple who has been mentioned by the author of the *Prema-vilāsa* [xx] as Kiśorī-dāsa and by the author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [p. 1055] as Kiśora-dāsa. Was he the poet in question? This Kiśora-dāsa (or Kiśorī-dāsa) was present at the Khetarī festival [Narottama-vilāsa vi, vii]. There was another Kiśorī-dāsa. He was the third son of the poet Govindadāsa-Cakravarttī. Both the father and the son were disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karṇānanda, ii, iii]. It is very likely that this latter Kiśorī-dāsa was our poet.

Gaurāṅga-dāsa [? *c.* 1583 A. C.].

Two Brajabuli poems by Gaurāṅga-dāsa have been quoted in APR. [490, 491] from VSP. MS. 201. Narottama-Ṭhākura had two disciples by the name of Gaurāṅga-dāsa,[1] and Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya had another [Prema-vilāsa xx]. A fourth Gaurāṅga-dāsa accompanied Jāhnavā-devī to Khetarī and thence to Vṛndāvana [Narottama-vilāsa viii]. Any one of these may have been the poet. Or, for aught we know, he may have been an entirely different person and a much later poet.

Rāmacandra-dāsa (i) [Born ? A. C. 1534].

There are two poems by Rāmacandra in PKT. [2068, 2186], of which the first is written in Brajabuli and the second in Bengali. The second poem as well as two others (also in Bengali) is found in GPT. [pp. 42 (271), 496-497]. All these four poems are on Caitanya-deva.

That the poet was the elder son of the poet Caitanya-dāsa and grandson of the poet Vaṃśī-vadana can be seen from the following poem of his :

hā-hā mora ki chāra adṛṣṭa |
yabe gaura prakaṭila āmāra janama naila
teñi muñi adhama pāpiṣṭha ||
nā herinu gaura-canda nā herinu nityānanda
nā herinu advaita gosāñi |
ṭhākura śrī sarakār na herinu pada tārā
nā herinu śrīvāsa gadāi ||
ki mora karmera lekhā se saba nahila dekhā
ekā āmi kena janaminu |
saba-avatāra-sāra śrī-gaurāṅga avatāra
nā dekhinu kena nā marinu ||

[1] jaya śrī-gaurāṅga-dāsa bāyana-ṭhākura |
yāhāra mṛdaṅga-vādye tāpa yāy dūra ||
[Narottama-vilāsa, xii.]
jaya śrī-gaurāṅga-dāsa bairāgī pravīṇa | [*loc. cit.*]
There was also a Navagaurāṅga-dāsa—
jaya śrī-navagaurāṅga-dāsa guṇa-rāśī | [*loc. cit.*]

prabhura priya sva-gaṇa ṭhākura vaṃśī-vadana
suta-suta haõ muñi tāra |
ahe gaura nityānanda tabe kena mati-manda
rāmacandra ati durācara || [GPT., p. 496.]

« Alas, alas ! What a wretched fate I have ! When Gaura (*i. e.*, Caitanya-deva) was manifest I was not born—worst of sinners that I am ! I have not looked upon the face of Gaura, the moon-like, nor have I seen Nityānanda's face, nor, indeed, that of the Master Advaita. Śrī (Narahari) Sarkār Ṭhākura—I have not had a look at his feet, nor I have been blessed with a sight of Śrīvāsa and Gadāi (*i. e.*, Gadādhara Paṇḍita). Such is the pre-ordination of my fate that I could not have a sight of them. Why indeed was I born in a lone world ! The incarnation of Śrī Gaurāṅga is the greatest of all incarnations (of the Supreme Being), and that I could not see ! Why did I not die (as soon as I was born) ? I am the grandson of Vaṃśī-vadana Ṭhākura, a beloved and intimate follower of the Master ; why then, O Gaura ! O Nityānanda ! Rāmacandra is so evil-minded and evil-working ? »

Rāmacandra, better known as Rāmacandra-Gosvāmī, was adopted as a foster-son by Jāhnavā-devī [GPT., Introduction, p. 168]. Rāmacandra accompanied Jāhnavā-devī in her tour in the Vraja [Bhakti-ratnākara xi]. He settled at Bāghnā-pāṛā on the Bhāgirathī (Hugli) and installed there the images of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. He never married [GPS., Introduction, pp. 168-169].

Rāmacandra (ii).

Two Bengali poems by 'Rāmacandra' on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa topic have been quoted in APR. [410, 411]. These poems do not seem to have belonged to our poet Rāmacandra (i). I quote below one of these two poems. It reminds one of the writings of the so-called Caṇḍīdāsa.

kāhāre kahiba manera kathā
kebā yāy paratīta |
hiyāra mājhāre marama-vedana
sadāi camake cita ||

guru-jana-āge basite nā pāï
sadā chala-chala ākhi |
pulake ākula diga nehārite
saba śyāmamaya dekhi ||
sakhirā saṅge yadi jalere yāï [1]
se-kathā kahila nay |
yamunāra jala mukata kavarī
ithe ki parāṇa ray ||
kulera dharama rākhite nārilū
kahila sabhāra āge |
rāmacandra kahe śyāma nāgara
sadāï marame jāge || [APR. 410.]

«'To whom shall I speak out my mind? Who would then believe it? Within my heart my inner spirit aches, and my mind is even shuddering. I cannot sit at ease among my seniors, as my eyes are always moist and the hair on my body is always standing up. When I look up at any part of the sky I find it full of (images of) the Dark-complexioned One (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa). When I go to the waters in the company of my friends,—well, what should I say?—The (dark) waters of the Yamunā, and my disheelled tresses,—can one, then, resist (the temptation of) drowning oneself? I cannot any longer keep up the proper ways of my family—I declare this before you all.' (To this) Rāmacandra remarks: 'The (vision of the) gallant lover Śyāma is ever awake in her heart.'»

This poem would be agreed by all acquainted with Bengali lyrics as being of a remarkably high standard. I surmise that the poem was written by Rāmacandra-Ṭhākura, a disciple of Raghunandana. Or could it be the composition of Rāmacandra Mallika, a writer of a few good *padas* in Bengali, probably a pre-Caitanya poet?

Rāmacandra-dāsa (iii) [*c.* 1583 A.C.].

Rāmacandra Kavirāja, the great Sanskrit scholar and perhaps the greatest disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, was also a vernacular poet. His poems must have been mixed up with those of Rāmacandra-Gosvāmī

[1] Better reading would be 'sakhīra saṅge yadi jale yāï.'

and others. But there is at least one poem, which is undoubtedly of his authorship. It is imbedded in his long poem *Smaraṇa-darpaṇa*,[2] a work of the type of—in fact the prototype of—Narottama's *Prema-bhakti-candrikā*. The poem is quoted below. There are traces of Brajabuli forms in it.

dekha dekha āre bhāi gaurāṅga-cānda parakāśa |
pūrṇimāra cānda yena udita ākāśa ||
siṃha-rāśī paurṇamāsī gorā avatāra |
chāṛala yugera bhāra dharaṇī nistāra ||
mahī-tale āchena yateka jīva-tāpa |
harala sakala pahū nija-hi pratāpa |
kali-yuge tapa yajña nāhi kona tantra |
prakāśila mahāprabhu 'hare kṛṣṇa' mantra ||
premera bādara kari bharila saṃsāra |
pātakī nārakī saba pāila nistāra ||
andha avadhi yata kare parakāśa |
vindu nā paṛila mukhe rāmacandra-dāsa ||

[Smaraṇa-darpaṇa, pp. 20 f.]

« Behold, O my brother ! behold the rise of the Moon-like Gaurāṅga ! He is a veritable full moon resplendent on the sky. On a fullmoon night, (when the sun was) in the mansion of Lion, Gorā incarnated. The weight (of the accumulated sins) of the *yugas* (aeons) is removed and the earth is relieved. All the sufferings of creatures upon the surface of the earth the Master has removed with his own prowess. In the *Kali-yuga* (dark age) there is neither penance, nor religious sacrifice, nor any especial esoteric practices. The Great Master has proclaimed the *mantra* (sacred formula), *viz.*, 'Hare Kṛṣṇa' (O Hari ! O Kṛṣṇa !). Bringing down the showers of Divine Love, he has filled the earth, and thereby all sinners, all dwellers of Hell have received salvation. He makes things clear even for the blind (to see). But not a drop has fallen to the lips of Rāmacandra-dāsa. »

1 Besides the two Rāmacandras discussed above there was an older poet Rāmacandra-Mallika as well as a much later Rāmacandra. Both these Rāmacandras have been discussed *infra*.

2 Edited by Acyuta-caraṇa Caudhurī, Bhakti-prabhā Press, Alāti, Hugli.

Śacīnandana-dāsa (i).

Śācīnandana, the younger brother of Rāmacandra-Gosvāmī [pp. 202 f.] was the second son of the poet Caitanya-dāsa and grandson of the poet Vaṃśī-vadana. Besides some lyrics he is said to have written a narrative poem entitled *Śrī-Gaurāṅga-vijaya* [*cf.* GPT., Introduction, p. 178].

Only two poems by Śacīnandana (i) are known. One is in Bengali [PKT. 2237=GPT., pp. 381f.]. It graphically describes the sorrows of the Master's prominent followers when he leaves Śāntipura for Nīlācala. The other poem, written in Brajabuli, is a series of twelve lyrics describing Viṣṇupriyā's sorrows during each month of the year,[1] after her husband, Caitanya-deva, had renounced home life [PKT. 1765-1776=GPT., pp. 395 ff.]. The poem begins with the month of *Māgha* (January-February), because it was this month when the Master adopted *sannyāsa*. I quote below one of these lyrics as a specimen of Śacīnandana's Brajabuli composition.

iha mādhavī parabeśa |
piyā gela kiye dūra-deśa ||
iha vasanà tanu-sukha choṛa |
aba dharala kaupīna ḍora ||
aba dharala kaupīna ḍora aruṇa-hi
vāsa choṛala candane |
teji sukhamaya śayana āsana
dhūlāy paṛi karu krandane ||
yo buka parisara heri kāminī
paraśa-rasa lāgi mohaï |
so kiye pāmara patita kole kari
avani murachita royaï || [PKT. 1768.]

Now enters the month of Mādhavī :[2] my Beloved One has gone away to such a far-off land ! Casting away garments pleasant for the body he has now put on a loin-cloth (tied) with a rope ! Now he has put on a loin-cloth (tied) with a rope, and an ochre-coloured wrapper : he has given up sandal-paste (decorations) ! Giving up cosy

[1] Such poems are technically known as *Bāramāsyā* poems.
[2] Vaiśākha—April-May.

bed and comfortable seat, he now rolls on dust and weeps. His broad chest once made women long for a mere touch: now indeed, he presses against it sinners and outcasts, and weeps, grovelling on the ground! »

Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra.

In the *Kṣaṇadā* [92] there is a Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of '*Sukavi* (good poet) Kaṇṭhahāra.' The same poem, however, occurs in PKT. [488] with the *bh.* of 'Kavi Bhūpati Kaṇṭhahāra.' The poem runs thus.

viraha-vyākula bakula-taru-tale
pekhalū nanda-kumāra re |
nīla-nīraja- nayāna-sō sakhi
jharaï nīra apāra re ||
dekhi malayaja- paṅka mṛgamada
tāmarasa ghanasāra re |
(nija) pāṇi-pallave mudi locana
dharaṇī paṛu asambhāra re ||
bahaye manda sugandha śītala
mañju malaya-samīra re |
(janu) pralaya-kāla-ko prabala pāvaka
paraśe dahaï śarīra re ||
adhika vepathu ṭuṭi paṛu kṣiti
masṛṇa mukutā-māla re |
anila-tarala tamāla-taru janu
muñca sumanasa-jāla re ||
māna-maṇi tyaji sudatī calu yahī
rāya rasika sujāna re |
sukhada-śruti ati sarasa daṇḍaka
sukavi bhaṇa kaṇṭhahāra re ||

[Kṣaṇadā, 92; PKT., 488.]

« [Kṛṣṇa is sorely distressed at Rādhā's love-sulk. One of the latter's friends finds him in this condition and reports to Rādhā as follows.] 'I saw the Son of Nanda (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) seated, under a *bakula* tree, in great distress caused by separation (from you). From his eyes,

like blue lotuses, O my friend, were flowing profuse tears, and on looking at sandal-paste, musk, lotus and camphor [1] he covered his eyes with his own hands and fell down helpless on the ground. A cool, fragrant and sweet southern breeze was blowing softly, (and at a touch of this he felt) as if the terrible fire of the final destruction was burning his body. Through excessive shaking his necklace of smooth pearls snapped, (and the pearls were scattering) on the ground, and it seemed as if a *tamāla* plant, shaken by the wind, was shedding its blossoms.' (On hearing these words of her friend, Rādhā) the lady of the beautiful teeth gave up her love-sulk and came over to where the Prince of the accomplished gallants was. The good poet Kaṇṭhahāra (*or* the poet whose name is Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra) composes this mellifluous and very charming poem in the *daṇḍaka* metre.

Two additional poems by Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra occur in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 177 ff.]. A few additional poems have been cited in Nagendranātha Gupta's collection of Vidyāpati's poems[2] [20, 60, 80]. Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra is generally identified with Vidyāpati. Some however identify him with Bhūpati or with Campati [*vide* PKT., Vol. V, pp. 24 f.]. The only fact about which we are certain is that Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra was a Bengali. This fact is deduced from the existence of a Bengali poem by Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra, which occurs in Dacca University MS. 2353. [This poem, however, occurs in APR. with the *bh.* of Rāya Śekhara.]

saï prema aparupa |
kiśora kiśorī pasarā pasāri
rabhasa-rasera kūpa ||
nalinī-kiraṇe malina indu
kumuda mudita lāje |
cādera bharame cakora mātala
indīvara hāse mājhe ||
yamunā-taraṅge aruṇa udita
tārāra pasāra tathā |
capalā jhāpiyā timira uyala
kī adabhuta kathā ||

[1] All these are articles for toilet to counteract summer heat. Moreover, they reminded him of Rādhā poignantly.

[2] Vidyāpati-padāvalī, edited by Nagendranātha Gupta, published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya-Parṣad, Calcutta, B.E. 1316.

kanaka-latāye mukutā phalila
ke nā paratīta yāy |
anubhavi-jana bhābe mane mana
kavi-kaṇṭhahāre gāy ||

« My friend ! Love is wonderful. The Youth and the Girl (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā) have exhibited (Love as) a commodity (for sale or distribution) : (they two are) the deep well of ecstatic Love. The moon has been made dim by the glow of the lotus, and the lily has gathered up her petals in shame. Making a mistake for the moon, the *cakora* is mad (in joy), and the blue lotus smiles in their midst. The early sun has risen over the ripples of the Yamunā, and there is still the array of stars. Shutting out lightning the darkness prevailed : what a preposterous affair it is ! On a creeper of gold appears the crop of pearls : who can really believe (this) ? (Only) the sympathetic people think over this at their hearts. So sings Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra. » [1]

Judging from the language of Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra's poems I think that the poet belonged to the late sixteenth, or the early seventeenth century at the latest. Raghunandana of Śrīkhaṇḍa had a disciple named Kavikaṇṭhahāra-Ṭhākura. He was, in all probability, the poet in question.

Nṛpa Vaidyanātha.

In the Tipperah fragment of a MS. of the *Gita-candrodaya* of Narahari-Cakravarttī there is a Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Nṛpa Vaidyanātha.' The poem is quoted below. [2]

hāma nava-nāyarī mādhāï [3] |
bale jani [4] paraśaha madana dohāï ||
haṭha yadi karaha hāmāy |
ārati parama-dhana kaba-hi nā pāy ||
ati-rase nā haïha bhorā |
hāma kamalinī tuhū bhukhila bhawārā ||

[1] This name literally means 'the necklace (*i.e.*, the central gem) among poets.'
[2] For this poem I am indebted to Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna.
[3] MS. 'madhāī.' [4] 'yadi' in MS.

bhaẇārā nāgara duhū tūle |
mukulita kusume seha nāhi bhūle ||
śuna śuna binati hāmārā |
sahaje bhūjaba rati hāma nārī abarā ||
lahū lahū paraśiha more |
bhāge nā [1] mīlaye dulaha piyāre ||
ebe nava uyala yauvane |
kāca kanayā phala badarī-samāne ||
minati karahū tuā pāy |
abalāe bala karite nā juyāy ||
tuhū bidagadha-śiromaṇi |
minati kariyā bolō hāma se nabinī ||
nṛpa vaidyanātha kaha bhābi |
bālā-ramaṇī bahuta-puṇye pābi ||

« [Rādhā meets Kṛṣṇa for the first time and she is apprehensive of Kṛṣṇa's aggressive love. She speaks to him in this way.] 'O Mādhāï (*i.e.*, Mādhava, Kṛṣṇa)! I am a very young bride. Do not touch me forcibly: I call on the God of Love for help. If you use force with me you shall never find satisfaction, which is the most coveted thing. Do not be mad with excessive desire: I am a tender girl (*literally* a lotus) and you are a hungry bee. A bee and a lover are similar: even he (*i.e.*, the bee) does not feel any temptation for the flower that is yet a bud. Listen, O listen to my entreaty: you should make your love easy,—a frail slip of a girl as I am. Touch me gently. Only through good fortune one can get a sweetheart that is rare. My youth is quite fresh—like unripe golden fruits, even like the *badara* fruit. I pray humbly at your feet: it never behoves you to use force against a helpless girl. You are the crest-jewel among gallants: I entreat you, I am a young girl.' The King (*nṛpa*) Vaidyanātha ponders, and says: 'A young girl can be obtained (only) through much merit.' »

I do not know who this 'King' Vaidyanātha was. The name occurs in a few poems ascribed to Vidyāpati. It occurs also in a poem with the *bh.* of 'Rūpa-nārāyaṇa Vijaya-nārāyaṇa' [PKT., 2381]. The poet was, in all probability, a Maithil, and the poem has the same ring as the amorous poems by Vidyāpati. It would appear to be fairly old.

[1] 'na' in MS.

Ācārya Candra [*ante* 1653 A. C.].

In the earlier portion of the Das MS. there is a Brajabuli poem (mixed with Bengali forms), which is an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu. The same poem occurs in another old MS. (dated 1091 B.E.=1684 A.C.) deposited at the Calcutta University Library [MS. 2491].

I quote this poem below.

nitāï [1] ki sādhane pāba |
śītala-caraṇe chāyā pāïyā [2]
kata-dine juṛāïba ||
nitāï-cāda [3] mora premera bhāṇḍāra
añjali kariyā dila |
seï prema-dhana ye nā kuṛāñā khāila [4]
tāra lāgi nitāï [1] kāndila [5] ||
madhura nityānanda caraṇe makaranda
kāhinī kahane nā yāe |
o rasa-sāyare aba-bu ḍubi rahu
tā bine āna nāhi bhāe ||
nayāne [6] nityānanda bayāne nityānanda
hṛdaye [7] nityānanda pāy re |
nācata nityānanda gāyata nityānanda
caudike nityānanda-rāyā re ||
divasa-rajani āna nāhi jāni
bhāiyāra [8] preme mātoyāra re |
matta-siṃha jini garjjana puni puni
sadāi bhāiyā bhāiyā [9] bola re ||
japata nityānanda tapata nityānanda
nitāï [1] bhāva-bhakati re |
o rāgā-caraṇe śaraṇa māgaï
ācārya-candra bhāratī re ||

• How (*literally* with what religious practices) shall I attain (the grace of) Nitāi ? At what length of time shall I obtain peace (*literally*

1 'nityāï' MS. 2 'pāyyā' MS. 3 'nityāï-cānda' MS.
4 'khālya' MS. 5 'kāndila' MS. 6 'nayāne' MS.
7 'ridaye' MS. 8 'bhāyyāra' MS. 9 'bhāyyā-bhāyyā' MS.

shade) at his cool feet and shall be soothed? My Nitāi the moon distributed in handfuls the treasure of (divine) Love: he wept for him who did not pick it up and taste it. Sweet is Nityānanda, and honey lies at his feet: the story cannot be told (*i.e.*, too strange to be believed). May (all people) remain ever plunged into that sea of divine Love: without him (*i.e.*, Nityānanda) nothing appeals (to me). May they (see) Nityānanda with their eyes; may they (sing of) Nityānanda with their tongue (*literally* mouth); may they (secure) Nityānanda in their hearts. May they dance of Nityānanda; may they sing of Nityānanda; and (may they realise that) Nityānanda the king is on all sides. Through day and night he (*i.e.*, Nityānanda) knows nothing else: he is full of love for his Brother (*i.e.*, Caitanya-deva). Like a mad lion, he roars again and again: he always cries out, 'Brother! Brother!' Do you mutter (the name of) Nityānanda; do you worship Nityānanda. (May) Nitāi (be your) devotion and piety. At those rosy feet (of Nityānanda) seeks refuge the speech of Ācārya Candra.»

Vṛndāvana-dāsa in his *Caitanya-bhāgavata* [iii. 5] (and also Devakī-nandana in his *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā*) mentions one Ācārya Candra. He must have been our poet. Was this Ācārya Candra the same person as Candra-śekhara Ācāryaratna? If this surmise be true, we find here a specimen of Candra-śekhara Ācāryaratna's poetic composition. Candra-śekhara Ācāryaratna was an uncle-in-law to Caitanya-deva. He was also an ardent follower of the Master.

CHAPTER IX

LATE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY POETS

Gati-govinda [*c.* 1607 A. C.].

There are two poems by Gati-govinda incorporated in the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* [145, 196]. The last poem, occurring also in PKT. [2318], is in Brajabuli and the other is in Bengali. I have found a third poem by Gati-govinda [VSP. MS. 2416 (containing among others a stray leaf in an apparently old handwriting)].[1] This poem is written in Bengali. The first two poems deal with Nityānanda-prabhu and the last one is concerned with the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story.

Gati-govinda (or Govinda-gati) was a son of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, as he has mentioned in the colophon of one of his poems [Kṣaṇadā 196 ; PKT. 2318] and also in a Sanskrit verse [Karṇānanda, p. 8]. He was the youngest of the three sons of the Ācārya, from whom he received his religious initiation [Karṇānanda i (pp. 8-9)]. Ghanaśyāma Kavirāja was a disciple of Gati-govinda, to whom he dedicated his *Govinda-rati-mañjarī*.

I quote below the Brajabuli poem as a specimen of Gati-govinda's composition. (This poem however is more Bengali than Brajabuli.)

nāce nityānanda bhuvana-ānanda
vṛndāvana-guṇa śuniyā |
bāhu-yuga tuli ghane bale hari
calata mohana-[2] bhātiyā ||

[1] Another version of this poem appears in APR. [439].
[2] 'manthara' PKT.

kibā se mādhurī vacana-cāturī
raha gadādhara [1] heriyā |
[2]mādhava gaurīdāsa mukunda śrīnivāsa
gāota samaya bujhiyā [3] ||
nāce nityānanda-cāda re |
preme gada-gada cale ādha-pada
[4] dhari gadādhara-hāta re ||
o cāda-vadane hāsa ghane ghane [5]
aruṇa-locana-bhaṅgiyā |
kusuma-hāra hṛdi dolata [6]
sughaṛa-sahacara-raṅgiyā [7] ||
rātula-caraṇe mañjīra bājata [8]
raṅgera nāhika ora |
manera ānande śrīnivāsa-suta
e gati-govinda bhora [9] ||

[Kṣaṇadā 196 ; PKT. 2318.]

« Hearing about the glories of Vṛndāvana, Nityānanda, the delight of the world, dances (*or* dances to the delight of the world). Raising aloft his arms he repeatedly shouts (the name of) Hari : he moves in a charming gait. What a grace it is, and how fine his talk ! Gadādhara [10] looks on standing. Mādhava, Gaurīdāsa, Mukunda, Śrīnivāsa (*i. e.*, Śrīvāsa)—(all his devotees) sing (what is) proper to the occasion. Nityānanda, a veritable moon, dances : holding the hand of Gadādhara, he, intoxicated with (divine) Love, walks half-steps. On that moon-like face appear frequent smiles as well as (delightful) glances of his rosy eyes. A garland of flowers dangles at his chest : (he is) enjoying himself in company of his beloved devotees. At his rosy feet tinkle anklets : there is no end to his sportiveness, (at which) this Gati-govinda, a son of Śrīnivāsa, is wrapt with the joyfulness at his heart. »

Gati-govinda was the author of the *Vīra-ratnāvalī* which describes the greatness and achievements of Vīra-candra (or Vīra-bhadra) the son

1 'gadādhara-mukha' PKT.
2 'mādhava govinda śrīvāsa mukunda' PKT.
3 'o-rasa bhābiyā' PKT.
4 'pātiyā premera phāda re' PKT.
5 'saghane' PKT.
6 'hiyāra upara' PKT.
7 'sughaṛa-raṅgiyā-saṅgiyā' PKT.
8 'ratna-nūpura' PKT.
9 'gatigovinda-cita bhora re' PKT.
10 This was Gadādhara-dāsa and not Gadādhara Paṇḍita.

of Nityānanda-prabhu. (This work has been published by Vaiṣṇava-caraṇa Basāk, Calcutta.) It is complete in four chapters which end in the following couplet:

> mahāprabhu vīra-candra amūlya pada-dvandve |
> śrīnivāsa-suta kahe e gati-govinde ||

« At the precious feet of the great master Vīra-candra this (humble) Gati-govinda, a son of Śrīnivāsa (Ācārya) submits (this). »

Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (i) [*ante* 1653 A.C.].

Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (i),[1] or Ghanaśyāma-Kavirāja, was the son of Divya-siṃha and the grandson of Govindadāsa Kaviraja. Ghanaśyāma was a disciple of Gati-govinda, the youngest son of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karṇānanda ii (p. 29)].

Ghanaśyāma was a good and prolific writer in Brajabuli. Upon him had apparently descended the mantle of his grandfather. But it is a very deplorable affair that the poems of Ghanaśyāma-Kavirāja have been mixed up with those of a later poet. This later poet was no other than Narahari-dāsa (Cakravarttī), who had written several Brajabuli poems with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa.' Still it is not impossible to extricate a few of Ghanaśyāma-Kavirāja's poems from out of this mix-up. There is a Bengali poem by Ghanaśyāma—an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu—in the *Kṣaṇadā* [46], which undoubtedly goes to the earlier poet as the later Ghanaśyāma was posterior to Viśvanātha, the compiler of the *Kṣaṇadā*. The later Ghanaśyāma's father, Jagannātha, was a disciple of Viśvanātha, and so it is extremely unlikely that any of his poems could have been incorporated in the *Kṣaṇadā*. As a matter of fact this poem occurs in the *Govinda-rati-mañjarī* of Ghanaśyāma Kavirāja [Calcutta University MS. 352]. One Brajabuli poem by Ghanaśyāma occurs in Pītambara-dāsa's *Rasa-mañjarī* [pp. 57 f.; PKT. 1633]. This poem also occurs in the *Govinda-rati-mañjarī*. This song, therefore, goes to the earlier poet. The bulk of the poems with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma,' occurring in PKT.

[1] There was a later Ghanaśyāma, or Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (ii), whose other name was Narahari-dāsa. He was the author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and the *Narottama-vilāsa*. He has been discussed later on.

(numbering about forty-two), is to be credited to the earlier poet. The *Govinda-rati-mañjarī*, which is a poetico-rhetorical work of the type of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* or the *Rasa-mañjarī*, has not yet been published in entirety. Veṇī-mādhava De has published it, but his edition seems to be incomplete. I have examined a complete MS. of this work [Calcutta University MS. 352]. The *Govinda-rati-mañjarī* contains forty-six poems, all by the author himself. I find that the following poems in PKT. occur in the *Govinda-rati-mañjarī*: 55, 150, 151, 155, 350, 384, 466, 467, 491, 537, 1601, 1607, 1633 (=Rasa-mañjarī), 1694-96, 1723, 1815-26, 1927, 1971, 1988,[1] 2010, 2021, 2310 (=Kṣaṇadā 46), 2421, 2720, 2739, 2914.

In the earlier portion of the Das MS. (1653-1656 A.C.) there are fourteen poems by Ghanaśyāma, which must be ascribed to Ghanaśyāma-Kavirāja. A few additional poems by Ghanaśyāma-Kavirāja occur in the *Saṅkīrtanāmṛta*.

In one Brajabuli poem of his Ghanaśyāma mentions one Madana-Rāya, who was apparently one of his friends [PKT. 2421; Kīrttanānanda]. Was he Gopāla-dasa's elder brother Madana-Rāya, who is said to have translated the *Govinda-līlāmṛta* in Bengal verse? [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 37, pp. 101, 121-122]. There was one Madana-Cakravarttī who was also a fellow-disciple of Ghanaśyāma [Karṇānanda ii (p. 29)]. He may have been the person in question.

The following poems are given as specimens of Ghanaśyāma's composition. Ghanaśyāma wrote almost exclusively in Brajabuli.

pekhalũ gokula- vasati beyākula
gopa-ramaṇī-gaṇa roï |
bhīgala vasana lāgi rahala tanu
tohāri gawāna-patha joï ||
hari he dūra-nagare majhu geha |
yaba tuhũ āoli saṅga-hi gopa saba
taba hāma gokula theha ||
taḥī eka ramaṇī thoṛi-vayasa dhanī
citra-putalī sama ṭhāri |
yaba locana-patha- dūra-hī gela ratha
taba-hī paṛala tanu ḍhāri ||

[1] PKT. has the *bh.* of Govindadāsa.

[1]gherala sakala sakhī-gaṇa caudiśe
royata sakhī ageyāna |
kahe ghanaśyāma taba-hī cali āolū
puna kiye bhela nāhi jāna ||
[Govinda-rati-mañjarī ; Rasa-mañjarī, pp. 57f. : PKT. 1633.]

« [Kṛṣṇa is at Mathurā. Some one comes to him and speaks about the young women of the Vraja afflicted by their separation from him :] 'I saw the host of *Gopa* women living at Gokula, weeping piteously. Watching the path of your return (and weeping) continually, their *sāris* are quite wet and cling to their limbs. O Hari, my home is in a far-off city. When you left (the Vraja) along with the *Gopa* men, I was staying at Gokula. (Among the people assembled) there I noted a young woman of tender age, standing fixed like a statue. When your car vanished from sight, at once she reeled and fell down (on the ground). All her friends gathered around her, and (being) ignorant (of the true fact) they wept.' Ghanaśyāma adds : 'I came away then and there : so I do not know what happened next.' »

ko iha puna puna karata huṅkāra |
hari hāma jāni nā kara paracāra ||
parihari so giri-kandara-mājha |
mandire kāhe āoba mṛga-rāja ||
so hari nahõ madhusūdana nāma | [2]
calu kamalālaya madhukarī-ṭhāma ||
e dhani so naha hāma ghanaśyāma | [3]
tanu binu guṇa kiye kahe nija-nāma ||
śyāma-mūrati hāma tuhũ ki nā jāna |
tārā-pati-bhaye bujhi anumāna ||

[1] Henceforth PKT. reads as follows :
gherala sakala sakhī-gaṇa royaī
kī bhela bali abadhāri |
kuntala toṛaī vasana koī phāraī
vidhi-re deī keha gāri ||
koī śire kaṅkaṇa hānaī ghana-ghana
koi koi haraī geyāna |
kaha ghanaśyāma hāma cali āolu
puna kiye bhela nā jāna ||

[2] PKT. (i, p. 225) has 'so naha dhani madhusūdana hāma.'
This couplet is lacking in the PKT. version.

ghara-māhā [1] ratana-dīpa ujiyāra |
kaïchane païṭhaba ghana-ādhiyāra ||
rādhā-ramaṇa hāma kahi paracāra |
rākā-rajani naha ghana-ādhiyāra ||
paricaya-pada yaba saba [2] bhela āna |
taba-hī parābhava mānala kāna ||
taïkhane upajala manamatha-sūra |
aba ghanaśyāma-manoratha pūra ||

[Govinda-rati-mañjarī; PKT. 350.]

« [Kṛṣṇa comes of a night to Rādhā's place and knocks at her door. Rādhā asks, 'Who are you?' Kṛṣṇa answers, but Rādhā would not understand it. This poem is taken up with the questions and answers of the Two.] 'Who is making that roaring noise again and again?' 'I am Hari' (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa, *also* a lion). 'I do not understand. Do you explain (yourself). Leaving the interior of mountain caves why should he (*i.e.*, a lion) come to a human habitation?' 'I am not that *hari* (*i.e.*, lion): my name is Madhusūdana' (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa, the killer of the demon Madhu, *also* honey-sucker, *i.e.*, the bee). 'Then go to the lotus bed and to the female bee.' 'O my precious lady! I am not that; I am Ghanaśyāma' (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa, who is dark-complexioned like cloud, *also* darkness of cloud). 'Can a mere attribute without any receptacle speak out its name?' 'I am the Dark-Complexioned One ('śyāma-mūrati,' *i.e.* Kṛṣṇa, *also* massive darkness). Do you not know this?' 'Afraid of the lord of stars (*i.e.*, the moon), I suppose. But a jewelled lamp is aflame in the room: how can dense darkness come in then?' 'I am the lover of Rādhā (*also* the fullmoon who is particularly fond of the constellation Rādhā), I say (this) clearly.' 'But it is no full moon night, (on the other hand the night is) deep dark.' When all the expressions of introduction thus failed, Kṛṣṇa admitted defeat. At once arose the sun of love, and now the desire of Ghanaśyāma (Kṛṣṇa *or* the poet) would be fulfilled. »

The above poem is an adaptation of the following Sanskrit verse [Padyāvalī 282]:

aṅgulyā kaḥ kapāṭam praharati kuṭile mādhavaḥ kiṃ vasanto
no cakrī kiṃ kulālo na hi dharaṇi-dharaḥ kiṃ dvijihvaḥ phaṇīndraḥ |
nāhaṃ ghorāhi-mardī kim asi khaga-patir no hariḥ kiṃ kapīśo
rādhā-vāṇibhir ittham prahasita-vadanaḥ pātu vaś cakrapāṇiḥ ||

[1] 'ghara-hu' PKT. [2] 'yabe sabe' PKT.

Yadunandana-dāsa (iii).

Yadunandana (iii) was a disciple of Hemalatā-devī, the eldest daughter of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karṇānanda ii (pp. 27f. etc.) ; Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba (Vidagdha-mādhava), p. 108 ; Govinda-līlāmṛta, pp. 3, 224, 254]. Yadunandana-dāsa (ii) has been dealt with above [pp. 180ff.]. This Yadunandana-dāsa (iii) may have been identical with Yadunandana (ii), but the *Saṃgraha-toṣaṇī* suggests a different hand. As I am unable to assign the *Karṇānanda*, etc., to the proper poet I deal with them here also.

Yadunandana (iii) was the author of the following works (in addition to a number of lyric poems) [see *supra*, p. 180].

1. The *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba*, or briefly *Rasa-kadamba*.[1] This work is a translation of Rūpa-Gosvāmin's *Vidagdha-mādhava*. Yadunandana has rendered the prose portion of the Sanskrit drama as well as a few songs in running *payāra* metre, while most verses have been turned into lyric poems. The work is no translation, properly speaking. It may be termed a free adaptation.

The *Rasa-kadamba* contains fifty-four lyric poems, of which only seven are written in Brajabuli. One of these Bengali poems is an ode to Gadādhara-dāsa, a follower of Caitanya-deva. This poem contains the *bh.* 'Yadu' [p. 61]. I have shown previously that Yadunandana (i) was a disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa. This poem, therefore, was very possibly the composition of the older Yadunandana, which has been interpolated through scribal error. It is also not impossible that this Yadunandana also wrote a few poems on the Gaura-Gadādhara theme.[2]

2. The *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*.[3] This is an adaptation of Bilva-maṅgala's *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* together with the commentary (entitled *Rasika-raṅgadā*) by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. It has been published from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore, B.E. 1297 (= A.C. 1890). There are only five lyric poems in this work of Yadunandana [20, 40, 41, 42, 112]. These are rather long poems and were not meant to be sung.

[1] Generally known as *Rasa-kadamba* or *Vidagdha-mādhava*. Published by Śaratcandra Śīl, Bijali Press, Calcutta, B.E. 1327.

[2] According to Jagadbandhu Bhadra Yadunandana (i), that is Yadunandana-Chakravartti, a disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa, had written a poetical work entitled the *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rasa-līlā-kadamba*, and that it contained six thousand *ślokas*. [GPT., Introduction, p. 156.] He did not mention whether it was written in Sanskrit or in vernacular. The existence of such a work, however, is extremely doubtful in face of the preposterous fact that the two poets having identical names wrote poems with identical titles.

[3] Published from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore.

3. The *Govinda-līlāmṛta.*[1] This is an adaptation of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Sanskrit epic poem (in twenty-three cantos) called the *Govinda-līlāmṛta.* This work of Yadunandana (ii *or* iii) is written entirely in *payāra* metre, with the exception of twenty-three poems. These poems are all in *tripadī* metre, and they are rather long narrative poems and as such cannot properly be called lyrics. The main narrative as well as the lyric poems is written exclusively in Bengali.

4. The *Karṇānanda.*[2] This is a historical work of the type of the *Prema-vilāsa.* It briefly describes the preaching activities of Śrīnivāsa Ācārya and incidentally gives some religious discourses on Neo-Vaiṣṇavism as propounded by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta.* The *Karṇānanda* was completed on the full-moon in the month of Vaiśākha, *Śaka* 1529 (=1607 A.C.). The title 'Karṇānanda' was given to the work by Hemalatā-devī. Thus the author says—

> bīdhaï-pāṛāte rahi śrīmatī nikaṭe |
> sadāï ānande bhāsi jāhnavīra taṭe ||
> pañca-daśa śata āra vatsara unatriśe |
> vaiśākha māsete āra pūṇimā divase ||
> nija-prabhurd pāda-padma mastake kariyā |
> sampūrṇa karila grantha śuna mana diyā ||
> śrī-kṛṣṇacaitanya-prabhurd dāserd anudāsa |
> tāra dāserd dāsa ei Yadunandand-dāsa ||
> grantha śuni ṭhākurāṇīrd manera ānanda |
> śrī-mukhe rākhilā nāma grantha karṇānanda ||
>
> [Karṇānanda vi (pp. 118f.).]

The *Karṇānanda* is complete in seven chapters. Each chapter is termed 'Niryāsa' (essence). It contains five lyric poems—two by Vīra-Hāmbīra, the king of Viṣṇupura [pp. 19f.], and four by Śrīnivāsa Ācārya [pp. 111f., 113f., 116].

Except in the *Karṇānanda* and in the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* Yadunandana's works contain indiscriminately the *bhaṇitās* 'Yadunandana,' 'Yadu' and 'Yadunātha.' 'Yadu' can of course be the short form of

[1] Published by Maheśa-candra Śīl, Hindu Press, Calcutta, the 10th Pauṣa, B.E. 1274.

[2] Published from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore, second edition, B.E. 1335.

'Yadunandana' or of 'Yadunātha.' The last *bh.* is of course *metri causa.*[1] Thus :—

e-mate rādhikā vyākula adhikā
bhāvera taraṅge bhāse |
anurāge manaḥ dhairya nahe punaḥ
bhaṇe yadunātha-dāse ||
[Vidagdha-mādhava, p. 51.]

bhāsala bhuvana prema-rase |
e yadu eṛāla dīna doṣe ||[2] [*op. cit.*, p. 61.]

nikuñje niśānte keli madhura-vilāsa |
saṅkṣepe kahiye kichu yadunātha-dāsa ||
[Govinda-līlāmṛta, p. 18.]

rādhā-kṛṣṇa-pāda-padma-sevā-abhilāṣa |
govinda-carita kahe yadunātha-dāsa || [*op. cit.*, p. 28.]

In PKT. there are about forty Brajabuli poems with the *bh.* of 'Yadunandana.' The number of such poems with the *bh.* of 'Yadunātha' is only six, and there is only one Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Yadu.' There was a poet Yadunātha as well as an earlier poet Yadunandana. We are not sure how many of these poems go to this later Yadunandana. The following poems (in PKT.) however undoubtedly go to the latter as they occur in the *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, in the *Rasa-kadamba* (*Vidagdha-mādhava*), or in the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* : 142, 187, 1505, 2050, 2099 [=Vidagdha-mādhava, pp. 24f., 48, 123, 124, 142f.] ; 2591, 2613, 2659, 2757, 2816 [=Govinda-līlāmṛta, pp. 73f., 149f., 188f., 23f., 237f.].

In the *Padāmṛta-samudra* poems with the *bh.* of Yadunandana number only seventeen [pp. 37f., 38, 56f., 66, 79f., 101f., 157f, 158., 248f., 250, 251, 259, 267f., 268, 275, 394, 436f.]. Of these only three or four are in Bengali [pp. 76f., 248f., 268, 436f.], and the rest in Brajabuli. None

[1] The *bh.* 'Yadunandana' has sometimes been used where the reading 'Yadunātha' should have been preferred. Thus :

rādhā-kṛṣṇa-pāda-padma-sevā-abhilāṣe | .
govinda-carita kahe yadunandana-dāse || [Govinda-līlāmṛta, p. 45.]

This is, however, a possible scribal error.

[2] This poem however may be the composition of Yadunandana (i).

of these poems seem to occur in the *Vidagdha-mādhava* or in the *Govinda-līlāmṛta*. In the earlier portion of the Das MS. there are four poems with the *bh.* of 'Yadunandana' and twelve with the *bh.* of 'Yadunātha.' These sixteen poems are all written in Bengali. No poem by 'Yadunandana' occurs in the *Kṣaṇadā-Gītacintāmaṇi*; there are however five poems with the *bh.* of 'Yadunātha,' who was probably the same person as 'Yadunandana' (i).

Yadunandana (iii) was one of the best lyric poets in the late sixteenth century. He was no mere translator. His poems are more creations than translations. Yadunandana seems to have been an intense admirer of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, and he has marvellously achieved the dignified and condensed style of the Kavirāja. In fact some of Yadunandana's poems seem to be echoes from the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. Yadunandana was the only lyric poet whose language (Bengali, *not* Brajabuli) and diction have approached to something like classic dignity. This is certainly no mean contribution to Bengali literature in general. Yadunandana was certainly a very good scholar in Sanskrit as his translations show, and he had quite profitably mastered the works of the Gosvāmins and their followers at Vṛndāvana.

I cite the followiug poems to illustrate Yadunandana's power of adaptation as well as his stylistic achievement.

(Original)

nādaḥ kadamba-viṭapāntarito visarpan
ko nāma karṇa-padavīm aviśan na jāne |
hā hā kulīna-gṛhiṇī-gaṇa-garhaṇīyāṃ
yenādya kām api daśāṃ sakhi lambhitāsmi ||
[Vidagdha-mādhava, Act. i.]

(Adaptation by Yadunandana)

kadambera vana haite kibā sabda āçambite
āsiñā paśila mora kāne |
amṛta nichiyā peli su-mādhurya padāvalī
ki jāni kemana kare mane ||
sakhi he, niścaya kariyā kahi tohe |
hā hā kula-ramaṇīra grahaṇa karite dhīra [1]
yāte kona daśā kaila mohe ||

[1] 'hā hā kulāṅganā-mana grahibāre dhairya-gaṇa' [PKT. 142].

śuniyā lalitā kahe anya kona śabda nahe
mohana muralī-dhvani eha |
se śabda śuniñā kene haile tumi vimohane
raha tumi citte bāndhi theha ||

rāï kahe kebā hena muralī bājāy yena
viṣāmṛte miśāla kariñā |
hima nahe tabhu [1] tanu kāpāïche hime janu
prati-tanu śītala kariñā ||

astra nahe mane phuṭe kāṭārite yena kāṭe
chedana nā kare hiyā mora |
tāpa nahe uṣṇa ati poṛāye āmāra mati
bicārite nā pāïye ora ||

eteka kahiyā dhanī udvega bāṛila jāni
nāre citta prabodha karite |
kahe śuna āre sakhi tumi mithyā kaile dekhi
muralīra nahe hena rīte ||

kona su-nāgara ei moha-mantra paṛe yei
harite āmāra [2] dhairya yata |
dekhiyā oi-saba rīta camaka lāgila cīta
dāsa yadunandanera mata ||

[Rasa-kadamba, pp. 24f.; *cf.* PKT. 142.]

« [Rādhā hears Kṛṣṇa playing on his flute. She says to her friend :] 'From the grove of *kadamba* trees what notes have all on a sudden entered into my ears ! (On hearing such ravishing notes) one can (very well) throw away ambrosia—such a sweet song (it is) ! I cannot express what my heart feels. My friend, I tell you (this) for certain—(he is), alas, (ready) to take away the endurance of a woman of good family (*i.e.*, to make her leave her home at the call of the flute) : therefore he has brought down such (misery) upon me !' Hearing (this) Lalitā replies, 'This sound is nothing else : it is the music of the charming flute. On hearing this (sound) why do you lose self-control ? You just take heart and be firm.' Rādhikā says : 'Who is he that plays on the flute (a melody which is) a compound of poison and nectar ? It is no snow, yet it freezes every limb, and causes the body to shiver as if in (intense) cold. It is

[1] Text reads 'ṭaba.'
[2] Text reads 'toṃāra.'

not a weapon, yet it pierces the heart—nay—it cuts through like a chopper. But (why) does it not cut my heart off (once for all)? Neither it is heat, yet it feels very hot: it burns my mind. When reckoning I find no limit.' When the lady spoke this much, her anguish she found to be on the increase, and she could no longer control herself. She said: 'Listen to me, my friend. I see that you lie: such is never the way of a flute. It must be some gallant young man who is uttering an incantation in order to destroy all my (attempts at) self-control.' At these behaviours (*i.e.*, of Kṛṣṇa and of Rādhā) one's heart is struck with wonder. This is the opinion of Yadunandana-dāsa.

(Original)

saundaryāmṛta-sindhu-bhaṅga-lalanā-cittādri-samplāvakaḥ
karṇānandi-sanarma-ramya-vacanaḥ koṭīndu-śītāṅgakaḥ |
saurabhyāmṛta-samplavāvṛta-jagat pīyūṣa-ramyādharaḥ
śrī-gopendra-sutaḥ sa karṣati balāt pañcendriyāṇy āli me ||

navāmbuda-lasad-dyutir nava-taḍin-manojñāmbaraḥ
sucitra-muralī-sphurac-charad-amanda-candrānanaḥ |
mayūra-dala-bhūṣitaḥ subhaga-tāra-hāra-prabhaḥ
sa me madana-mohanaḥ sakhi tanoti netra-spṛhām ||

nadaj-jalada-nisvanaḥ śravaṇa-karṣi-sat-śiñjitaḥ
sanarma-rasa-sūcakākṣara-padārtha-bhaṅgy-uktikaḥ |
ramādika-varāṅganā-hṛdaya-hāri-vaṃśī-kalaḥ
sa me madana-mohanaḥ sakhi tanoti karṇa-spṛhām ||

kuraṅga-madajid-vapuḥ-parimalormi-kṛtāṅganaḥ
svakāṅga-nalināṣṭake śaśi-yutābja-gandha-prathaḥ |
madendu-varacandanāguru-sugandhi-carcārcitaḥ
sa me madana-mohanaḥ sakhi tanoti nāsā-spṛhām ||

harin-maṇi-kavāṭikā-pratata-hāri-vakṣaḥ-sthalaḥ
smarārta-taruṇī-manaḥ-kaluṣa-hantṛ-dor-argalaḥ |
sudhāṃśu-haricandanotpala-sitābhra-śītāṅgakaḥ
sa me madana-mohanaḥ sakhi tanoti vakṣaḥ-spṛhāṃ ||

vrajātula-kulāṅganetara-rasāli-tṛṣṇā-hara-
pradīvyad-adharāmṛtaḥ sukṛti-labhya-phelā-lavaḥ |
sudhājid-ahivallikā-sudala-vīṭikā-carvitaḥ
sa me madana-mohanaḥ sakhi tanoti jihvā-spṛhām ||

[Govinda-līlāmṛta viii. 3-8.]

(Adaptation by Yadunandana.)

saundarya amṛta-sindhu tāhāra taraṅga-bindu
taruṇīra cittādri ḍubāy |
kṛṣṇa-ramya-narma-kathā sudhu sudhāmaya gāthā
taruṇīra karṇānandamayā ||

sakhi he, kaha ebe ki kari upāyā |
kṛṣṇāṅga-mādhurī-chānde sarvendriya-gaṇa bāndhe
bale pañcendriya ākarṣay ||

koṭi-candra-suśītala aṅga kṣiti-tāpa-hara
gandha-sudhā jagat-plāvita |
adhara amṛta-sāra ki kahiba sakhi āra
bicārite saba viparīta ||

navīna-jalada-dyuti vasana bijuli-bhāti
tri-bhaṅgima vanya-veśa tāy |
mukha-padma jini cānda nayana kamala-chānda
mora netra seï ākarṣay ||

megha jini kaṇṭha-dhvani nūpura-kiṅkiṇī-maṇi
muralī-madhura-dhvani tāy |
sanarma-vacana-bhāti ramādira mohe mati
karṇa-spṛhā tāhāte bāṛhāy ||

kṛṣṇera aṅgera gandha mṛgamada kare andha
kuṅkuma candana dila tāy |
aguru karpūra tāte yāhāte yuvatī māte
mora nāsā seï ākarṣay ||

vakṣaḥ-sthala parisara indranīla-maṇi-vara
kapāṭa jiniyā tāra śobhā |
subāhu argala-chanda koṭīndu-śītala aṅga
ākarṣaye seï vakṣa-lobhā ||

kṛṣṇādharā amṛtamaya yāra hay bhāgyodaya
tāra lava seï-jana pāy |
kṛṣṇa-carvya-pāna-śeṣa jiniyā amṛta-deśa
jihvā mora seï ākarṣay ||

rādhāra utkaṇṭhā-vāṇī viśākhikā tāhā śuni
kṛṣṇa-saṅga-upāya cintite |
hena kāle śuna kathā tulasī āïlā tathā
gandha-puṣpa guñjāra sahite ||

kṛṣṇa-mālya-puṣpa lañā tulasī ānanda pāñā
āilā ati tvarita-gamane |
tāre praphullita dekhi rāi mane hailā sukhī
kahe dāsa e yadunandane ||

[Yadunandana's Govinda-līlāmṛta, pp. 73f.]

'(Kṛṣṇa's) loveliness is a sea of nectar: a drop out of a wave of it drowns the mountain, a young woman's heart. The charming small talks of Kṛṣṇa are, as it were, poems of pure nectarian sweetness: they are extremely pleasing to the ears of young women. My friend, do please tell me what I am to do. The gracefulness of Kṛṣṇa's person, like a cable, holds fast all my senses: by force it draws (towards itself) the five sense-organs. His body, cooler than ten million moons, removes the heat (*i.e.*, distress) of the earth: its nectarian fragrance has flooded the entire universe. His lips are (made of) the essence of ambrosia. What more should I say, O my friend! Everything seems contradictory, when one considers it. (He is) dark as a mass of fresh clouds, (his) garment resembles the flash of lightning: (he stands in) a reclining pose, and is in rustic dress. (? has a garland of wild flowers). His lotus-face vanquishes the moon, his eyes are (beautiful) as lotuses: all this draws my eyes to him. His voice is deeper than the rumble of the cloud and (he has put on) jewelled anklets and a tinkling girdle: in addition there are the sweet notes of his flute. The manner of his pleasant talks captivates (even) Ramā (*i.e.*, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu's consort) and others. All this increases the thirst of my ears. The fragrance of Kṛṣṇa's person blinds (*i.e.*, defeats the perfume of) musk: it is perfumed with saffron and sandal paste, to which are added *aguru* and camphor. This (fragrance), which maddens young women, violently attracts my sense of smell. Broad is his chest: its beauty sets at nought that of (a pair of) door-leaves made of *lapis lazuli*. His beautiful arms are like shapely iron bars: his frame, cool like a million moons; the attractiveness of his (mighty) chest draws me to him. Kṛṣṇa's lips are full of nectar: he only can obtain a particle of it, whose fortune smiles upon him. The remains of betel chewed by Kṛṣṇa surpass the entire stock of ambrosia: it is these leavings that have set my tongue a-longing.' On hearing (these) words from Rādhā who was greatly perturbed, Viśākhikā[1] was thinking of some means for Rādhā's meeting with Kṛṣṇa and then—listen to my

[1] Generally called Viśākhā. She is a close companion of Rādhā.

tale—Tulasī [1] appeared there with some perfumes, flowers and *guñjā* seeds. Taking a garland and flowers (*or* flowers from the garland) from Kṛṣṇa Tulasī was overjoyed, and she came there in quick steps. Seeing her in this joyful mood Rāī (*i.e.*, Rādhā) felt glad at heart. So says the servant, this Yadunandana. »

The following poem, also an adaptation from a Sanskrit original, is given as a specimen of Yadunandana's Brajabuli composition. Yadunandana's Bengali poems, as a whole, are distinctly superior to his Brajabuli writings.

indīvara-vara- udara-sahodara
medura-mada-hara deha |
jāmbūnada-mada- vṛnda-vimohita
ambara-vara paridheya ||

sajanī, ke nava nāgara-rāja |
mohana-muralī- khurali-rucirānana
dāhana-kulavatī-lāja ||

motima-sāra hāra ura-ambara
nakhatara-dāma-ka bhāna |
kari-kara-garaba- kavala-kara sundara
suvalana bāhu suṭhāma ||

mada-gaja-rāja- lāja gati manthara
jaga bhari bharaī anaṅga |
yadunandana bhaṇa so nanda-nandana
candana-śītala-aṅga ||

[Padāmṛta-samudra, p. 38; APR. 262.]

« 'His body, in its complexion, which takes away all vanity, is own brother to the core of the best blue lotus: he wears a fine garment, (the colour of which) surpasses the pride and glory of pure gold. My friend, who is this young man, this prince among gallants? The notes of the charming flute at his sweet lips (*literally* at his lovely face) burn down the restraint of ladies of noble houses. The necklace of pearl-strings (appears) as a chain of stars against his sky-like chest: his round, shapely and beautiful arms bring low the pride of the elephant's trunk. His slow gait is a shame to (the movement of) a royal elephant in rut:

[1] Another companion of Rādhā. She is a mutual friend of the two lovers.

it fills the entire world with desire.' Yadunandana replies 'He is the son of Nanda, and his person is cooled (*i.e.*, perfumed) with sandal paste.'

This poem is an adaptation of the following Sanskrit verse.[1]

indīvarodara-sahodara-medura-śrīr
vāso dravat-kanaka-vṛndanibhaṃ dadhānaḥ |
āmukta-mauktika-manohara-hāra-vakṣāḥ
ko'yaṃ yuvā jagad anaṅgamayaṃ karoti ||

[Padyāvalī 160.]

I must briefly discuss here the views that has been recently put forward by Pandit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna as regards the caste and family of Yadunandana (ii *or* iii). He has discovered a manuscript work, named *Saṃgraha-toṣaṇī*, by 'Yadunātha-dāsa' of Katwa. The Pandit has cited passages from it in his *Bīrabhūma-vivaraṇa*, Vol. iii [pp. 38-41]. In his work this 'Yadunātha' says that he is a disciple of Hemalatā-devī, the eldest daughter of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, that he is a Brahmin, and that he lives at Katwa. He also mentions that his father was Śivaprasāda and mother Brahmamayī and that he was born in Pāli-grāma [*op. cit.*, pp. 38f.]. He further states that Hemalatā lived at Begunakolā [*op. cit.*, p. 39]. Pandit Harekṛṣṇa supposes that this Yadunātha was the same person as Yadunandana and was the author of the *Vidagdha-mādhava* and the *Govinda-līlāmṛta*. According to him this poet was present at the Khetarī festival [*op. cit.*, p. 39]. Pandit Harekṛṣṇa does not mention whether this poet was the author of the *Karṇānanda* as well.

Let us now scrutinize these statements. Before doing that I must mention one thing. The *Karṇānanda* materially differs from the other works of Yadunandana (*viz.*, the translations of the *Vidagdha-mādhava*, the *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, and the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*) as regards language, style and diction. This difference is so marked that one is inclined to view the *Karṇānanda* to be the work of a much inferior poet. But the *Karṇānanda* itself mentions that its author was Yadunandana, a Vaidya inhabitant of Mālihāṭi, and a disciple of Hemalatā-devī [Karṇānanda ii (pp. 27)].

[1] Rūpa-Gosvāmin, the compiler of the *Padyāvalī*, ascribes this verse to 'Sarva-vidyā-vinoda.'

Let us now turn to the issues on hand. According to the *Saṃgraha-toṣaṇī*, as quoted by Pandit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna, he was a Brahmin and an inhabitant of Katwa.

śrī-hemalatāra śiṣya āmi vipra-kule janma ।
kaṇṭaka-nagare vāsa kahilāma marma ॥
[Bīrabhūma-vivaraṇa, Vol. iii, p. 38.]

But two of the known works of Yadunandana expressly mentions that he was Vaidya by caste. Thus :

caitanya-dāsera dāsa ṭhākura śrī-śrīnivāsa-
ācārya-jā śrīla-hemalatā ।
tāra pāda-padma-āśa e yadunandana-dāsa
ambaṣṭha prākṛte kahe kathā ॥
[Govinda-līlāmṛta, p. 254] ;

yadunandana-vaidya dāsa nāma tāra ।
mālihāṭi grāmo sthiti prema-hīna chāra ॥
[Karṇānanda, p. 28.]

As regards the question of the poet's place of residence the discrepancy is negligible. Mālihāṭi (now colloquially Meleṭi) is a village not very far off from Katwa. Hence if the poet says that he is an inhabitant of Katwa (as in the *Saṃgraha-toṣaṇī*), he is not much wrong.

As to the birthplace and parentage of Yadunandana all his known works are absolutely silent. There is, therefore, nothing that can support or reject the statement in the *Saṃgraha-toṣaṇī*. The *Saṃgraha-toṣaṇī* mentions that Hemalatā-devī resided at Begunakolā.

hemalatā yārā iṣṭa begunakolāy vāsa ॥
[Bīrabhūma-vivaraṇa, Vol. iii, p. 39.]

This is an indirect contradiction to the following statement in the *Karṇānanda* [p. 118] :

būdhai-pāṛāte rahi śrī-matī nikaṭe ।
sadāi ānande bhāsi jāhnavīra taṭe ॥

But it may mean that Yadunandana lived at Būdhaï-pārā, which was a neighbouring village of Begunakolā.

The *Saṃgraha-toṣaṇī* mentions that Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya himself had asked the poet to compose that work.

hena grantha ācārya-prabhu āmāke samarpaṇa |
naya-patra grantha ithe ṣaḍ-darśana ||
prabhu more paṛāïla nibhṛte basiye |
payāra karaba yadu upāsanā diye ||
hena ājñāy hemalatāṛ caraṇa-pratyāśa |
saṃgraha-payāṛ lekhen yadunātha-dāsa ||
[Bīrabhūma-vivaraṇa, Vol. iii, p. 39.]

But on a thorough examination of the known works of Yadunandana I have not found even a single instance where the poet mentions that he had seen the Ācārya or that he had anyway come in direct contact with him. He always mentioned himself as a servant of a servant of the Ācārya.

Pandit Harekṛṣṇa has taken for granted that 'Yadunātha' was the real name of the poet and that he used the name 'Yadunandana' "at times only" [*op. cit.*, p. 39]. The fact is quite the other way. The *Karṇānanda* uses the *bh.* 'Yadunandana' exclusively. So does the *Vidagdha-mādhava*, where the only other *bh.* is 'Yadu' (and only once only; see *supra*). In the *Govinda-līlāmṛta* the *bh.* 'Yadunātha' has been used only twice, and then again only *metri causa*.

The Pandit has no authority when he says that this Yadunātha, or Yadunandana, was present at the Khetarī festival. The only Yadunandana about whose presence at Khetarī we have evidence, was Yadunandana-Cakravarttī of Katwa, the most favoured disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa [Narottama-vilāsa vi; Bhakti-ratnākara x].

The last and not the least objection to accepting the *Saṃgraha-toṣaṇī* as a genuine work of Yadunandana (ii) is that its language is slipshod, if not absolutely bad, and quite unlike that of the *Karṇānanda* (not to speak of the other works). But this may be due to tampering and bad copying.

I therefore think that the *Saṃgraha-toṣaṇī*, if it is not a fake, was the composition of a third Yadunandana, or a Yadunātha, who was a Brahmin. As there is nothing to distinguish the poems by Yadunandana (ii) from those by Yadunandana (iii) I have adduced the same poems under both the heads.

Gaura-dāsa (Gaurasundara-dāsa [i]).

In PKT. there are four Brajabuli and one Bengali poems with the *bhs.* 'Gaura' and 'Gaura-dāsa' [377, 442, 1025,[1] 1527; 3026]. There are also one Brajabuli and four Bengali poems with the *bh.* of 'Gaurasundara-dāsa' [188, 3025, 3027—3029]. The five Bengali poems [3025—3029] form a group, and undoubtedly, they come from the same pen. It is therefore evident that 'Gaurasundara-dāsa was the fuller name of Gaura-dāsa. The Brajabuli poems also appear to have come from the same poet.

In the colophon of one of his Brajabuli poems Gaura-dāsa mentions that he is a disciple of Yadunandana-dāsa.

kahe yadunandana-dāsa-ka dāsa |
gaura-dāsa tahī karu āśoyāsa ‖ [PKT. 377.]

I do not know who this Yadunandana was. Was he Yadunandana of Katwa (*c.* 1583), or Yadunandana of Mālihāti, or Yadunandana of Budhaī-pāṛā (*c.* 1607) ?

There was another poet with the name of Gaurasundara-dāsa. He was the compiler of the *Kīrttanānanda.* He appears to have flourished in the early eighteenth century. He has been discussed *infra.*

The following poem is quoted as a specimen of Gaura-dāsa's Brajabuli writing :

hāma maraïte tuhũ maraïte cāha |
anukhana majhu hiyā tuṣa daha dāha ‖
e sakhi kīye karaba parakāra |
sowārite nikasaye jīvana hāmara ‖
hamāra vacana-daṛha-kaṇṭake jāri |
bidagadha nāha geo mujhe chāṛi ‖
muñi ati-pāpinī kalahe virāja |
jāni mohe tejala nāgara-rāja ‖
dāruṇa prāṇa raha kaṇṭha-hi lāgi |
būjhalũ eha majhu karama-abhāgi ‖
gaura-dāsa kaha nā kara sandeha |
tuyā preme milaba rasamaya-deha ‖ [PKT. 442.]

[1] This poem probably belongs to 'Gaura-mohana,' if indeed, he was a distinct poet. See below.

« [Rādhā had quarrelled with Kṛṣṇa. Now, repenting for her rashness and indiscretion, she speaks to her friend:] 'Why do you wish to die when I want to do so? A slow fire *(literally* a fire of rice husks) is perpetually burning my heart. My friend, what course am I to adopt? When I recollect him, (it causes such intense regret that) my life seems to depart from my body. Scratched and torn with my words which were like stiff thorns, my gallant lover has left me for good. A wretch that I am, I am always quarrelling (with him). Having found me out, the Prince of Lovers has given me up. My miserable life (does not go out but) sticks at the throat. This is, I understand, is my misfortune due to my (sinful) deeds (in my previous births).' (To this) Gaura-dāsa replies: 'Never fear. Your love will make that Spórtive Lover meet you again.' »

Gaura-mohana (?).

There is a Brajabuli poem in PKT. [1026], containing the *bh.* of 'Gaura-mohana.' The immediately preceding poem [1025], also in Brajabuli, contains the *bh.* 'Gaura-dāsa.' These two poems, however, are closely connected, and are certainly of the same pen. These poems also have affinity with the Brajabuli poems by Gaura-dāsa [see *infra*]. It may be that Gaura-dāsa had mentioned himself sometimes as 'Gaura-sundara' and sometimes as 'Gaura-mohana.' The name 'Gaura-mohana' is otherwise unknown.

There is a mixed Brajabuli poem in PKT. [572], of which the *bhaṇitā* runs as follows:

gaura-caraṇa- saṅgati mohana
heraï e-saba raṅga ||

This verse can be interpreted in various ways. Thus:

(i) « Mohana, in company with (his friend) Gaura-caraṇa, witnesses all this fun. »

(ii) « Mohana, whose (only) treasure is the (precious) feet of Gaura (*i.e.*, Caitanya-deva), witnesses all this fun. »

(iii) « Mohana, rich (*i.e.*, prefixed) with the name of Gaura (*i.e.*, Gaura-mohana), witnesses all this fun. »

If the last interpretation is correct, we find here another poem by Gaura-mohana.

Subalacandra-Ṭhākura [*c.* 1607 A.C.].

In the *Padāmṛta-samudra* there are two Brajabuli poems with the *bh.* of 'Subala' [pp. 85]. Rādhāmohana in his commentary on the second poem mentions that the poet was Subalacandra-Ṭhākura, a descendant of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya.[1] The other poem also appears to have come from the same pen.

Yadunandana-dāsa mentions that Subalacandra-Ṭhākura was a nephew ('bhrātuṣputra') as well as a disciple of Hemalatā-devī, the eldest daughter of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karṇānanda ii (p. 27)]. Subalacandra was the son of either Vṛndāvana-candra or Rādhā-kṛṣṇa, the elder sons of the Ācārya. Gati-govinda, or Govinda-gati, the youngest son of the Ācārya had only three sons, Kṛṣṇa-prasāda, Sundarānanda, and Hari [*op. cit.*, p. 28].

According to Gopīkānta (who was probably a grandson of Subalacandra) our poet had written lyrics in various metres [*vide* Kīrttanānanda, pp. 27f.]. This shows that Subalacandra was almost a major poet.

The following poem is quoted as a specimen of Subalacandra's composition. It is corrupt in some places.

dekha naṭa-vara nāce śacīra kowāra hõ |
hema-vara gorā-tanu prema-bhare bhorā janu
madhura-hasana-kaṇa jana-manohara hõ ||
aruṇa-baraṇa ghara [2] nayana-hi nīra ḍhara
taruṇa karuṇa manu [3] mati-lara jhara hõ |
dekhi priya gadādhara vipula-pulaka bhara
e choṭeṛhe (?) bhāwā-dhara kāma-dhanu bhara hõ ||
heri pheri nityānanda lāje heṭa vayanṣ-canda
iha rasa-gandha pāoye subala sughaṛa hõ [4] ||
[Padāmṛta-samudra, p. 85.]

« Behold, the gallant dancer, the son of Śacī, dances. His frame is fair like pure gold, he seems to be distracted with love, and his sweet smile, even when not pronounced, captivates the heart of men.

[1] *tataḥ śrīmad-ācārya-ṭhakkura-vaṃśodbhava-śrī-subalacandra-ṭhakkura-kṛtam* [*op. cit.*, p. 85].

[2] 'aruṇa-caraṇa para'? [3] 'janu'?

[4] The poem seems to lack at least one line.

His tears fall right down upon his rosy feet: it would seem his delicate sorrow is dripping itself away in strings of pearls. Seeing his beloved Gadādhara he is filled with a great horripilation. ... .(text corrupt).....seeing (Caitanya-deva in this mood of love-ecstasy) Nityānanda turns away his moon-face hanging down in shame. Subala, the clever one, gets the fragrance (*or* flavour) of this sport of love.

Sundara-dāsa [*c.* 1607 A.C.].

There are two consecutive poems by Sundara-dāsa in PKT. [1327, 1328]. The poems deal with the pasture sports (*goṣṭha-līlā*) of Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa. These two poems are noteworthy in celebrating solely the brother of Kṛṣṇa. One of the poems is written in Brajabuli [1327], and the other in Bengali [1328].

The poet seems to have been Sundarānanda-Ṭhākura, the second son of Gati-govinda and a grandson of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karṇānanda ii (p. 28)]. No other 'Sundara' is known in Vaiṣṇava history.[1] There is a Hindi poem with the *ṭh.* 'Kavi Sundara' in APR. [464], but this Sundara was a Brajbhākhā poet.

I quote below the Brajabuli poem as a specimen.

galita-rajata-giri jini tanu sundara
jānu-lambita vana-māla |
nīla-vasana bani aparupa-śobhani
marakate hīra miśāla ||
dhāota dhabalī-pāche balarāma |
cañcala nayana ḍhulaye janu paṅkaja
heri mugadha bhela kāma ||
ubha-kare dhabalī śāwālī bali ḍākaï
komala-vatsa lei kāndhe |
saghane khasaye śikhi- piñcha manohara
chāndana-ḍuri dei bāndhe ||
bayāna cānda adhara janu bāndhulī
tāhe madhura mṛdu-hāsa |
barikhaye amiyā śravaṇa bhari pibaï
sahacara sundara-dāsa || [PKT. 1327.]

[1] Satīśa-candra Rāy quite unjustifiably took this poet to be Gaurasundara-dāsa, the compiler of the *Kīrttanānanda* [*vide* PKT., Vol. V, p. 225].

« His form (and complexion) surpasses that of a hill of molten silver: a *vana-mālā* (garland of wild flowers) hangs down to his knees. Robed in blue-coloured garment (he is) a wonderful sight, even like diamond set with emerald. Balarāma runs after a *dhabalī* (white cow): his restless eyes are moving like (a pair of) lotuses (in breeze), and looking (at this charming sight) the god of love himself was charmed. With his arms held up he calls the cows, 'Dhabalī (Whitie)! Syāmalī (Blackie)!' and he has taken up a tender calf on his shoulders. When the fine peacock's feather at his crest slips away repeatedly, he ties it fast with strapping ropes. His face is a moon, his lips are like (buds of) *bāndhulī* flowers, and on them is playing a sweet, soft smile. (His talks) pour down ambrosia, of which his companion Sundara-dāsa drinks earfuls. »

Jagadānanda-dāsa (i) [*ante* 1653 A. C.].

In the oldest portion of the Das MS. there are three poems (Brajabuli) with the *bh.* of Jagadānanda. All the three poems are of the *citra-gīta* type.[1] One of these poems occurs in PKT. [3038], and this one as well as another occurs in Kālidās Nāth's anthology of Jagadānanda's poems [2] [pp. 23, 24]. The remaining poem I quote below as an illustration.

yāminī dinapati gagane udaya karu
kumuda kamala khiti mājha |
aparaśe duhū-ka paraśa-rasa-kautuka
niti niti jagate virāja ||
vara-rāmā he
būjhabi tuhū sucatura |
āpana parāṇa yā-ka kare sōpiye
so puna kabhu nahe dūra ||
jīvana avadhi hāma āpanā bēcalū
tana mana eka kari tōe |
kiye tuyā balabata preṃa-padātika
tila-ādha nā deha [3] mōe ||

[1] A *citra-gīta* poem is that which shows feats of alliteration, word-jugglery or acrostics.

[2] Śrī-Jagadānanda-padāvalī, edited with notes, and published by Kālidās Nāth, Calcutta, 1806 B. E.

[3] The MS. text reads 'nāteha,' which is evidently a corruption.

kāñcana vadana- kamala lāgi locana
madhukara marata piyāse |
likhanaka ādi- ākhara meli samujhabi
kahe jagadānanda-dāse || [Das MS.]

« 'Let the sun appear on the sky at night: (let) the lily and the lotus (bloom at the same time) upon the earth. Without any actual touch, may the love's sports of us two (*i. e.*, you, Rādhā and I, Kṛṣṇa) be ever triumphant in the universe. My precious girl! clever as you are, you must understand: in whose hands one's own life is put in trust, he can never be afar I have sold myself, body and mind, nay, life itself—to you: and yet your love, like a stout footman (*i.e.*, a strict bailiff) will not grant me even the least respite (*literally* respite to the extent of half a sesamum grain). For the golden lotus of your face my bee-like eyes are dying in thirst. You should understand (my communication) by putting together the first syllables (of each foot) in this letter (in verse).' So says Jagadānanda-dāsa. »

Thus the communication—which Kṛṣṇa sends from Dvārakā to Rādhā at Vṛndāvana—is given out in an acrostic consisting of the initial letters of each line.

yā a ba ā ji ki kā li

« I shall come (to you) in a day or two (*literally* to-day or to-morrow).»

In PKT. there are eight poems with the *bh.* of Jagadānanda, including the acrostic poem already mentioned [1] and another poem interpolated between the poems 203 and 204. Of these eight poems only one is written in Bengali [2183], and all of them occur in Kālidās Nāth's anthology. In this latter work there are thirty-six poems as well as fragments from Jagadānanda's projected work *Bhāṣā-śabdārṇava.* Of these thirty-six poems only four are written in Bengali [pp. 49, 51, 63-64]. Other poems by 'Jagadānanda' are to be found in other anthologies, *viz.*, GPT. [pp. 148-151, etc.], *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 7f.], and APR. [pp. 96ff.] etc.

The poet Jagadānanda to whom all these poems would be ascribed had for his ancestor Narahari-Sarkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa. Jagadānanda's father settled at Āgarḍihi near Raniganj. Jagadānanda himself shifted to

[1] 448, 657, 1032, 1033, 1975 [with the *bh.* 'Jagata'], 2183 and 3038.

Jophlāï, a neighbouring village. Some details of his life have been given in the introductory portion of Kālidās Nāth's work [pp. i ff.]. The date of Jagadānanda's birth is not known, but according to the tradition in his family he died in *Śaka* 1704 [= A. C. 1782].

But this date is in violent conflict with the fact that one of these poems occurs in a MS. dated 1653-1656 A. C. Unless one makes some preposterous hypothesis that the poet lived for about two centuries one cannot accede that Jagadānanda of Jophlāï was the author of some at least of these poems. So there is no other way but to posit an earlier Jagadānanda who was living prior to 1653-1656 A.C., though there is nothing to prove the existence of any such Jagadānanda. Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura's father was named Jagadānanda, but he lived, at the earliest, in the late seventeenth century, and so it is absolutely unlikely that his poems would be incorporated in a work of the middle seventeenth century. Moreover, had Jagadānanda-Ṭhākura been a vernacular poet, his son, Rādhāmohana, would have undoubtedly incorporated some of his poems in his *Padāmṛta-samudra*. But no poem with the *bh.* of 'Jagadānanda' or 'Jagata' occurs in this anthology. Another alternative is to reject the traditional date of Jagadānanda's death, which, of course, is not allowable.

Yadunandana-dāsa in his *Karṇānanda* [ii] mentions one Jagadānanda-Ṭhākura as an attendent or follower of Gati-govinda. Thus :

> jagadānanda-ṭhākura gati-prabhura sevaka |
> parama-madhurāśaya guṇete aneka ‖ [*op. cit.*, p. 28.]

Was he the poet in question ?

Jagadānanda (the earliest (?) Jagadānanda, the author of the *citra-gīta* poems) was a powerful writer of Brajabuli. He had a good command over the vocabulary as well as on the metre. But he seems to have been a slavish imitator of Govindadāsa Kavirāja, and as such his poems have no depth of thought and are very often insincere. Still the sound-effect is sometimes very pleasing. Thus :

> mañju vikaca-kusuma-puñja
> madhupa-śabada guñja-guñja
> kuñjara-gati-gañji gamana
> mañjula kula-nārī |

ghana-gañjana-cikura-puñja
mālatī-phula-māle rañja
añjana-yuta kañja-nayanī
khañjana-gati hāri ॥

kāñcana-ruci rucira-aṅga
aṅge aṅge bharu anaṅga
kiṅkiṇī kara-kaṅkaṇa mṛdu
jhaṅkṛta monohārī ।

nācata yuga-bhuru-bhujaṅga
kāli-damana-damana-raṅga
saṅginī saba raṅge pahire
raṅgila nīla-sārī ॥

daśana kunda-kusuma-nindu
vadana jitala śarada-indu
bindu bindu charama-gharame
prema-sindhu pyārī ।

lalitādhare milita-hāsa
deha-dīpati timira nāśa
nirakhi rūpa rasika-bhūpa
bhūlala giridhārī ॥

amarāvati-yuvati-vṛnda
hĕri hĕri rūpa paṛala dhanda
manda-manda-hasanā nanda-
nandana-sukhakāri

maṇi-māṇika nakha virāja
kanaka-nūpura madhura bāja
jagadānanda thala-jalaruha-
caraṇa-ka balihāri ॥

[Kālidās Nāth's Anthology, pp. 21ff.; KPS., p. 209.]

[The poem describes Rādhā's loveliness, when she is going in company of her girl friends to meet her lover Kṛṣṇa.] The masses of flowers are all blooming charmingly, bees are humming softly: the lady proceeds with a gait that puts to shame that of an elephant. The wealth of her tresses, that beats (the tint of) dark clouds, is bedecked with a chaplet of *mālatī* flowers: the girl, with her lotus-eyes painted with collyrium, surpasses the movements (of the eyes) of a

hañjana bird. Her shapely limbs have the complexion of gold, her each and every limb is an abode of the god of love: tiny bells at her girdle and the bracelets at her wrists jingle soft and sweet. The pair of arching eyebrows are dancing in a manner that vanquishes the Vanquisher of the serpent Kāliya (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa): all her companions are charmingly dressed in blue-coloured *sārīs*. Her teeth puts to shame buds of the *kunda* flower, her face defies the autumn moon: through the exertion (of walking) the Beloved One, the Ocean of Love, (*i.e.*, Rādhā) shows beads of perspiration. With a faint smile on her sweet lips the lustre of her person dispels the darkness: on looking at this loveliness (of Rādhā) the Prince of Lovers, the Lifter of the Hill, (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) is carried away. The bevy of young women from the celestial region, on looking at her beauty repeatedly, feel confused: she (*i.e.*, Rādhā) is smiling softly, which bewitches the Son of Nanda (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa). Diamonds and precious stones adorn her toe-nails, anklets of gold jingle sweetly: Jagadānanda (makes himself) an offering to her feet that defy the *sthala-padma* flower.

It is quite likely that the Bengali poems as well as the flat Brajabuli ones are the composition of the other (and younger?) Jagadānanda. As a matter of fact Kālidās Nāth had already suspected two Bengali poems [Śrī-Jagadānanda-padāvalī, pp. 63-64] to be the composition of a second Jagadānanda [*op. cit.*, p. 64 *footnote*].

The following Bengali poem, sustaining a series of metaphors, is, in a manner, a remarkable piece.

sajanī go, kena gelāṃ yamunāra jale |
nandera dulāla-cāda pātiyā rūpera phāda
vyādha-chale kadambera tale ||

diyā hāsya-sudhā-cāra aṅga-chaṭā āṭā tāra
ākhi-pākhi tāhāte paṛila |
mana-mṛgī seï kāle paṛila rūpera jāle
śudhu [1] deha-piñjara rahila [2] ||

garva-śāle matta hātī [3] bādhā chila divā-rāti
kṣipta haila kaṭākṣa-aṅkuśe |
dambhera śikala kāṭi cāri-dike gela chuṭi
palāïye gela kona deśe ||

[1] 'śūnya' [APR. 310].
[2] 'bāṅī phāsi galāy lāgila' [KPS.].
[3] 'citta-śāle dhairya-hātī' [APR. 310].

lajjā śīla hemāgāra guru-gauravā siṃha-dvāra
dharama-kapāṭa chila tāy |
vaṃśī-rava-vajrāghāte paṛi gela akasmāte
sama-bhūmi karila āmāy ||
kāliyā-tribhaṅga-bāṇe kula-māna kaila khāne [1]
ghucila [2] uṭhila vraja-vāsa |
prāṇa śeṣe āche bāki tāhā bujhi [3] yāy dekhi
bhaṇaye [4] jagadānanda-dāsa ||

[*op. cit.*, p. 49; KPS.,[5] p. 138; APR. 310.]

« [Rādhā has seen Kṛṣṇa and she has fallen a victim to his supreme attractiveness. Her helplessness is described in this poem.] 'My friend, why did I go to the waters of the Yamunā? The moon-like sportive Son of Nanda (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) had set up a trap (in form) of his loveliness (and was stationed) under the *kadamba* tree in the manner of a fowler and hunter. His ambrosiac smiles were like the bait, and the lustre of his person (acted as) glue: on it fell (and were kept fast) my bird-like eyes. At the same time my doe-like heart was caught in the net of his loveliness, and the cage of my body was left empty. (My patience,) a rutting elephant, was so long kept fast within the stable of family honour: (struck) with his *aṅkuśa*-like glances, it became mad; snapping the chains of pride it has escaped, (and I do not know) to what regions it has ran away. My bashfulness and good conduct (was like) a strong room where gold is kept, respect for (and obedience to my superiors (was like) a lion-gate to which was attached the door of propriety; but it has collapsed, all on a sudden, being struck by the thunderbolt, the notes of his flute, and this has made me fall flat on the ground. The sweet bending pose of his dark-complexioned (person), as an arrow, has cut to pieces my good name and family honour: my

[1] 'kona sthāne' [APR. 310]. [2] 'ḍubila' [APR. 310]. [3] 'tā-o pāche' [KPS.]. [4] 'bhābaye' [KPS.]. [5] KPS. has these additional lines in the beginning:

śuna go marama saī marma-kathā tore kaī
sājher velā giyāchilām jale |
nandera nandana kānu kare laiyā mohana-veṇu
dāṛāiyā chila kadama-tale ||
nā chāhilām taru-mūle bharame nāmilām jale
bhari jala kalasī helāye |
kalasīte vāri pūri kūle uṭhi sahacarī
kadama-talā dekhilām heriye ||

residence at the Vraja is at an end and is abolished (for good). At last only my life is left alone: but that also is about to depart, as I see.' So says Jagadānanda-dāsa.»

There were other poets named Jagadānanda. They were very late poets, and they have been discussed *infra*.

Vallavī-kānta.

In APR. there are two poems [553, 554]—one Brajabuli and the other Bengali—with the *bh.* of Vallavī-kānta. There was one Vallavī-Kavipati among the disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Prema-vilāsa xx]. Gati-govinda or Govinda-gati, the youngest son of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, had a disciple named Vallavīkānta-Cakravarttī [Karṇānanda ii]. This latter person was probably the poet in question.

In Gaurasundara-dāsa's *Kīrttanānanda* [p. 11] there is a Bengali poem (mixed with Brajabuli forms) with the *bh.* of Vallavī-dāsa. I am of opinion that this poem also belongs to Vallavī-kānta. I quote this poem below.

rāïyera janama- divasa āveśe
ānande bharala tanu |
nadīyā-nagara saba bhānu-pura [1]
udaya karala janu ||
gadādhara-mukha heri punaḥ punaḥ
nace gorā naṭa-rāyā |
bhāva anubhāva kari saṅgī saba
mahā-mahotsava gāy ||
dadhira sahita haladi milita
kalase kalase ḍhāli |
priya-gaṇa nāce nānā kāca kāce
ghana diyā hulāhuli ||
gaurāṅga nāgara rasera sāgara
bhābera taraṅga tāy |
jagata bhāsila e-hena ānande
e dāsa vallavī gāy ||

[Kīrttanānanda, p. 11.]

[1] 'vṛṣabhānu-pura'?

« On Rādhā's birth-day the person (of the Master) was full of joy and exhilaration; (it seemed) as if the entire capital of Vṛṣabhānu (Rādhā's father) had replaced the city of Nadīya. Gorā, the King of Dancers, was looking at the face of Gadādhara and was dancing: surcharged with all sentiments, major and minor, he sang on that great festive occasion. Pouring down pitcherfuls of water mixed with turmeric-paste, his beloved companions, repeatedly shouting cries of joy, danced about, impersonating various characters. Gaurāṅga the gallant is an Ocean of *rasa* (ecstatic joy), and in him appear (different) sentiments (*bhāva*) as waves: in this (flood of) blissfulness the universe floated up. So sings this servant Vallavī. »

Madhusudana-dāsa.

In PKT. there are two Bengali and three Brajabuli poems by Madhusūdana (-dāsa) [2785, 2786; 1873, 2855, 2856]. The poems are quite commonplace. Only two Madhusūdanas are known in Vaiṣṇava history: (*i*) Madhusūdana, the great-grandfather (on mother's side) of Rāmagopāla-dāsa, the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* [VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 102], and (*ii*) Madhusūdana-Cakravarttī, a disciple of Gaṅgānārāyaṇa-Cakravarttī who was again a prominent disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura [Narottama-vilāsa xii]. Had the former been a poet Rāma-gopāla would certainly have quoted at least one of his poems. Therefore the probability of the authorship of these poems lies with Madhusūdana-Cakravarttī.

The following poem is cited as a specimen of Madhusūdana's Brajabuli composition.

kuṇḍe sināna kayala duhū meli |
sahacarī-gaṇa saṅe kari jala-keli ||
vasana vibhūṣaṇa pahiraṇa keli |
nibhṛta-nikuñja-mājhe cali geli ||
ratana-pīṭha-pari kiśorī kiśora |
baiṭhala duhū jana ānande bhora ||
vṛndā-devī yogāyata tāi |
bahu-mata phala-mūla vividha miṭhāi ||
bhojana karu duhū sakhī-gaṇa saṅge |
madhusūdana kaba heraba raṅge || [PKT. 2856.]

« The two (*i.e.*, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) bathed together in the tank after having held water-sports with their female friends. Then they put on their garments and ornaments, and went away to a secluded spot in the garden. Full of joy, the Young Couple took their seat on a rich platform. The lady Vṛndā served them various fruits, roots, and sweetmeats. With their female friends they dined. When shall Madhusūdana be blessed with a sight of this fun? »

Ratipati-dāsa [*ante* 1673 A. C.]

Two poems by Ratipati occur in Rāmagopāla-dāsa's *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*. Both the poems are written in Brajabuli. Two additional poems by Ratipati occur in Vṛndāvana-dāsa's anthology *Rasa-niryāsa* (MS. from Śrīkhaṇḍa). The poet was the *guru* of Rāmagopāla-dāsa [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 101]. Ratipati was descended from Raghunandana of Śrīkhaṇḍa.

One of the poems occurring in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* is quoted below.

eta-dina būjhalū (tuyā) hṛdaya niṭhūra |
rāï [1] upekṣi āyali eta-dūra ||
aba tuhū ekalī rahasi vana-mājha |
toye nāhi sambhabe emana akāja ||
samaya-ucita karie yadi māna |
ācare jhāpiye āpana vayāna ||
eka-dine sūtiye cīta samādhi |
sādhiye vāda tahī jhākhae upādhi || [2]
anugata tuyā binu nū bolaye āna |
kare dhari bale dūtī karaha payāna ||
ratipati-dāsa karaye paraṇāma |
dūtī nahe iha duhū-ka parāṇa ||

[VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 115.]

« 'After all these days I realize that your heart is cruel, (as) you have come away so far, having spurned Kṛṣṇa. Now you stay all alone in the

[1] The text reads 'rāi' = Rādhikā, but the context seems to imply that Rādhā has left Kṛṣṇa in a sulk, and the Dūtī is pleading with her.

[2] This verse is a bit cryptic.

midst of this wood. Such an unbecoming conduct is not possible in you. If you were to show your displeasure proper to the occasion, you could (merely) cover up your face (away from him) with the edge of your *sāri* ('añcala'). One day (you) reposed in the *samādhi* (beatification) of the mind (*citta*): now that is being opposed—your qualities (*upādhi*) are disturbed (?). Faithful to you, he talks about you only and nothing else.' Taking her by her hands the messenger adds, 'Do come along.' Ratipati-dāsa makes his obeisance (and says), 'She is no messenger but their common soul.' »

The following poem, occurring also in the *Rasa-mañjarī*, contains the word 'rati-pati' with *double entendre* in the *bhaṇitā* couplet. It is very possible that this poems belongs to Ratipati-dāsa [*cf.* VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 116].

kuñje kusuma heri pantha nehāraï
sahacarī meli ānande |
diśi diśi ratana- pradīpa kata jārata
jhala-mala karata-hi chande ||
sundarī śeja bichāyaï raṅge |
āoba madana- vinoda rasa-gāhaka
bilasaba vinodinī-saṅge ||
mṛgamada candana tanu-parilepana
gandha-mahotsava kuñje |
kokila bhramara monohara gāota
heri heri nava-rasa-puñje ||
bājata ḍampha rabāba svara-maṇḍala
sahacarī nācaye su-chande |
ānande koï koï maṅgala gāoï
mūrachati ratipati-vṛnde ||
[Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī, 164.]

« Finding flowers (blooming) in the garden (Rādhā), in company with her friends, joyously looked at the way (expecting the arrival of Kṛṣṇa). Numerous were the lamps they lighted in the garden at many points, and these twinkled beautifully. The lovely lady, full of bliss, was preparing the bed: Kṛṣṇa the Charmer of the god of love, the Seeker of love's sport, was coming, and he would joy in the company of the accomplished Lady. She had applied on her person musk and sandal-paste: the whole garden was a feast of fragrance. Eyeing repeatedly at Rādhā, who was a veritable

mass of ever-fresh joyfulness (*rasa*), the cuckoo and the bee sang entrancingly. The tambourine and the *rabāb* (fiddle) were being played on, and (some of her) companions danced in good style. Some other friends, out of delight, sang in praise; and hosts of gods of love (*or* so many devotees like Ratipati) were beside themselves (with joy).»

Gopāla-dāsa [*c.* 1643 *or* 1673].

The poet Gopāla-dāsa, or Rāmagopāla-dāsa, was the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*, which has been already referred to more than once. In that work the poet has given some sketch of his autobiography. He came of a Vaidya family of Śrīkhaṇḍa. He was the great-great-grandson of Cakrapāṇi. Cakrapāṇi was among the retinue of Raghunandana, when the latter was with the Master at Puri. The poet's grandfather on the mother's side, Madhusūdana, also was a member of the band of Śrīkhaṇḍa, which danced and sang at the Car festival at Puri. The poet's *guru* was Ratipati-Ṭhākura, a descendant of Raghunandana. Among his teachers the names of several disciples of Śrīnivāsa and Narottama occur [VSPP., Vols. 37, pp. 101-102]. The poet completed his *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* in the month of *Kārttika*, *Śaka* 1565 or 1595, according as the chronogram is read 'bāṇa aṅga śara brahma' or 'bāṇa aṅka śara brahma' [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 37, pp. 99f.; Vol. 38, p. 145].

The poet has quoted several poems of his own in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*. So also has done his son Pītāmbara in his *Rasa-mañjarī*. This has been very helpful in marking out the poems of (Rāma-) Gopāla-dāsa.

In the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* the poet has quoted in full six Brajabuli poems of his own. Of these two occur in PKT. with the *bh.* of Govindadāsa [1052, 1076]. But the evidence of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* must override the claim of the compiler of the *Pada-kalpa-taru* on behalf of Govindadāsa. In PKT. there are five Brajabuli poems with the *bh.* of Gopāla-dāsa, of which one [2966] seems to be the composition of Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa [see *supra*, p. 41]. In *Kṣaṇadā* there is only one Brajabuli poem by Gopāla-dāsa [233].

Gopāla-dāsa can claim his position among the best poets of Brajabuli literature. That this claim is no exaggeration will be apparent from the two following poems.

ki kahaba rāï-ka hari-anurāga |
niravadhi mana-hi manobhava jāga ||

sahaje rucira tanu sāji kata bhāti |
abhisaru śārada-puṇami-ka rāti ||
dhavala-vasana tanu candana-pūra |
aruṇa-adhare dharu viśada kapūra ||
kavarī upare karu kunda bithāra |
kaṇṭhe vilambita motima-hāra ||
kairave jhāpala karatala-kāti |
malayaja-candana valaya-ka pāti ||
cāda-ki kaumudī tanu naha cinha |
yaïchana kṣīra nīra naha bhinna ||
chāyā vaïrī nā chāṛala vāda |
caraṇe śaraṇa karu yāminī ādha ||
gopāla-dāsa kaha sucatura gorī |
nūpura-ka ratana tule mukha pūri || [Kṣaṇadā 233.]

« How can I describe Rādhā's love for Hari ? The god of love is in permanent occupation of her heart. After bedecking her person—which is naturally lovely—with great trouble, she sets out, of a fullmoon night, to meet her Lover. Her garments are all white. Her body is painted (white) with sandal paste. She is biting a piece of camphor white with her ruddy lips. She has placed a bunch of *kunda* flowers on the top of her coiffure. A string of pearls dangle from her neck. The tint of her (rosy) palms she hides by holding bunches of (white) lilies. The series of her bangles she has painted white with sandal-paste. Her body cannot thus be differentiated from moon-light, just as milk cannot be differentiated from water (when mixed together). But the shadow (of her body), like an enemy, does not forget its grudge. But as it is midnight, it gathers itself up at her feet. Gopāla-dāsa says that the fair girl is very clever: she has kept tight with cotton wool the bells in her anklets. »

In this poem the influence of Govindadāsa is unmistakable [*cf.* PKT. 305]. But still it must be admitted that the poet has shown great skill.

chala kari vāṇī kataye paralāpasi
tohāri vacana paramāṇa |
cāri prahara rāti jāgi pohāyalū
āyali rāti-bihāna ||
mādhava, āji baṛa deyali dūkha |
āge iha ārati na bujhiyā aba tohe
heri pāyalū baṛa sukha ||

bhāla-hi sindūra kājale pūrala
vadana-hi daśana-ka rekha |
heraïte tohe lāja mohe hoyata
yāvaka rāga paratekha ||
kamalinī pāï sarasa-rase bhūlali
nā bujhali mālatī-gandha |
kahaï gopāla- dāsa nāhi samujhali
kī phule kiye makaranda ||

[PKT. 395; Rasa-mañjarī.]

« You have talked so much falsehood in deceiving (me), and your own words are the proof thereof. I have passed the whole might without having a wink of sleep, and you come when it has already dawned. O Mādhava, you have dealt me the biggest blow this day. I could not hithertofore read into your ardent entreaties (of love). But now I am immensely delighted at your sight. Your forehead is smeared with vermilion and collyrium paint, and on your face are marks of bite. On seeing you (in this state), it is I that feel shocked. Even marks of *yāvaka* (red extract of lac with which women paint their feet) are quite manifest! On finding a lotus you are mad with its sweet honey, but you do not understand what the (delicate) fragrance of the *mālatī* flowers is! Gopāla-dāsa adds: 'You have not cared to examine what kind of fragrance lies in what sort of flowers!' »

Pītāmbara-dāsa (i).

The poet Pītāmbara was the son of Gopāla-dāsa, the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* and was himself the author of the *Rasa-mañjarī*. His *guru* was Śacīnandana Ṭhākura of Śrīkhaṇḍa, which was the native place of the poet also [Rasa-mañjarī, p. 1]. Among other poems the poet has included in his work eighteen Bengali and Brajabuli poems by his father and only one (Brajabuli) poem by himself. This is the only known poem by the poet. Another Brajabuli poem (wrongly ascribed to Nīlāmbara by the compiler of APR.) with the *bh.* 'Pītāmbara' occurs in APR. [550]. I am not sure whether it belongs to our poet or not.

The poem in the *Rasa-mañjarī* [p. 16] is quoted below. It describes Rādhā's distress on Kṛṣṇa's absence.

chaṭa-paṭa kusuma-śayane |
hari hari karae smaraṇe ||
kāhe karu abharaṇa-veśa |
daraśana bhela sandeśa ||
bihi more duramati dela |
manamatha hānala śela ||
lore locana ghana pūre |
pītāmbara-dāsa rahu dūre || [Rasa-mañjarī.]

« (She) tosses about in her bed of flowers and thinks of Hari only. (She thinks:) 'Why did I dress myself up so elaborately? A sight of him has become a matter of formality! The Creator prompted me wrongly, and the god of love had pierced me with a spike.' Her eyes are filled with profuse tears. Pītāmbara-dāsa remains waiting at a distance. »

The compiler of APR. quoted two Brajabuli poems under the head Nīlāmbara [550, 551]. But one of the poems [550] apparently belongs to 'Pītāmbara.' Though the *bhaṇitā* portion of the poem contains both the words 'pītāmbara' and 'nīlāmbara,'[1] it is quite apparent even from a cursory glance that if any of these two words be the *bh.* of the poet it is 'Pītāmbara' and not 'Nīlāmbara.' If however, as I surmise, this poem goes to 'Pītāmbara,' still it is hazardous to ascribe it to the author of the *Rasa-mañjarī.* There was a second poet by the name of Pītāmbara [see *infra*].

Through the courtesy of Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji I have been able to examine another work by Pītāmbara—a MS. from Śrīkhaṇḍa entitled *Aṣṭa-rasa-vyākhyā,* also a rhetorical work. But this work does not contain any poem by the author.

Gopīkānta(-dāsa).

In PKT. there are four poems by Gopīkānta; of these three are in Brajabuli [597, 598, 2382], and only one in Bengali [3031]. The

[1] The last couplet of this poem runs as follows:

yata yata bhuvane āchaye vara nāgarī tā sama punabatī koī |
pītāmbara tuyā nāma miṭāyala nīlāmbara karu toī ||

Bengali poem is a prayer, and of the Brajabuli poems two deal with the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme and the other is an ode to Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [2382].

From another poem by Gopīkānta incorporated in the *Kīrtanānanda* it appears that the poet was a grandson (great-grandson ?) of Subalānanda-Ṭhākura and therefore a great-great-grandson (great-great-great-grandson ?) of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. This poem, which is rather interesting from a historical view-point, I quote below.

śrī-vidyāpati kavi-vara-śekhara
kayala bahuta-vidha gīta |
śrī-govinda kavīndra-śiromaṇi
tri-jagate yāhāra carita ||
śrī-jayadeva bahu-rasa varṇana
kavi-sāyara caṇḍīdāsa |
śrī-rāmānanda nāṭaka-prakāśaka
sumadhura-prema-vilāsa ||
śrīla-sanātana kayala gītāvalī
vividha-bhāva-taraṅgī |
śrī-rāmacandra kavi-vara-bhūpati
balarāma-dāsa tachu saṅgī ||
śrī-narahari-dāsa- ṭhākura kavi-sughaṛa
govinda-ghoṣa kavi-sindhu |
ṭhākura vṛndāvana vāsudeva-ghoṣa āra
sakala kavigaṇa-indu ||
bhāvaka-cakravarttī bahuta prakāśala
jñānadāsa kavi-ārya |
yadunātha-dāsa abhisāre varṇita
tahī kavi-vara vyāsācārya ||
prārthanā kayala ṭhākura narottama
mādhava-ghoṣa kavi-dhāma |
vaṃśī-vadana kiye śrīvallabha kavi
locana-dāsa anupāma ||
ṭhākura pitāmaha subalānanda pahu
kayala kata-hū su-chanda |
śrī-ghanaśyāma kavi- rāja-rāja-vara
adabhuta-varṇana-bandha ||

iha vara kavi-vara- caraṇa-saroruha
śirasi dhayala hāma hāra |
gopīkānta-dāsa kaha bhavanidhe (?) ḍūbala
kaba-hu pāyaba hāma pāra ||[1]

[Kīrttanānanda, pp. 27-28.]

« Śrī-Vidyāpati, the topmost of good poets, wrote very many songs: (so did) Śrī-Govinda(-dāsa), the crest-jewel of the best poets, whose activities (are known) in the three worlds. Śrī-Jayadeva described various sentiments: Caṇḍīdāsa (is) the ocean among poets. Śrī-Rāmānanda (-Rāya), the writer of the drama, (narrated in it) the sweet sports of love (of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa). Śrīla-Sanātana wrote the anthology of lyrics which express various sentiments: Śrī-Rāmacandra is a king of good poets, and (so also is) his companion Balarāma-dāsa. Śrī-Narahari-dāsa-Ṭhākura is a clever poet, and Govinda-Ghoṣa is an ocean among poets. Vṛndāvana(-dāsa)-Ṭhākura and Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa are the moons among the entire host of poets. (Govindadāsa-) Cakravarttī the *bhāvaka* (sentimental) published several (poems): Jñānadāsa is a master poet. Yadunātha-dāsa has dealt with (successfully) the *abhisāra* (trysting) episode, and so also the good poet Vyāsa-Ācārya. Narottama-Ṭhākura wrote prayer poems: Mādhava-Ghoṣa is a great poet. Vaṃśī-vadana and the poet Śrīvallabha, and Locana-dāsa are unique. My revered grandfather,[2] Subalānanda, the master, wrote (poems) in so many good metres: Śrī-Ghanaśyāma, the great king of kings of poets, is unrivalled in style and narration. The precious lotus-feet of these great poets I place on my head as a chaplet. Gopīkānta-dāsa says: 'I am lost in the sea of *bhava* (?): when shall I really cross over to the other side?' »

An earlier Gopīkānta is also not unknown. He was Gopīkānta-Cakravarttī, the son of Harirāma-Ācārya. Both the father and the son were disciples of Rāmacandra Kavirāja [Karṇānanda ii (p. 26)]. Though it is not absurd to say that this Gopīkānta[6] was the author of some of the poems in question, yet it is unlikely in view of the fact that this Gopīkānta is absolutely unknown as a poet, while the other

[1] This poem from the *Kīrttanānanda* is incorporated in APR. [440]. But the compiler of APR. has made some emendations in the text printed in APR. There was absolutely no necessity for these emendations.

[2] 'ṭhākura pitāmaha' may also mean 'grandfather of father'.

Gopīkānta was the undoubted author of at least one of the poems [Kīrttanānanda, pp. 27-28].

Vīra-vallabha.

Only two Brajabuli poems of Vīravallabha-dāsa are known. One occurs in *Kṣaṇadā* [39], and the other in PKT. [2868]. The latter occurs also in GPT. where the *bh.* is manifestly corrupt. Nothing is known about the poet except that he had flourished before 1700 A. C., otherwise his poem could not have been included in *Kṣaṇadā*.

Maheśa-Vasu.

A version of the Brajabuli poem [APR. 413] is found with the *bh.* of Maheśa-Vasu in *Kṣaṇadā* [116]. In APR. the *bh.* is of Rāmānanda-Vasu. If the *bh.* portion of *Kṣaṇadā* is all right, then we get here a poet, who was, at the latest, an older contemporary of Viśvanātha-Cakravartin.

In *Kṣaṇadā* there occur two poems with the *bh.* of Śaṅkara-Ghoṣa, one in Brajabuli [243] and the other in Bengali [307]. The Brajabuli poem occurs in the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* [105] with the *bh.* of Mukunda-dāsa, and the Bengali poem occurs in PKT. [266] with the *bh.* of Vṛndāvana-dāsa. In PKT. there are three Bengali poems probably by the same poet, one with the *bh.* of Śaṅkara [1628], and the remaining two with the *bh.* of Śaṅkara-dāsa [1649, 1926]. The poet Śaṅkara-Ghoṣa is generally identified with a contemporary and follower of Caitanya-deva, who had pleased the Master by singing on the Śiva theme. But there is no other corroborative evidence. All that is known about the poet is that he must have lived before 1700 A. C.

Taruṇī-ramaṇa.

Taruṇī-ramaṇa, or Taraṇī-ramaṇa, seems to have been a voluminous writer. As the *bh.* never contains the word 'dāsa' the presumption is

that it was not the real name of the author. The real author may very possibly have been one 'Caṇḍīdāsa.'

In PKT. there is only one poem by Taruṇī-ramaṇa [354], and this is in Brajabuli. By far the biggest available collection of Taruṇī-ramaṇa's poems is to be found in the *Siddhānta-candrodaya* of Mukunda-dāsa-Gosvāmī. The eighth chapter of the book contains sixty-one poems. Of these forty-three belong to Taruṇī-ramaṇa. Out of these forty-three poems six are in Bengali, and the rest in Brajabuli. From a study of these songs it appears that Taruṇī-ramaṇa wrote connected poems upon particular themes.

It is remarkable that almost all the poems with the *bh.* of 'Caṇḍīdāsa' are in Bengali and that most of the poems with the *bh.* of Taruṇī-ramaṇa are in Brajabuli. It is quite possible that the same poet used two pen-names or *bhaṇitās,* one for the Bengali poems and the other for the Brajabuli ones. However, this hypothesis cannot be substantiated until the bulk of the writings of 'Caṇḍīdāsa' and 'Taruṇī-ramaṇa' are available in print.

I now quote a Brajabuli poem of Taruṇī-ramaṇa as a specimen.

e hari mādhava karu avadhāna |
jitala biyādhi auṣadhe kibā kāma ||
ādhiyārā hoï ujara kare yoï |
divasa-ka cāda puchata nāhi koï ||
darapaṇa leï ki karaba āndhe |
śapharī palāyaba ki karaba bāndhe ||
sāyari śukhāyaba ki karaba nīre |
hāma abodha tuyā ki karaba dhīre ||
kā karaba bandhu-gaṇa vidhi bheo vāma |
niśi parabhāte āoli śyāma ||
taruṇī-ramaṇe bhaṇa aïchana raṅga |
rajanī goṅāoli kā-karu saṅga ||

[Siddhānta-candrodaya, viii. 39.]

[After a whole night has passed in expectation, Kṛṣṇa meets Rādhā in the morning. She suspects him of intrigue. She thus addresses him :] 'O Hari, O Mādhava, just listen (to what I say). The disease has prevailed : what is now the good of medicine ? In daytime nobody cares for the moon, who gives light when it is dark. What can the blind do

with a mirror? What is the good of a dam when (even) a *śapharī* fish shall escape (through it)? What is the good of raining when the lake shall be dried up? I am a stupid creature: what can I do for you, who are cleaver? What can the friends do, when the luck is averse? O Śyāma, you come in when the night has already dawned!' Taruṇī-ramaṇa asks, 'Is it a fun? With whom have you passed the night?' »

That 'Caṇḍīdāsa' and 'Taruṇī-ramaṇa' were the names of one person is attested by the following quotation from a Sahajiyā work entitled *Ratna-sāra* [Calcutta University MS. 1111].

ihā jāni caṇḍīdāsa taraṇī-ramaṇa |
gīta-chande gāhilena pirīti se dhana ||

« Knowing this Caṇḍīdāsa-Taraṇīramaṇa sang, in a poem, of that treasure—love (*prīti*). »

The song referred to contains the *bh.* of Taraṇī-ramaṇa. This song is well-known, and in printed works it appears with the *bh.* of 'Caṇḍīdāsa.' I surmise that 'Caṇḍīdāsa' used the other *bh.* when composing purely Brajabuli poems.

CHAPTER X

LATE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POETS

Manohara-dāsa.

Poems by Manohara-dāsa do not occur in any anthology or similar work earlier to the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. In this work are incorporated six poems with the *bh.* of 'Manohara-dāsa.' Of these six poems two are written in Bengali [825, 1336] and the remaining four in Brajabuli [7, 2366, 2367, 2870]. Two additional Brajabuli poems by 'Manohara' are found in the *Nāyikā-ratna-mālā* [3,11]. A few other poems occur in modern anthologies such as the Śrī-Śrī-(*Kṛṣṇa-*)*padāmṛta-sindhu* [pp. 146, 148] and the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [189, 246]. With the exception of the four Brajabuli poems in PKT. all the other poems by Manohara (both Bengali and Brajabuli) deal with the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. One of the four Brajabuli poems is an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu and Advaita-prabhu jointly [PKT. 7; GPT. pp. 481 f.], another is an ode to Rādhā [PKT. 2870], and the remaining two are odes to Sanātana-Gosvāmin Rūpa-Gosvāmin respectively [PKT. 2366, 2367; GPT. p. 464].

The generally accepted view is that the poet Monohara-dāsa was either of the two following personages[1] [*vide* GPT., Introduction, pp. 140 ff.; PKT., Vol. V, p. 185]:

1. Manohara, a follower of Nityānanda-prabhu [CC. i. 11].

2. Manohara-dāsa Āüliyā (*alias* Caitanya-dāsa), a disciple of Jāhnavā-devī. He was present at the Khetarī festival, and he (among others) accompanied his *guru* to Vṛndāvana.

But there is not the least shred of evidence to show that either of these Manohara-dāsas was a lyric poet. On the other hand we know of another Manohara-dāsa, who was undoubtedly a poet.

[1] Some view them as the same person [*cf.* PKT., Vol. V, p. 186]. This view seems to be more plausible.

This Manohara-dāsa, a poet, was the author of the *Anurāga-vallī*, a historical work of the type of the *Prema-vilāsa* and the *Karṇānanda*. This work, *Anurāga-vallī*, was completed at Vṛndāvana in *Śaka* 1618 (=1696 A. C.).[1] According to the author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* the poet's full name was Manohara-Rāya and he was the disciple of a descendant of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya.[2] That Manohara-dāsa was a disciple of the house of the Ācārya[3] is corroborated by the following poem which is an ode to Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa. I have found it in a manuscript in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Library. This also proves that our Manohara-dāsa was a lyric poet too.

śrī-gopāla-bhaṭṭa prabhu tuyā śrī-caraṇa kabhu
nirakhiba nayāna bhariyā |
śuniyā aśeṣa guṇa pājare bindhile ghuṇa
mari yāō nichani laïyā ||
pirīte gaṛhala tanu daśa-bāṇa hema janu
cānda-mukha aruṇa-adhare |
jhalake daśana-kāti jini mukutāra pāti
hāsi kahe amṛta-madhure ||
parāṇeṛ parāṇa yāra rūpa sanātana āra
raghunātha-yugala jīvana |
paṇḍitṛ kṛṣṇa lokanātha jāne deha-bheda mātra
sarabasa śrī-rādhāramaṇa ||
prema-vitaraṇa raṅga caitanya-caraṇa-bhṛṅga
śrīnivāse dayāra avadhi |
sabhe meli rasāsvāda bhāva-bhare unamāda
ei vyavasāya niravadhi ||
līlā-sudhā-suradhunī- rasika-mukuṭa-maṇi
rasāveśe gara-gara hiyā |
hā hā anurāga-sindhu hā hā dīna-jana-bandhu
yaśa gāy jagat bhariyā ||

[1] vasu-candra-kalāyukte śāke caitre site' male |
vṛndāvane daśamyāṃ tu pūrṇānurāga-vallikā ||

[2] 'tathā hi śrī-śrīnivāsācārya-ṭhakkuraṣyānuśākhā-śrī-manoharārāya-kṛta-śrīmad-anurāga-vallyām' (here follows a quotation from the *Anurāga-vallī*) [Bhakti-ratnākara iv (pp. 141 f.)]. The *Anurāga-vallī* has been referred to more than once in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*.

[3] In the *Anurāga-vallī* the poet says that his *guru* was Rāmaśaraṇa-Caṭṭarāja, who was a disciple of Rāmacaraṇa-Cakravartti, the younger brother-in-law and disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācarya [p. 49].

hā hā mūrti-sumadhura hā hā karuṇāra pūra
hā hā cintāmaṇi-guṇa-khani ।
hā hā prabhu ekavāra dekhāha mādhurī-sāra
śrī-caraṇa-kamala-lābaṇi ॥

aneka janmera pare aśeṣa-bhāgyera bale
tuā parikare pada pāñā ।
nija-karamera doṣe malina viṣaya-rase
janama goṅānu kholi (?) khāñā ॥

aparādha paṛe mane tathāpi tomāra guṇe
patita-pāvana āśā-bandha ।
lobhete cañcala-mati upekhile nāhi gati
phukāraye manohara manda ॥ [VSP. MS. 982.]

« 'O (my) master Śrī Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa ! When can I have a sight of thee to the satisfaction of my eyes ? The story of thy unending virtues fills my heart with a great pain of longing for thee (*literally* it seems as if my sides are bored through by unseen worms): could I but heap on me any ill-luck he may have, and so die ! (His) body is made of (divine) Love as it were, as if (made of) gold purified ten-times: (his) face is like the moon, and between his rosy lips shines the glow of his white teeth which surpass a series of pearls. Smiling he speaks very nectar-sweet. The soul of his soul are Rūpa and Sanātana, and the two Raghunāthas (*i.e.*, Raghunātha-Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha-dāsa) are his life : he looks upon the Paṇḍita (Harīdāsa), Kṛṣṇa(-dāsa Kavirāja) and Lokanātha as differing from himself only in body, and (the deity) Śrī-Radhāramaṇa is his all in all. His (only) joy is dissemination of divine Love, and he is, as it were, a bee (hovering) round the (lotus-) feet of Caitanya : he bestows the highest grace upon Śrīnivāsa (-Ācārya). His sole occupation is enjoying the divine bliss in company of all (his friends and followers): he is then thoroughly intoxicated with ecstatic feelings (*bhāva*). The crest-jewel of the admirers of (*i.e.*, bathers in) the divine stream of the nectar of sportfulness (as he is), his heart is (ever) overflowing with the gush of love. O thou, the Sea of Divine Love ! O thou, the friend of the suffering people ! Thy praise is sung all over the world. O thou, Sweet-imaged One ! O thou, the Stream of Mercifulness ! O thou, the Mine of Virtues (which are found only) in wishing-stones ! O (my) master ! Just for once do thou show to me the essence of loveliness, the gracefulness of (thy) glorious lotus-feet ! After many, many births and through extreme good fortune I have been blessed with a place among thy people : but through fault of my own

karma, in the midst of sordid pleasures of the world, I have spent my life, eating husk-cakes. I do remember my own transgressions; yet on thy virtues, O Saviour of the fallen! I have fixed my hope (for salvation). My mind is agitated by temptations; and if thou spurnst me I have no other way to go.' Thus wails Manohara the sinner.»

The following poem I cite as a specimen of Manohara's Brajabuli composition:

navīna kisalaya phuṭala phula-caya
pāti vividha-vidhāna |
yaïche khira-sara taïche śeja ḳara
kusuma-kula upādhāna ||
sakhi he, svarūpe kahala mo toy |
aïche sājaha vāsa-gṛha janu
nirakhi hari- sukha hoy ||
cāru campaka- kusuma-hāraka
gandha mālatī-māla |
khapuṙa karpūra pāna sumadhura
puriñā kāñcana-thāla ||
karaha saba tuhū jāgi rahala-hū
piyā-ka pantha nihāra |
kahe manohara kuñja-kānane
milaba nanda-kumāra ||
[Nāyikā-ratna-mālā 1.]

«[Rādhā is expecting Kṛṣṇa. She thus asks her companion to make everything ready for the occasion.] 'Laying down fresh, tender leaves and blooming flowers in nice manner do please make a bed (soft and white) like the cream of milk, and make pillows of flower. O my friend! I request you earnestly: decorate the living room so well that on looking in Hari, *i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) may be delighted. A pretty garland of *campaka* flowers, perfumes, a chaplet of *mālatī* flowers, betel-nut, camphor and tasty betel—do you please arrange all these on a plate of gold. Looking along the way of the Beloved I remain here all awake.' Manohara says, 'The Son of Nanda shall be met in the garden.'»

The *Dinamaṇi-candrodaya* (a Vaiṣṇava religious work) seems to have been written by our poet Manohara-Rāya. This work has been published by Vaiṣṇava-caraṇa Basāk, Calcutta. In this work the author gives his genealogical tree [pp. 89 f.], from which we gather

that his great grandfather was Vāṇīnātha-Paṭṭanāyaka, a younger brother of Rāmānanda-Rāya, the renowned follower of Caitanya-deva. The *Anurāga-vallī* was probably written in his advanced age, when he had settled at Vṛndāvana.

'Hari-vallabha' [*c.* 1704 A.C.].

In the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* there are forty poems with the *bh.* of 'Hari-vallabha.' Of these only three are in Sanskrit [213, 249, 290], and the rest in Brajabuli. Besides the above poems there are thirteen poems with the *bh.* of 'Vallabha,'[1] which, in all probability, belong to 'Hari-vallabha.' Of these thirteen poems two [254, 294] are written in Sanskrit, while the remaining eleven are written in Brajabuli. Only three of the Brajabuli poems of 'Hari-vallabha' have been incorporated in PKT. [190 (=Kṣaṇadā 87), 214 (=Kṣaṇadā 165), 301 (=Kṣaṇadā 71); the last poem occurs twice in PKT. [301, 1522]. Two poems by 'Hari-vallabha' have been cited in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 137, 161].

All these poems are universally ascribed to Viśvanātha-Cakravartin. According to tradition 'Hari-vallabha' was Viśvanātha's pen-name. Some say that it was the devotional and mystic name of his *guru*, and Viśvanātha adopted it as his own pen-name in deference to him.

Viśvanātha was born in the middle of the seventeenth century. His native place was the village Deva-grāma in the district of Nadīyā. They were three brothers—Rāmabhadra, Raghunātha, and Viśvanātha. Finishing elementary education at home Viśvanātha shifted to Saiyadābād (near Berhampore) in Murshidabad, and there he studied the Vaiṣṇava religious and philosophical works. He received spiritual initiation from Kṛṣṇacaraṇa-Cakravartī, the son of Gaṅgānārāyaṇa-Cakravartī. According to another tradition the name of his *guru* was Rādhācaraṇa-Cakravartī. The latter view seems more plausible, because Kṛṣṇacaraṇa (if he be the same as the son of Gaṅgānārāyaṇa) flourished in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. It is therefore unlikely, though not absolutely impossible that he was Viśvanātha's *guru*. Viśvanātha's father married him early, but he would not remain at home. He went to Vṛndāvana,

[1] In the colophon of all these thirteen poems the word 'vallabha' has *double entendre*. The poems by Vallabha-dāsa, which contain the short *bh.* 'Vallabha,' have never any *double entendre* in this word [*cf.* PKT. 1010, 1011, 1020]: all these poems are by Vallabha-dāsa, and they do not occur in *Kṣaṇadā*.

whence he came back once only for a few days. He lived in the hut which had been used by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja.

After Jīva-Gosvāmin Viśvanātha was the greatest of later Vaiṣṇava scholars and philosophers. He wrote commentaries (all in Sanskrit) on the following works: (i) *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, (ii) *Bhagavad-gītā*, (iii) *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* (of Karṇapūra), (iv) *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* (by Rūpa-Gosvāmin), (v) *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū* (by Karṇapūra), (vi) *Gopāla-tāpanī Upaniṣad*, (vii) *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta* (by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja), (viii) *Prema-bhakti-candrikā* (by Narottama-dāsa), and (ix) *Vidagdha-mādhava* (by Rūpa-Gosvāmin). He was the author of the following original works in Sanskrit: (i) *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta*, (ii) *Stavāmṛta-laharī*, (iii) *Prema-sampuṭa*, (iv) *Gopī-premāmṛta*, (v) *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi-kiraṇa*, (vi) *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu*, (vii) *Bhāgavatāmṛta-kaṇikā*, (viii) *Rāga-vartma-candrikā*, (ix) *Aiśvarya-kādambinī*, (x) *Svapna-vilāsāmṛta*, (xi) *Camatkāra-candrikā*, (xii) *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-candrikā*, (xiii) *Mādhurya-kādambinī*, and (xiv) *Śrī-gaurāṅga-līlāmṛta*.

Viśvanātha was the compiler of the earliest known named anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics, entitled the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi*. (The Das MS. noted before is older: see *ante*, p. 6). This work, consisting of the first part (*pūrva-vibhāga*) only of the projected work, is incomplete. Viśvanātha completed his commentary (entitled *Sārārtha-darśinī*) on the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* in *Śaka* 1626 (=1704 A.C.), and he died soon after. The *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* seems to have been compiled in the interval.

The *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* contains three hundred and nine poems (excluding six repetitions) by about forty-five different poets. Quite a number of these songs lack the *bhaṇitā*. The anthology is divided into thirty sections, named *kṣaṇadā* (night), representing nights beginning from the first day of the black fortnight and ending with the night of fullmoon.

The Brajabuli poems [1] by 'Hari-vallabha' are not in any way remarkable. As a matter of fact they are quite commonplace. The two following poems are given as specimens:

e sakhi bihi ki purāyaba sādhā |
heraba puna kiye rūpa-nidhi rādhā ||
yadi mohe nā milaba so vara-rāmā |
taba jīu-chāra dharaba kona kāmā ||

[1] Viśvanātha, or 'Hari-vallabha' does not appear to have written any poem in Bengali.

tuhũ bheli dotī pāśa bhela āśā |
jīu bāndhaba kiye karaba udāsā ||
śuni hari-vacana dotī avilambe |
āoli cali yāhā ramaṇī-kadambe ||
kahe hari-vallabha śuna vraja-bālā |
hari japaye tuyā guṇa-maṇi-mālā ||
[Kṣaṇadā 165; PKT. 214.]

« [Kṛṣṇa speaks to the friend sent with a message from Rādhā:] 'Will Providence fulfil my desire? Shall I again look upon Rādhā, that treasure of loveliness? If that excellent Lady would not meet me, what for should I then sustain this miserable life? You are indeed my messenger, but my hope is the only fetter (that makes me cling to life). Shall I hold on to life? Or, shall I give up hope?' On hearing these words from Hari (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa), the messenger came over at once to where the damsels were. Hari-vallabha says, 'Listen, O maidens of the Vraja! Hari is only telling the beads in the rosary of thy (*i.e.*, Rādhā's) virtues.' »

kaha kaha e sakhi marama-ki bāta |
so tohe ki karala śyāmara-gāta ||
manamatha-koṭi-mathana tanu-reha |
kaïche ubari tuhũ āoli geha ||
kulavatī-koṭi hoye yahī andha |
pāoli kachu kiye so mukha-gandha ||
yā-kara muralī śravaṇe yahī lāge |
khasata-hī vasana śāśa-pati-āge ||
aba niradhārasi kona vicāra |
vallabha so rasa-sāgara pāra || [Kṣaṇadā 48.]

« [Rādhā's friends ask her how she felt being with Kṛṣṇa:] 'Tell us, do tell us, O friend, your secrets: what did that Dark-complexioned One (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) do to you? His lovely form (*literally*, the line or curvature of the body) vanquishes tens of millions of gods of love: abandoning it how could you come home? Whereat tens of millions of chaste women become blind (in love)—did you ever meet with any fragrance in that (divine) mouth? If (the notes from) his flute ever reach the ear the girdle-knot is loosened before (even) the mother-in-law and the husband (*or*, when the breeze blows). What course do you think of adopting? That Beloved One (*vallabha*) has crossed over to the other side of the sea of *rasa* (*i.e.*, is the master in the arts of love).' »

Baladeva-dāsa.

There is a single poem (in Brajabuli) by Baladeva-dāsa in PKT. [2842]. The poet seems to have been the famous Neo-Vaiṣṇava philosopher at Vṛndāvana, Baladeva-Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Baladeva was a contemporary of Viśvanātha-Cakravartin, and, according to some, he was a disciple of Viśvanātha. Baladeva's *Govinda-bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-Sūtras* must remain as a monumental work. This commentary defends the *dvaitādvaita* or *acintya-bhedābheda* theory of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism against the attack of the pure *advaita* school of orthodox Vedāntism. Besides the above work he wrote commentaries on the following works: (*i*) the *Tattva-sandarbha* of Jīva-Gosvāmin, (*ii*) the *Stava-mālā* of Rūpa-Gosvāmin, and (*iii*) the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.

The poem in question is quoted below.

jaya jaya maṅgala-ārati duhū-ki |
śyāma-gorī-chavi ūṭhata jhalaki ||
nava-ghane janu thira bijurī birāje |
tāhe maṇi-abharaṇa aṅga-hi sāje ||
kare laï dīpāvali hema-thāli |
ārati karata-hi lalitā āli ||
saba-hū sakhī-gaṇa maṅgala gāoye |
koi kara-tāli dei koï bājāoye ||
koi koi sahacarī mana-hi harīkhe |
duhū-ka aṅga para kusuma barīkhe ||
iha rasa kahata-hi baladeva-dāse |
duhū-rūpa-mādhurī heraïte āśe || [PKT. 9842.]

"All hail to the auspicious *ārātrika* [1] of the Couple! The loveliness of the Dark-complexioned Lover (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) and the Fair-complexioned Maiden (*i.e.*, Rādhā) is flashing forth. (It looks) as if a steady flash of lightning shines on (the bosom of) a dark cloud. Over and above jewels adorn their limbs. Taking up on her hand a gold plate (containing) lamps in rows their friend Lalitā performs the *ārātrika* ceremony. All their companions are singing in (their) praise. Some are beating palms, some are playing on (musical instruments), while others, joyous at heart, are

[1] Evening-light ceremony before an image in Hindu ritual.

showering flowers upon the Two. Of this joy (*i.e.*, joyful ceremony) Baladeva-dāsa speaks, and he hopes to be blessed with a sight of the Couple. »

Prema-dāsa (Premānanda-dāsa) [*c.* 1712 A.C.].

Poems by Prema-dāsa do not occur in any of the older anthologies except PKT., where, however, such poems number thirty-one. Of these thirty-one poems only six are written in Brajabuli [475, 558, 561, 592, 596, 807]. A few other poems occur in modern anthologies such as GPT., APR., and the *Kīrtana-gīta-ratnāvalī.*

The lyric poet Prema-dāsa was the same person as the author of the *Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī*, a Bengali metrical version of the *Caitanya-candrodaya-nāṭaka* of Kavi-Karṇapūra (written in 1572 A.C.), as well as of the *Vaṃśī-śikṣā*, a poem dealing with the life and teaching of the poet Vaṃśī-vadana. Rāmacandra-Gosvāmī, a grandson of Vaṃśī-vadana, who was later adopted by Jāhnavā-devī, seems to have been the *guru* of one of his forbears. Thus he mentions in the *Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī* :

śrī-guru-caraṇa-padma viṣaya āśraya sadma [1]
tāhā gati jīvane maraṇe |
prabhu śrīla-rāmacandra jāhnavā-caraṇa-dvandva
sa-gaṇa caitanya thāka mane ||

[Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī,[2] p. 404 ; GPT. p. 494.]

« The lotus feet of the holy *guru* (are) my means, my refuge and my resort : in life and death they alone are the goal. The master (of our family is) Rāmacandra as well as the two feet of Jāhnavā. May Caitanya with his companions live in my heart (for ever). »

jaya śrī-jāhnavā jaya ṭhākura rāmāñi |
śrī-hari-gosāñi jaya gaura-guṇa gāi ||

[Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī, p. 2.]

[1] 'se-i se kevala satya.'

[2] The title of the printed work is 'Caitanya-candrodaya-nāṭaka,' but the poet used the above title in the colophon at the end of each section (*aṅka*).

« Glory to Śrī-Jāhnavā! Glory to Rāmāī (*i.e.*, Rāmacandra)-Ṭhākura Glory to Śrī Hari-Gosvāmī! (Through their grace) let me sing the praise of Gaura. »

From the last passage we may infer that Hari-Gosvāmī, a relative of Rāmacandra-Gosvāmī (?) was the *guru* of Prema-dāsa.

'Prema-dāsa' was not his real name. This name was given to him by his *guru*, and he used it as his pen-name. The full form of this name seems to have been 'Premānanda-dāsa.' This fuller name he has used a few times in his *Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī*.

Thus:

śrī-caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī ujjvala |
likhilenḍ premānanda-dāsa sumaṅgala ‖ [p. 268].

gaurāṅga-caraṇe manaḥ premānanda-dāsa kana
ānande praphulla manaḥ deha ‖ [p. 296]; etc.

The poet has given some details of his life at the end of the *Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī* [pp. 403 f.]. These accounts (in identical language) occur in his *Vaṃśī-śikṣā* also. I give here a summary of these accounts.

The poet's real name was Puruṣottama-Miśra, and he obtained the title 'Siddhānta-vāgīśa.' His father was Gaṅgā-dāsa, grandfather Mukundānanda, and great-grandfather Jagannātha-Miśra who was a contemporary of Caitanya-deva. They lived at 'Kula-nagara'[1] (the village Kuliyā, just opposite to Navadvīpa, across the Hooghly river). At the age of sixteen he went to the Vraja. Kṛṣṇacaraṇa-Gosvāmī, who was in charge of the management of the temple of Śrī-Govinda, appointed him a cook at the temple. A few years after his eldest brother, Govinda-rāma, brought him home. He finished the *Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī* in *Śaka* 1634 (=1712 A. C.) and the *Vaṃśī-śikṣā* in *Śaka* 1638 (=1716 A. C.).

ṣola śa(ta) cautriśa śake laukika bhāṣāte sukhe
prema-dāsa karila likhana ‖
[Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī, p. 403].

[1] Or 'Gokula-nagara,' as read in some texts and MSS.

śakāditya ṣola-śata cautriśa śakete |
śrī-caitanya-candrodaya racinu sukhete ||
sola-śata aṣṭa-triṃśa śakera ganaṇa |
śrī-śrī-vaṃśī-śikṣā grantha karila varṇana ||

[Vaṃśī-śikṣā, quoted in GPT., Introduction, p. 111.]

Prema-dāsa's Brajabuli poems are quite commonplace, even below the average quality. The following poem, however, is an exception:

mādhava, mohe kahasi cāda-mukha |
cāda-ka guṇa kahaye saba suśītala
cāde janama bhari dukha ||
jalanidhi-udara ūyala śasādhara
garala saṅge upanīta |
sebala śaṅkara śirasi bahala yaba
tāhā phaṇī heri asambita ||
puna yāi gagane karala ārohaṇa
tāhe garāse rāhu manda |
daive kalaṅkita hoyala mṛga dhari
asita-pakṣe tanu-anta ||
kāhe minati karu kapaṭa-hī nāgara
heri virasa mana hoy |
prema-dāsa kaha cāda-vadana cāha
cakore piyūṣa dei soy || [APR. 399.]

« [Rādhā says to Kṛṣṇa:] 'Why do you call me moon-faced? Everybody speaks of the soothing qualities of the moon, but the moon is miserable from her very birth. The moon (*literally*, one who holds the hare) rose up from the bottom of the ocean; but the great poison came along with her. Śaṅkara (*i.e.*, Śiva) paid a compliment to her when he placed her on his head: but there she found snakes, and was in trepidation. Then she went up in the sky, where, however, *Rāhu*, the evil one, gobbles her up (periodically). By chance the moon caught hold of a hare, and this way she got her black spots. Her body vanishes away in the dark fortnight. Why do you, O my gallant, expostulate with me in this false manner? On looking at you my heart becomes embittered.' Prema-dāsa says, 'Look up with your moon-face; (all her faults notwithstanding, it is the moon) that gives ambrosia to the *cakora*.' »

But the average Bengali poems by Prema-dāsa are much better than his Brajabuli ones. The following is given as a specimen.

saï, kāhāre kariba roṣa |
nā jāni nā dekhi sarala haïlū
se puni āpana doṣa ||
bātāsa bujhiyā pelāï thu, pā
bārhāï bujhiyā theha |
mānuṣa bujhiyā kathā se kahiye
rasika bujhiyā neha ||
maṛaka bujhiyā dhariye ḍāla
chāyāy bujhiyā māthā |
gāhaka bujhiyā guṇa prakāśiye
bethita bujhiyā bethā ||
avicāre saï karilū pirīti
kena kailū hena kāje |
prema-dāsa kahe dhīra ha sundari
kahile pāïbā lāje || [PKT. 954.]

« [Rādhā speaks to her friend, regretting her love for Kṛṣṇa :] 'My friend, with whom should I be cross ? Without knowing (anything) and without judging (this or that) I behaved as a simple girl : that is surely my fault. Knowing (first the direction of) the wind one spits out, and ascertaining (first) the depth (of water) one advances a step. One should find out the man, and then talk to him (*i.e.*, make friends with him) : one should find out if he is a true lover (*rasika*), and then love him. One should find out if the branch (of a tree) is brittle or not, before catching it for support : one should know the shade, before one rests one's head. One should know the proper buyer before setting forth the value of one's wares : one should speak out one's sorrows when one finds a truly sympathetic man. Without proper judgment, O my friend, I have loved (Kṛṣṇa). Why did I ever do such a thing ?' Prema-dāsa says, 'O lovely one ! be calm ; if you talk on thus you will be put to shame.' »

The bulk of the Bengali songs of Prema-dāsa in PKT. are on Caitanya-deva. Two are on Nityānanda-prabhu [2263f.], one on Śrīvāsa [2353], and one is a prayer poem [3055].

There is a book of didactic poems addressed to self, entitled *Manaḥ-śikṣā*, by Premānanda-dāsa, who seems to be our poet Prema-dāsa ;—

at least there is nothing to disprove that he was the same as the poet Prema-dāsa. We have also seen that the full name (rather pen-name) of the poet was Premānanda-dāsa. The *Manaḥ-śikṣā* [1] of Premānanda is an anthology of one hundred and eight Bengali poems. (It should be mentioned here that the *bh.* is invariably 'Premānanda' and never once 'Prema-dāsa.')

The language of these poems is quite simple, and their appeal is direct. The poet is really a good one, and it is not too much to say that most of these songs are at par with the devotional poems and prayers of Narottama-dāsa. These poems are not very wellknown, nevertheless they deserve wider publicity and greater appreciation. So I may be excused if I quote here a few of these poems as specimens.

e mana, vadane balaha hari hari |
helāy janama viphale goṅāli
dekha-nā kakhana mari ||

madane cañcala vikala haïyā
sadāï ku-pathe dhā(i)li |
pūraba smariyā bujha nā tumi ki
ihāï karite ā(i)li ||

vyāpāre āsiyā mūla hārāïcha
tallāsa kari nā cāo |
ṭhakera sahite e tora mitāli
kabe vā se bodha pāo ||

jāna nā narake pheliyā pacābe
antaka yāhāra nāma |
ekhana takhana kakhana āsiyā
galāy bāndhibe dāma ||

bhārata-bhuvane mānuṣa-janama
emana āra vā kabe |
ihāte na ha(i)le takhana habe ki
śṛgāla kukkura yabe ||

[1] 'Manaḥ-śikṣā' (Lessons to the Mind) is the name of this type of didactic poems or prayers. Besides the *Manaḥ-śikṣā* of Prema-dāsa, we know of another *Manaḥ-śikṣā*, in Sanskrit, by Raghunāthadāsa-Gosvāmin. Premānanda-dāsa's *Manaḥ-śikṣā* has been published in several editions, but the best edition is that of Nityasvarūpa Brahmacārī, Devakīnandana Press, Calcutta, Caitanya Era 429 (third edition).

bala hari hari śamane rākhaha
tāhāre karaha rāji |
kahe premānanda ihāte ye bhule
se mene baṛaï pāji ॥ [10]

« O my mind ! utter from thy mouth, 'Hari ! Hari !' Through carelessness thou hast lived thy life in vain, and thou dost not heed death ! Restless and distracted with physical love thou hast ever strayed into the evil way : remembering thy past do thou (try to) realize what thou art. Hast thou come (upon the earth) only to do this ? In thy chaffering thou art (fast) wasting thy capital, and no heed dost thou keep ! The commerce thou has made is with a rogue : when wilt thou realise it ? Dost thou not know that he whose name is the Ender of all shall throw thee down and torment thee in hell ? He may come any time, even just now, and put the noose round thy neck. In Bhārata land thy advent as a man,—shall it ever happen again ? If it (*i.e.*, working out thy salvation) is not accomplished now, how will it be when (thou shalt be reborn as) a jackal or a dog ? Utter, then, the name—'Hari ! Hari,' and stop (the progress of) Death, making him relent. Premānanda says : Who deceives himself here is indeed the greatest scoundrel. »

e mana, bala re govinda-nāma |
āji kāli kari ki āra bhābicha
kabe toṛṅ ghucibe kāma ॥
kāli se karibā tumi ye balicha
āji tā kara nā bhāi |
āji yā karibā tā kara ekhani
ki jāni kakhana yāi ॥
ehena kalite mānuṣa-janama
emana āra vā kāte |
hari-nāma diyā jagaṭa tārilā
śrī-kṛṣṇacaitanya yāte ॥
se tina yugera ācāra-vicāra
ekhana se-saba rākha |
vadana bhariyā gaura-hari bala
yugera dharama dekha ॥
rasanā vadana vaśera bhitare
kevala balile hay |
ālisa kariyā narake yāïte
kāra vā e apacayṅ ॥

śamana-kiṅkara aṅguli gaṇiche
jāna nā kakhana pāṛe |
kahe premānanda takhana kahibe
āsiyā caṛilo ghāṛe ‖ [60]

« O my mind ! Do thou take the Name of Govinda. Putting it off from day to day, what art thou thinking of ? When is thy desire going to wear off ? 'I shall do it to-morrow'—this thou sayest : why not dost thou, O my brother, do it to-day ? What thou shalt do to-day do now : there is no knowing when one passes away. In this *Kali* age the birth as a man,—where indeed (shalt thou obtain) this ? It is in this age that Śrī-Kṛṣṇacaitanya (*i.e.*, Caitanya-deva) has brought salvation to the world by bestowing the Name 'Hari'. Discard now the rites and practices of the three (previous) ages : with thy full throat call aloud the (Name of) Gaura-Hari, and (thereby) observe the rule of the (present) age. Thy tongue and thy mouth are in thy control : only thou needst utter (the Name of God). Who does, indeed, ever like to go to hell through laziness only ! The messenger of Death is taking stock (of the minutes) with his fingers (*i.e.*, waiting to pounce upon thee) : dost thou not know he may fall upon (thee) any time ? Premānanda says : 'Thou shalt speak it only when he will be on thee and seize thee by the neck.' »

ore mana, ki gumāna tanu-nāye caṛi |
koṇḍ sukhe bhuliyācha bicāriyā dekha picha
bhava-sindhu dite habe pāṛi ‖
dekha nā māyāra pāka naukā phire yena cāka
ihā ki bujhite nāra bhāi |
durvāsanā-kubātāse e ḍheü ākāśa sparśe
dhana-jana yāra kṣamā nāi ‖
kāmādi e mātoyāla tāre kaili keroyāla
pākāiyā phirāiche tarī |
ye beṭā ku-buddhi pāji tāre kariyācha mājhi
nā jānī kakhana ḍubi mari ‖
bhava taribāre cāo subuddhi-kāṇḍārī lao
daśendriya keroyāla kari |
hari-guṇa gāñā sārī bāiebḍ diyā de re pāṛi
madhye madhye bala hari hari ‖

jīrṇa nā haïte nāo āgute-i pāṛi deo
pāra haiyā kara ṭhākurāla ।
āge nā haïle pāra piche ki karibe āra
naukā vā thākibe kata kāla ॥
bahu-dūra pārāvāra vilamba nā kara āra
dāṛi mājhi haïbe durbala ।
premānanda kahe mana tabe kibā prayojana
yadi naukā ghāṭe hay tala ॥ [66]

« O my mind! what elation is it to be on the boat, the body? With what pleasures art thou blinded? Look behind, and see: thou shalt have to cross over the sea of *bhava* (*i.e.*, the cycle of birth and death). Dost thou not see the whirlpool of Māyā (*i.e.*, all-pervading delusion)? The boat circles round like the (potter's) wheel. Canst thou not perceive it, my brother? (Stirred by) thy evil desires like the wind, these waves run high (*literally* touch the sky); and nothing—wealth or servants—can help it. These drunken fellows,—desire and other passions,—thou hast made them thy oars: they have brought the boat to a whirlpool (*literally* they are turning the boat round and round), and that scoundrel, thy Evil Will, thou hast appointed the helmsman; I do not know when all will sink. If thou wishest to cross over the sea of *bhava*, take as thy helmsman thy Good Will, and make the ten senses thy oars. Singing the praise of Hari (just as boatmen sing) *sārī*,[1] and rowing fast (as in a boat race) move towards thy destination, shouting the Name of Hari at intervals. Finish thy plying before the boat is out of order; and when thou hast come to the other side, lord it over (as thou likest). If thou hast not crossed (the sea) in time, what shalt thou do afterwards? And how long can the boat wait? It is a vast stretch, the sea, and so do not tarry: the crew will (soon) become weary. Premānanda says: 'O my mind! if the boat sinks by the wharf what good would it do?' »

Prema-dāsa's *Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī* is no mere translation of Karṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodaya*. It contains much additional matter which is of great historical interest. From this work I glean here some facts which have bearing on Bengali Vaiṣṇava literary history.

When Caitanya-deva came to Advaita-Ācārya's home after his *sannyāsa*, the Ācārya was in extreme joy, and on the very night of the coming of the Master the Ācārya sang a song in *Kīrttana*. The first

[1] Boatman's song.

couplet of this song is cited in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* [ii. 3]. Prema-dāsa, however, quotes the entire poem, which differs materially from the PKT. version [1995].

According to Prema-dāsa the song was sung by Śrīvāsa at the Ācārya's request. Prema-dāsa's version is as follows :

ki kahaba re sakhi ānanda-ora |
cira-dine [1] mādhava mandire mora ||
āra hāma piyā [2] dūra-deśa nā pāṭhāō [3] |
ācala bhariyā yadi mahānidhi pāō [4] ||
pāpa sudhākara more yata dila tāpe |
saba dūra gela mora se-jana ālāpe ||
bhaṇaye vidyāpati śuna vara-nārī |
bahu-dina pipāsāy piye ghana vāri ||
[Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī, p. 145.]

« 'How shall I describe the bounds of my joy? After a long time Mādhava is come to my home. No more will I send my Beloved away to a far-off land, even though that would get me a skirtful of great gems! All the torments (due to separation) that the wretched moon inflicted on me are now gone only by speaking with him.' Vidyāpati says: 'Listen (to me), O precious lady! In a prolonged thirst one drinks water profusely.' »

Once, when the devotees from Bengal were at Puri in their annual pilgrimage to the Master, the king Pratāpa-rudra was watching them from a d stance. The devotees were then singing a song in *Kīrttana* style. Not understanding the words of the song from the distance the king asked his priest Kāśī-Miśra what it was about. Kāśī-Miśra recited the following Brajabuli poem by Vaṃśī-vadana as the one that was being sung. The poem, as given by Prema-dāsa, has become corrupt at places, and it would be difficult to restore it.

madhura madhura vaṃśī bāje vane |
darabaye śīla kula [5] vigalita taru-kula
vikaśita vratatīra [6] sane ||

[1] Printed text 'cira-dina.'
[2] Printed text 'priyā.'
[3] Printed text 'pāṭhāña.'
[4] Printed text 'pāña.'
[5] Printed text 'darabaye dāru śīla kula.'
[6] Printed text 'vratī.'

dinakara-jāle jāla nāhi hoyata
kula hariṇa ali ālī |
daivata ye baita (?=baiṭha) nija-tanu vismṛta
śambhu svayambhū mukha-vismaya-śālī ||
yamunā yajña-sutādika dhūli-gaṇa nirakha
nirakhi gīta bheo muralī-ālāpe |
lāja māna gṛha deha bhulāyala capala
karāyala yuvati-kalape ||
paramāmṛta-siñcita bhela tri-bhuvana
gokulanātha-vadana-veṇu-gāne |
vaṃśī-vadana bhaṇaï hari-vaṃśī kataï
kalā-rasa-kautuka jāne || [*Op. cit.*, p. 360.]

This poem is cited here as it has not been found anywhere else.

This otherwise unknown poem by Vaṃśī-vadana must have then been composed and sung during the lifetime of Caitanya-deva. As the family of Vaṃśī-vadana supplied the spiritual *gurus* to that of Prema-dāsa, it is quite likely that this story (which is unrecorded elsewhere) Prema-dāsa obtained from his *guru*, and therefore it seems to be authentic.

Ghanarāma-dāsa [*c.*? 1711 A.C.].

In PKT. there are sixteen poems by Ghanarāma ; of these fifteen are written in Bengali, and only one in Brajabuli [1152]. Ghanarāma's poems are very remarkable in that they are concerned solely with the child Kṛṣṇa. They depict what is technically known as *vātsalya rasa*. No lyric poet other than Ghanarāma adopted this sentiment as his exclusive subject-matter.

In PKT. there are two Bengali poems with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa' [1138, 1145], one dealing with the occasion of Rādhā's birth, and the other with the dalliance of Child Kṛṣṇa, which have the alternative *bh.* of 'Ghanarāma-dāsa.' In the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* there are four Bengali poems [76, 78, 81, 87 (=134, 117, 209)] with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa,' which deal with Child Kṛṣṇa, the language and style of which are identical with that of Ghanarāma, and some of which actually occur in PKT. and other anthologies with the *bh.* of Ghanarāma. The same phenomenon appears in some of the modern anthologies such as the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* and the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī*.

Now Ghanaśyāma Kavirāja (grandson of Govindadāsa Kavirāja: early 17th century; see *ante*, pp. 215ff.) was a noted writer of Brajabuli, and though his Bengali poems are by no means scarce, yet it must be admitted that his Bengali was much inferior to his Brajabuli. It is also a fact that the sentiment of love (*madhura rasa*) was his *forte*. It is therefore unlikely, though not absolutely impossible, that these poems really belong to Ghanarāma. The names Ghanarāma and Ghanaśyāma are so very similar that one can be easily confused with the other, especially as they have the same metrical length and quality. As a matter of fact interchange between the two names is a very common occurrence in the MSS. of anthologies.

I have already remarked that there is only one Brajabuli poem in PKT. to the credit of Ghanarāma. There is some trouble with this poem too. It is written in *tripadī* verse except the last two couplets which are written in *payāra* metre. This is rather suspicious.

This mixture of metres—especially in poems of the earlier centuries—almost unmistakably points to interpolation or confusion on the part of scribes or singers. Let me quote the poem here. It is written in mixed Brajabuli and Bengali.

[1] pañca-barikha-vaya- -sākṛti[2] mohana
dhāvamāna para aṅganā |
pāyasa pāṇi-tale āora[3] mākhana
khāyata miṭāyata bayanā ||
dole dole mohana gopāla |
prakhara caraṇa-gati mukhara kiṅkiṇī kaṭi
loṭana lolaye vana-māla ||
sonāyṅ bāndhila bhāla ruru-nakha ure māla
piṭhe dole pāṭa-ki thopa |
khene ālagachi deï khene bhūme gaṛi yāï
khene parasanna khene kopa ||
[4] nanda sunanda yaśomatī rohiṇī
ānande suta-mukha cāy |
aruṇa-[5] dṛg-añcala kājare rañjita
hāsi hāsi vadana dekhāy ||

[1] This couplet is also the first couplet in an anonymous poem in the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* [73]. [2] PKT. reads '-kṛta-.'

[3] PKT. reads 'pāyasa pāṇi urathale mākhana.'

[4] This couplet is identical with the third couplet of a poem by Vaṇśi-vadana [see *supra*, p. 43]. [5] PKT. has 'nayana.'

kuntale ratana maṇi jhalamala dekhi |
kuṇḍale ujjvala gaṇḍa kājara-rekhi ||
ghanarāma-dāse bole śuna nanda-rāṇī |
trijagata-nātha nācāo kare diyā nanī || [PKT. 1152.]

«Looking like a child aged five years the Charmer (*i.e.*, Young Kṛṣṇa) is romping about in the courtyard. (There is) sweet milk and butter, (which he) eats, and with which he smears his face. Ah, the graceful swinging dance of the charming Gopāla (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa, *literally* a cowherd boy)! Quick are his steps, the girdle bells at his waist tinkle, and a garland of wild flowers (*vana-mālā*) hangs down (from his neck). A hoof (*literally* claw) of the *ruru*,[1] nicely mounted in gold and attached to a necklace, dangles against his chest: on his back hangs a silk knot (at the end of his plaited hair). Now he moves on tiptoe, and then he rolls on the ground: now he is gleeful, and then angry. Nanda, Sunanda, Yaśomatī and Rohiṇī look at the face of the Child joyfully. The corner of his eyes are painted with collyrium: he shows up his face smiling. His forelocks, decked with jewels, look resplendent: his cheeks (look) bright with the earrings, (and his eyes are beautified with) collyrium paint. Ghanarāma-dāsa says: 'Listen, O queen of Nanda! Do please put some fresh butter on his hands (for him to eat it), and make him, the Lord of the three worlds, dance.'»

As I have already mentioned Ghanarāma busied himself solely with Child Kṛṣṇa. This aspect of the Vraja theme received very scanty notice from the Vaiṣṇava lyric poets. (We may mention the names of Vaṃśī-vadana, Balarāma-dāsa and Yādavendra in this connexion.) Ghanarāma's poems are simple, but otherwise there is nothing remarkable.

The only Ghanarāma known in Bengali literature was the author of the *Dharma-maṅgala*. This work was completed in *Śaka* 1633 (=1711 A. C.).[2] It is quite possible that this Ghanarāma was the poet in question. The author of the *Dharma-maṅgala* was a Brahmin, as his surname of Cakravarttī shows. It may be objected that the surname 'Dāsa' which we

[1] A species of antelope. Probably it is a mistake for 'bāgha-nakha' (tiger-claw) which, mounted in silver or gold, would be used as charm and hung round the neck of a child.

[2] His full name was Ghanarāma-Cakravarttī. His native place was Kṛṣṇa-pura in the district of Burdwan. The *Dharma-maṅgala* has been published from the Bangabasi Press, Calcutta.

find with the lyric poet (Ghanarāma-*dāsa*), precludes their identification as the same person. But we should remember that the use of the sobriquet *Dāsa* (slave) along with the personal name was a recognised Vaiṣṇava practice, indicating the humility of the person, irrespective of caste.

CHAPTER XI

EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POETS: POETS OCCURRING IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ANTHOLOGIES

Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura [? 1699 A.C.—1778 A.C.].

Rādhā-mohana was a great-great-grandson of Śrīnivāsa-Acārya.[1] He was born sometime about *Śaka* 1621 (= 1699 A.C.), and he died in *Śaka* 1700 (= 1778 A. C.). Rādhā-mohana was one of the biggest Vaiṣṇava scholars of his time. When he was a young man there arose an acute doctrinal difference between the two schools of Vaiṣṇava thought. One school supported the doctrine of 'Svakīyā,' and the other the doctrine of 'Parakīyā'.[2] This controversy came to such a head that an assembly of all the leading Vaiṣṇavas was called, and the leaders of the two schools were asked to discuss their doctrines publicly and to accept the judgment of the assembly. Rādhā-mohana was chosen as the leader of the 'Parakīyā' school. After a protracted and lively discussion Rādhā-mohana vindicated the doctrine of his school, and was given a certificate to that effect, signed by all the Vaiṣṇava scholars present. This document was registered at the court of Murshidkuli Khan on the 17th *Phālguna* 1125 B. E. (= March 1718 A.C.).[3] Rādhā-mohana lived at Mālihāṭi, a village a few miles distant from Katwa. He was the *guru* of Mahārājā Nandakumār.

Rādhā-mohana's great work is the *Padāmṛta-samudra*, an anthology of seven hundred and thirty Vaiṣṇava lyric poems (including a few repetitions), of which one hundred and eighty-five belong to himself. The following poets have been represented in the *Padāmṛta-samudra*.

[1] Padāmṛta-samudra, introductory verses [4-17].

[2] Briefly speaking, these two doctrines mean this. According to the 'Svakīyā' doctrine Rādhā was really the properly wedded wife (*svakīyā bhāryā*) of Kṛṣṇa, but according to the 'Parakīyā' doctrine Rādhā was legally married to another person, and was just a sweet-heart (*parakīyā strī*) to Kṛṣṇa.

[3] Padāmṛta-samudra, Introduction [p. *ix*].

Jayadeva, Vidyāpati, Caṇḍīdāsa, 'Sanātana,' Govindadāsa Kavirāja, Govindadāsa-Cakravarttī, Nayanānanda, Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Rāmānanda-Rāya, Ananta-dāsa, Yadunandana, Balarāma-dāsa, Jñānadāsa, Vaṃśī-vadana, Vaṃśī-dāsa, Subala, Kavi-śekhara, Kavi-rañjana, Campati, Siṃha Bhūpati, Nṛpati Siṃha Kavi, Narottama-dāsa, Jagannātha-dāsa, Śekhara-Rāya, Murāri-Gupta, Mādho, Ghanaśyāma-dāsa, Mādhava-Ghoṣa, Mādhava-Ācārya, Vīra-nārāyaṇa and Vijaya-nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa, Śrīnivāsa-dāsa, Śrī-Kṛṣṇaprasāda, Narahari (? Sarkār), Gopāla-dāsa, Locana-dāsa, Vallabha-dāsa, Rādhā-mohana.

Rādhā-mohana also wrote an excellent commentary in Sanskrit, named *Mahābhāvānusāriṇī*, to his anthology. This commentary bears ample evidence of Rādhā-mohana's scholarship and critical acumen.

Out of the one hundred and eighty-five poems by Rādhā-mohana, occurring in the *Padāmṛta-samudra* about one hundred and eighty have been cited in PKT. The bulk of the poems of Rādhā-mohana are written in Brajabuli. Only twenty-three poems are written in Bengali, and five only in Sanskrit.

One poem by Rādhā-mohana has been quoted in Narahari-Cakravarttī's anthology *Gīta-candrodaya*.[1] This poem is the same as PKT. [68]. It is therefore apparent that Rādhā-mohana was, at the latest, an older contemporary of Narahari-Cakravarttī.

Rādhā-mohana was a slavish imitator of Govindadāsa Kavirāja. He was often unnecessarily pedantic. In spite of this defect some of his poems are not devoid of intrinsic merit. The following poem is cited as a specimen of his Brajabuli composition.

abhinava-jaladhara-rucira su-deha |
pītāmbara-vara taṛita-thira-reha ||
jaya jaya govinda gokula-bhāgi |
vrajà-nava-ramaṇī yā-ka mana lāgi ||
kata-koṭi cāda jiniyā vara-mukha |
yā-kara daraśe miṭaye sava dūkha ||
nirupama-rūpa-jaladhi avatāra |
rādhāmohana-pahu mūrati-śiṅgāra || [PKT. 2413.]

[1] For this information I am indebted to Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna. He had recently been to Agartala, the headquarters of the Tipperah State, and had examined the only known (though incomplete) MS. of the *Gīta-candrodaya*, which is deposited at the State Library. See *infra*.

« His graceful person is as lovely as the fresh (dark) cloud: his fine yellow garment (looks like) the fixed streak of lightning (thereon). All glory to Govinda, the good star of Gokula, whose heart has been attracted towards the young women of the Vraja! His lovely face defeats so many millions of moons, and at a sight of it all misery is removed. (He is) the Ocean incarnate of unparalleled beauty: he, the Master of Rādhā-mohana, is Love personified. »

Rādhā-mohana also wrote a few alliterative poems (*citra-gīta*) [PKT. 1889, 2002, 2427, 2439].

Narahari-Cakravarttī (Narahari-dāsa ii *or* Ghanaśyāma-dāsa ii).

Narahari-Cakravarttī was the most prolific of the Vaiṣṇava lyric poets. He used either of the names 'Narihari-dāsa' and 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa,' in the *bhaṇitā* of his poems, without any distinction. He therefore, may be mentioned as Narahari-dāsa (ii) or Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (ii). Narahari-Cakravarttī was the author of the following works:

Bhakti-ratnākara, *Narottama-vilāsa*, *Śrīnivāsa-caritra*, *Gīta-candrodaya*, *Chandaḥ-samudra*, *Gaura-carita-cintāmaṇi*, and *Paddhati-pradīpa*.[1]

The *Bhakti-ratnākara* and the *Narottama-vilāsa* are historical works depicting the activities of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, Narottama-Ṭhākura and Śyāmānanda. The *Bhakti-ratnākara*, however, contains much additional matter such as the activities of the Gosvāmins at Vṛndāvana, description of the town of Navadvīpa, and other topics. These two works are of great historical importance for fixing the chronology of the Vaiṣṇava history in Bengal. Though they are works of the early eighteenth century, they contain much genuine and historical facts, which are not known from any other source. The *Narottama-vilāsa* was posterior to the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, as the latter has been more than once referred to in the former, and the former has been mentioned in the latter as a projected work [Bhakti-ratnākara, pp. 632, 654, etc.]. The *Śrīnivāsa-caritra*, as the name indicates, was devoted to the life and teachings of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. This work, which the author has mentioned more than once in his *Bhakti-ratnākara*

[1] Of these works the last three are known in MSS. which have become extremely rare. The *Gīta-candrodaya* is known in a unique but fragmentary MS. deposited at the State Library, Tipperah. A portion of this work, however, was published in Tripurā Era 1298 by Vīracandra Deva-Varman from Agartala, Tipperah State. The *Śrīnivāsa-caritra* seems to have been entirely lost.

[pp. 1004, 1047], is now lost. This work preceded the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [*cf.* p. 1004].

Narahari gives the following account of himself.

nija-paricaya dite lajjā hay mane |
pūrva-vāsa gaṅgā-tīre jāne sarva-jane ||
viśvanātha-cakravarttī sarvatra vikhyāta |
tāra śiṣya mora pitā vipra jagannātha ||
nā jāni ki hetu haila mora dui nāma |
narahari-dāsa āra dāsa ghanaśyāma ||
gṛhāśrama haïte haïlū udāsīna |
mahāpāpa viṣaye majilū rātri-dina ||

[Bhakti-ratnākara, Granthānuvāda ; p. 1067.]

«I feel ashamed to give an account of myself. My original home was on the bank of the Ganges—(it was a place) known to all. Viśvanātha-Cakravarttī is (or was) famous everywhere : his disciple was my father Jagannātha, a Brahmin. I do not know why I was given two names, Narahari-dāsa and Ghanaśyāma-dāsa. From home-life I became a wanderer, (and then again) I became immersed, day and night, in sinful worldliness.»

The *Bhakti-ratnākara*[1] is a voluminous work of encyclopedic character. Incidentally it is also an anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics, as it contains three hundred and fourteen lyric poems by about twenty-seven different poets. The following poets have been cited in this work.

Narottama-dāsa, Vasanta-dāsa (Rāya), Govindadāsa Kavirāja, Narahari-dāsa (i), Narahari-dāsa (ii),[2] Govinda-Ghoṣa, Mādho (Brajbhākhā), Jñānadāsa, Balarāma-dāsa, Vyāsa (Brajbhākhā), Śrīnivāsa-dāsa (Ācārya), Vīra-hāmbīra, Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa, Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Yadunandana-dāsa (Cakravarttī), Yadunandana-dāsa (ii), Devakī-nandana, Rāmacandra, Śekhara-Rāya, Murāri-Gupta, Nayanānanda, Śivānanda, Caitanya-dāsa, Ananta, Rāmānanda-Vasu, Locana, Prasāda-dāsa.

[1] Published from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore, in two successive editions. The first edition appeared in Caitanya Era 402, and the second in Caitanya Era 426 (=B.E. 1319).

[2] The same as Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (ii). In the *Bhakti-ratnākara* there are forty-two poems with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa,' all of which belong to Narahari-Cakravarttī. Had any of these poems belonged to Ghanaśyāma Kavirāja the author would not have failed to remark to that effect, as he had done in the case of the poem by Narahari-Sarkār (Narahari-dasa i). Cf., *Bhakti-ratnākara*, p. 924.

Of these three hundred and fourteen poems about one hundred and thirty-five (including forty-two poems with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma') belong to Narahari-dāsa (ii).

In PKT. there are thirty-six poems with the *bh.* of 'Narahari,' of which the bulk should be ascribed to Narahari-dāsa (i). In the same work poems with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa' number forty-two, all of which [1] must be ascribed to Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (i).

No poem by Narahari-Cakravarttī occurs in the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* or in the *Padāmṛta-samudra.* There are, no doubt, in that anthology poems with the *bhs.* of 'Ghanaśyāma' and 'Narahari,' but these poems must be ascribed to the earlier poets. On the other hand one poem by Rādhā-mohana [Padāmṛta-samudra ; PKT. 68] occurs in Narahari-Cakravarttī's *Gīta-candrodaya* [see *supra*, p. 276]. The *Kīrttanānanda* also does not seem to contain any poem by Narahari-Cakravarttī.

Narahari-dāsa (ii) compiled an anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics, named the *Gīta-candrodaya.* This work has not yet been published,[2] and as a matter of fact, no complete MS. of this work is known. The only known copy of the *Gīta-candrodaya* is deposited at the State Library, Tipperah. This MS. though incomplete contains the bulk of the entire work. Another MS. deposited at the Dacca University Library is supposed to be a missing portion of the *Gīta-candrodaya.* Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna had recently been to Tipperah. He examined the MS. of the *Gīta-candrodaya* and took down some notes. He very kindly allowed me to use these notes, and also to examine a copy of the Dacca University MS. taken by him. For the following observations I am, therefore, indebted to the courtesy of the Pandit.

The *Gīta-candrodaya* was divided into eight sections. They were as follows : (*i*) 'Gaura-kṛṣṇa-rasāmṛta,' (*ii*) 'Gaura-kṛṣṇa bhāvanāmṛta,' (*iii*) 'Gaura-kṛṣṇa-caritāmṛta,' (*iv*) 'Gaura-kṛṣṇa-vilāsāmṛta,' (*v*) 'Gaura-kṛṣṇa-līlāmṛta,' (*vi*) 'Nitya-sevāmṛta,' (*vii*) 'Nāmāmṛta,' and (*viii*) 'Prārthanāmṛta.' The Tipperah MS. contains fourteen hundred and forty-six songs out of a probable total of twenty-five hundred. In bulk the *Gīta-candrodaya* thus seems to have been almost equal to the *Pada-kalpa-taru.* The majority of the lyrics in the *Gīta-candrodaya* seems to have been contributed by the

[1] One poem [PKT. 522] may have belonged to Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (ii).

[2] An insignificant portion of this work, containing the first three hundred and thirty poems, had been published from Agartala under the patronage of the then Mahārajā of Tipperah. Printed copies of it are extremely rare [*vide* p. 277 *footnote*].

compiler himself. The Tipperah fragment alone contains eight hundred and thirty-one poems by Narahari-Cakravarttī.

In the *Gīta-candrodaya*—so far as the Tipperah and Dacca fragments go—the following poets have been laid under contribution by the compiler.

Narahari-dāsa (i), Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa, Govinda-Ghoṣa, Govindadāsa Kavirāja, Govindadāsa-Cakravarttī, Balarāma-dāsa, Jñānadāsa, Śekhara-Rāya, Kavi-śekhara, Nava Kavi-śekhara, Kavi-rañjana, Kavi-Kaṇṭhahāra, Yadunātha, Yadunandana, Ghanaśyāma Kavirāja, Dvija Rāmadāsa, Siṃha Bhūpati, Nṛpa Vaidyanātha, Vidyāpati (i),[1] Vidyāpati (ii),[2] Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Śyāma(-dāsa), Ātmārāma, Ananta, Ananta-Rāya, Locana, Haridāsa-dāsa, Puruṣottama, Rādhā-mohana, 'Sanātana,' 'Hari-vallabha,'[3] Vaṃśī-vadana, Rāmānanda-Rāya, Rāmānanda-Vasu, Śivānanda (-Cakravarttī), Gopāla(-dāsa), Bhagavatī, 'Mādhavī'(-dāsa), Kṛṣṇa-prasāda, Nayanānanda(-Miśra), Subala(-candra), Śaśinātha, Prasāda-dāsa.

Narahari-dāsa (ii) cannot claim a very high position as a poet, but he was certainly a first-rate metrician. This is evidenced by his use of so many different metres,[4] including the rare metres in Hindi. Narahari must have also been an accomplished musician. His knowledge in the technicalities of high music seems to have been profound. The fifth chapter ('Pañcama-Taraṅga') of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* is, in fact, a monograph on classical music.

The following poems are cited as illustrative of Narahari-Cakravarttī's poetic attainment :—

nācata gaura
nikhila-naṭa-paṇḍita
nirupama-bhaṅgi
madana-mada-haraï ।

pracura-caṇḍakara-
dara-paribhañjana
aṅga-kiraṇe dika-
bidika ujaraï ॥

1 The Maithil poet.

2 The Bengali poet who was an inhabitant of Śrīkhaṇḍa.

3 There is also one poem with the *bh.* of 'Vallabha,' which occurs in *Kṣaṇadā* [10]. It, therefore, belongs to 'Hari-vallabha.'

Unfortunately his *Chandaḥ-samudra* is not available; otherwise we could have made a complete estimate of his metrical skill.

unamata atula
siṃha jini garajana
śunaïte balī kali-
vāraṇa ḍaraï ।

ghana ghana lampha
lalita-gati cañcala-
caraṇa-ghāte kṣiti
ṭala-mala karaï ॥

kinnara-garaba
kharaba karu parikara
gāyata ulase
amiya-rasa jharaï ।

bāyata bahu-vidha
khola khamaka dhuni
paraśata gagana
kauna dhṛti dharaï ॥

atula-pratāpa
kāpi durajana-gaṇa
leaï śaraṇa
caraṇa-tale paṛaï ।

narahari-pahū-ka
kirīti rahu jaga bhari
parama-dulaha dhana
niyata bitaraï ॥
[Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 883.]

« Gaura, the Master of all dancers, dances : his graceful movements remove the pride of the god of love. With the dazzle of his fair complexion that vanquishes, with the least effort, (the brightness of) so many suns, he illumines all the quarters. His shouts surpass the roar of mighty, angry lions : on hearing them fear springs on the mighty elephant of the *Kali* age. He jumps up now and then, he moves in graceful steps, and with the thumps of his dancing feet the earth quakes. His attendants destroy the vanity of the *Kinnaras* [1] (as regards their musical attainments) : they are singing in joy. It seems that nectar is flowing all round. (Various musical instruments

[1] Mythical beings reputed to be the best vocal and instrumental musicians.

such as) *Khol*[1] and *Khamaka* are being sounded, and their sound reaches the sky. Who can control himself thereat? At his supreme majesty the sinful people are thoroughly shaken, and they seek succour, and fall at his feet. May the fame of the Master of Narahari remain (ever resplendent) upon the earth, as he is ever engaged in distributing the most precious treasure (*i.e.*, Divine Love). »

deva-ramaṇī- vṛnda biraci
veśa vividha-bhāti |
rājata thala- māhi atula
jhalake kanaka-kāti ||
bhramata gagana- patha agaṇana-
yūtha hiya-utsāha |
mānata diṭhi saphala nirakhi
gaura-vara-vivāha ||
miśra-bhavana rīta[2] rucira
ucari pulaka-gāta |
nava nava abhi- -lāṣa karaï
dhṛti dharaï na yāta ||
nirupama pahu- preyasī-chavi
locana bhari neta |
narahari kata bhākhaba sabhe
prāṇa nichani deta ||

[Bhakti-ratnākara, pp. 813 f.]

« [Celestial women came to witness the marriage ceremony of Gaurāṅga-mahāprabhu with Viṣṇu-priyā, the daughter of Sanātana-Miśra.] The host of divine ladies, having dressed themselves in various charming ways, stood in splendour upon the earth, and their matchless beauty dazzled superbly. They moved about in companies, in the aerial region: (their) hearts (were excited with) curiosity. On witnessing the marriage ceremony of the charming Gaura, they blessed their eyes. In the house of (Sanātana) Miśra they chanted sweetly the ceremonial (songs), and were immensely delighted. They felt various fresh longings spring on themselves, and it was hard for them to control themselves. With their eyes they took fill of the unsurpassed loveliness of the Master and his bride. How can Narahari express this any further?

[1] The drum with the earthen cylinder. It is the same as 'mṛdaṅga.' [2] 'gīta'?

They, in short, wished to lay down their lives as ceremonial offerings to avert his slightest evil. »

Naṭavara.

In PKT. there are two poems by Naṭavara, one Bengali [1366] and the other Brajabuli [2250].[1] This Bengali poem as well as another has been cited in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 4f., 18f.]. Another Brajabuli poem by Naṭavara has been incorporated in APR. [450]. This poem shows that Naṭavara wrote extensively on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. This fact is supported by a statement of the poet Kamalākānta [APR. 468].

The following Brajabuli poem by Naṭavara is given as a specimen of his writing :—

gopī-gaṇa-kuca- kuṅkume rañjita
aruṇa-vasana śobhe aṅge |
kāñcana-nindita- kānti kalevara
rāï-paraśa-rasa-saṅge ||
dekha dekha aparupa gaura-vilāsa |
lākha yuvati-rati yo guru-lampaṭa
so aba karala sannyāsa ||
yo vraja-vadhū-gaṇa- dṛḍha-bhuja-bandhana
avirata rahata agora |
so tanu pulake purita aba ḍhara-ḍhara
nayane galaye prema-lora ||
yo naṭavara ghana- śyāma-kalevara
vṛndā-vipina-vihārī |
kahaye naṭavara so aba akiñcana
ghare ghare prema-bhikhārī || [PKT. 2250.]

« A rosy garment, dyed with the *kuṅkuma*[2] on the breasts of the *Gopīs*, is draped gracefully on his person. The complexion of his body is more dazzling bright than gold, being in (permanent) contact with the sweet touch of Rādhā. Look, look at the glorious dalliance of

[1] This poem appears with the *bh.* of Balarāma, in the *Pada-rasa-sāra* [*vide* PKT., Vol. iii, p. 276].

[2] Yellow dust used in ladies' toilet.

Gaurāṅga! He has now adopted *sannyāsa*—he who was the master-lover of the hearts of a hundred thousand young women. He who once remained spell-bound in the hard embrace of the young women of the Vraja, now horripilates all over his person, and is in a state of divine intoxication, and tears of love flow from his eyes. He who was the master-dancer, with the complexion of the dark cloud, and who philandered in the Vṛndā woods (*i.e.*, Vṛndāvana), is now, says Naṭavara, a destitute, and he begs (Divine) Love from house to house! »

Bhuvana-dāsa.

In PKT. there is a 'Bāramāsyā'[1] poem in Brajabuli, by Bhuvana-dāsa [1789-1810]. This poem describes the sufferings of Viṣṇu-priyā in separation from her husband Gaurāṅga-mahāprabhu, during each of the twelve months in a year. This is the only known poem by this poet. There is a Bengali poem on Caitanya-deva [PKT. 1031], which may belong to Bhuvana-dāsa. The word 'bhuvana' occurs in the last couplet, and if it is taken as *double entendre*, it may stand for the name of the poet. Though the literary output of Bhuvana-dāsa seems to be very small, yet one must admit that he was no mean poet. This will be clear from the following extract, describing the lady's sufferings in the month of *Āṣāḍha* (June-July).

ghana-ghana megha garaje dina-yāminī
āola māha āṣāḍha |
nava-jaladhara para dāminī jhalakaye
dāha dvi-guṇa tahī bāṛha ||
sahacari, daiva dāruṇa mohe lāgi |
śarada-sudhākara- sama mukha sundara
so pahū kāhā geo bhāgi ||
antara gara-gara pājara jara-jara
jhara-jhara locana vāri |
dukha-kula-jaladhi- magana yachu antara
tā-kara dukha ki nibāri ||

[1] A *Bāramāsyā* poem is a series of twelve short poems, each describing the sufferings of a lady separated from her husband, for each particular month of the year. The origin of this type of poems should be sought in the Sanskrit poems dealing with the separated lady's pangs felt at the approach of the rainy season. From the rainy season it was an easy step to the six seasons, whence again it was easier to come to the twelve months in a year.

yadi puna gaura- cāda nadiyā-pura-
gagana ujoraye nīta |
taba dukha vipula saphala kari māniye
hoyata taba thira cīta ‖ [PKT. 1794.]

« Repeatedly the cloud roars through day and night: the month of *Āṣāḍha* (June-July) is come. Against the dark cloud lightning flashes: at this my sufferings doubly increase. My friend, the cruel fate is against me. My lord, whose face is lovely as the autumn moon, has gone away somewhere (I do not know). My heart is full (of love for him), and it is aching terribly (*literally* my ribs are worm-eaten), and tears are streaming down from my eyes. Can her sufferings be ever removed, whose heart is drowned in the sea of manifold sufferings? If, however, the moon-like Gaura ever lights up the firmament of the town of Nadīyā, I shall then deem these my profound sufferings as fruitful, and then indeed my heart will be calm. »

Bindu (Bindu-dāsa).

In PKT. there are four poems with the *bh.* of 'Bindu,' and only one with the *bh.* of 'Bindu-dāsa.' Of the four poems by Bindu three are written in Brajabuli [71, 1667, 2333]. The poem with the *bh.* of 'Bindu-dāsa' [2253] occurs in the *Pada-rasa-sāra*, with the *bh.* of 'Govindadāsa' [*vide* PKT., Vol. iii, p. 277].

Though the poetic output of Bindu seems to be small, he, nevertheless, was a good writer of lyric poetry, be it Bengali or Brajabuli. The following Brajabuli poem is adduced as an illustration.

kaladhauta-kalevara gaura-tanu |
tachu raṅga-taraṅga nitāï janu ‖
koṭi kāma jini kiye aṅga-chaṭā |
avadhūta virājita candra-ghaṭā ‖
śacīnandana-kaṇṭhe suraṅga mālā |
tahi rohiṇī-nandana dīga ālā ‖
gaja-rāja jini dona bhāï cale |
makarākṛti kuṇḍala gaṇḍe dole ‖
muni dhyāna bhule satī-dharma ṭale |
jaga-tāraṇa-kāraṇa bindu bole ‖
[PKT. 2333; GPT., p. 47.]

«The person of Gaura is a statue of gold: of him Nitāī is, as it were, the babbling sportiveness. What a dazzling halo, that defeats ten millions of Kāma (*i.e.* the god of love)! The *avadhūta*[1] (*i.e.*, Nityānanda-prabhu) looks resplendent like the halo of the moon. A beautiful garland (of flowers) dangles at the neck of the Son of Śacī (*i.e.*, Gaurāṅga): there the Son of Rohiṇī[2] has lighted up the quarters. The two brothers walk on, putting to shame (the gait of) royal elephants: earrings shaped like the shark dangle at their ears. (At their loveliness) hermits are disturbed in their meditation, and the ideals of chaste women are shaken. Says Bindu, '(They are incarnated) for the sake of saving the world.'»

Govardhana-dāsa.

In PKT. there are sixteen poems by Govardhana, of which only two are written in Bengali [1241, 1478], and the rest in Brajabuli. Two of the Brajabuli poems are on Caitanya-deva [1454, 1573]. Another Brajabuli poem on the same subject occurs in GPT. [p. 390]. Eight of his Brajabuli poems describe the spring festivity (*holī-līlā*) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

From the following Brajabuli poem it will be evident that Govardhana was not a bad writer of Brajabuli.

bāje dig dig thai thaiyā hori raṅge |
kiśora kiśorī sakhinī meli
tapana-tanayā-tīre keli
sukhamaya ati madhu ṛtu-pati
rati-pati tathi saṅge
masṛṇa ghusṛṇa cubaka candana
yantra-randhre barikhe saghana
aruṇa-vasana lulita raśana
śrama-jala gala aṅge |
bīna muraja sara upāṅga
drimiki drimiki drimi mṛdaṅga
cañcala gati khañjana jiti
nṛtyati ati-bhaṅge ||

[1] 'Avadhūta' literally means a kind of *sannyāsin*. Nityānanda-prabhu was an *avadhūta* before he met the Master.

[2] Balarāma was the son of Rohiṇī. Nityānanda-prabhu was looked upon as an incarnation of Balarāma. Hence he is mentioned here as the son of Rohiṇī.

gāoye gamake gopī meli
gaurī gurjjarī rāmakelī
subhagā suhinī suhaï sāhānī
saṅgīta rasa-taraṅge |
yūthe yūthe yuvati-vṛnda
mājhe śohata gokula-canda
govardhana-hṛdi vardhana
karu mardana anaṅge ॥ [PKT. 1443.]

«In the *Hori*[1] sport drums are joyfully sounding, 'dig dig thai thiyā.' The Youth and the Girl, together with their female friends, are sporting on the bank of the Daughter of the Sun (*i.e.*, the Yamunā): it is the delightful Spring, the lord of the seasons, and with it (there is also) the lord of Rati (*i.e.*, the god of love). They (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa and the *Gopīs*) are throwing (at each other), through instruments, liquid *ghusṛṇa*,[2] *cubaka*[3] and sandal-paste in profuse quantity. Their rose-coloured garments and girdles are become dishevelled and loosened: drops of perspiration, due to (this) physical exertion, are falling away from their persons. (Various musical instruments such as) *vīṇā* (lute), *muraja* (drum), *svara* and *upāṅga* are being played upon: 'drimiki drimiki drimi,' the *mṛdaṅga* (drum) is sounding: quicker in steps than the *khañjana* bird, they are dancing in superb poses. The *Gopīs* are singing in *gamaka*[4] the melodies *Gaurī, Gurjjarī, Rāmakelī, Subhagā, Sohinī, Suhaï, and Sāhānī:* (they are floating) in the waves of music. The maidens have fallen in bevies, and in their midst the Moon of Gokula (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) stands resplendent. May He destroy lust that is strong in the heart of Govardhana.»

The poet Govardhana is generally identified with Govardhana-Bhāṇḍārī, a disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura. But this identification seems to be quite unjustifiable.

Ānanda (Ānanda-dāsa, Ānanda-candra).

In PKT. there is one poem with the *bh.* of 'Ānanda' [2872], and another with the *bh.* of 'Ānanda-dāsa' [2794]. The first poem is written in Brajabuli. There is also a rather long but very well-written

[1] Also called 'holi.'
[2] Also known as *kuṅkuma.*
[3] A kind of scented liquid.
[4] A musical style.

poem in mixed Bengali and Brajabuli, with the *bh.* of 'Ānanda-cāda' [2455], which also very probably belongs to the same poet. In the later portion of the Das MS. there a Bengali poem on Caitanya-deva, by 'Ānanda-candra.' I quote this poem below.

lāgyāche [1] nayāne nava-nāgara gorā |
kulavatī yuvatī satīra mana-corā ||

heri gorārṅ mukha-śaśī
nāhi jāni niśi-diśi
sadāi ānande [2] bhāsi
prema-rase bhorā ||

aruṇa-nayānerṅ koṇe
cāhe gorā yāra pāne
parāṇa sahite ṭāne
ki kariba morā |
ānanda-candrerṅ vāṇī
śuna he sakala-prāṇī
bhaja gorā dina-kṣaṇe
śacīra kiśorā || [Das MS.]

«The young gallant Gorā has struck my eyes: he is the stealer of hearts of young and chaste ladies of noble families. Looking at the moon-like face of Gorā I have no cognizance of time and space: intoxicated in ecstatic love I ever float in (the sea of) joy. If Gorā glances at anybody with a corner of his rosy eyes, he draws him (or her) in with his vitals: what can we do? Listen, all you creatures, to the word of Ānanda-candra: do you all worship Gorā, the young Son of Śacī, every day, nay, every moment.»

The following is the only Brajabuli poem by Ānanda, that we know of.

vṛṣabhānu-nandinī-ke śobhā banī |
baraṇa kiraṇa-chavi jini dāminī ||

caraṇa-kamala para nakhara-niśākara
mañjīra rañjita madhura-dhvani |
kiye vidhi adabhuta uru-yuga niramita
khīna-kaṭi nīlima-vasana-kasinī ||

[1] MS. reads 'lāgāce.' [2] MS. reads 'sadānande.'

kiye mukha-chanda jini koṭi canda
kāma-kāmāna bhāṅa mṛga-nayanī |
śyāma-bhujaṅginī veṇī-ke lābani
ānanda-mati-gati-dukha-haraṇī ‖ [PKT. 2872.]

« Charming is the beauty of the Daughter of Vṛṣabhānu (*i.e.*, Rādhā): her complexion defeats the dazzle of lightning flash. On her lotus feet the toe-nails (shine) like so many moons: her anklets tinkle sweetly. What a fine pair of legs the Creator has fashioned (for her): (her) waist (is) slender, and (she has) put on a blue-coloured *sāri*. What loveliness of face (she has), defeating ten million moons! Her eyebrows are but the bows of Kāma (the god of love): her eyes are like those of a doe. The beauty of her plaited hair (resembles that of) a black cobra: She is the remover of the entire sufferings of Ānanda. »

Navakānta.

There is a single poem, a Brajabuli one, by Navakānta, in PKT. [1453]. The poem describes the *Holī* (spring festival) sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. It is as follows:

añjali bhari phāgu lei sakhī-gaṇe |
rāï-kānu-aṅge deï ghane ghane ‖
dolā-pari duhū dolata bhāla |
gāota koï sakhī dhari tāla ‖
bāota kata kata yantra suraṅga |
bīṇa rabāb sara-maṇḍala upāṅga ‖
śobhita taru-kula vikaśita phula |
jhaṅkaru madhu-made saba ali-kula ‖
malaya-pavana bahe yāmuna-tīra |
nācata śikhi-kula kuñja-kuṭīra ‖
bilasaï tahī dola para kāna |
iha navakānta duhū-ka guṇa gāna ‖ [PKT. 1453.]

« Taking up handfuls of scented red dust the female friends (of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) throw them repeatedly on the persons of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The Couple swing themselves very nicely on the swing. Some friends sing, while beating measure. (Other friends) play upon various musical instruments (such as) *vīṇā* (lute), *rabāb* (a kind of lute), *svara-maṇḍala* and *upāṅga* (?). The trees around look charming with their blossoms

on, and all the bees, intoxicated with honey, hum (sweetly). A (sweet) southern breeze blows on the banks of the Yamunā: peacocks dance all around the garden house. There Kṛṣṇa is dallying on a swing. Thus sings Navakānta in praise of the Couple. »

Dīna-dāsa (Dīnahīna-dāsa).

There is a single poem (in Brajabuli) by Dīna-dāsa, in the *Kīrttanānanda* [p. 179]. In the same work there is also another poem with the *bh.* of 'Jñāna-hīna dīna' [pp. 13-14], which should be ascribed to Dīna-dāsa, unless we read the *bh.* as 'Jñānahīna-dāsa.'

The Brajabuli poem runs as follows:—

tuhū bidagadha-vara tanī [1] parāṇa |
āju śunala hāma manasija-nāma ||
añcala paraśite antara kāpa |
ramaṇī sahaye kiye etaye ālāpa ||
e hari e hari ataye hāmāra |
hāma kichu nā bujhiye o-rasa vicāra ||
ārati adhika nāhi kichu lābha |
dārida-ghara yācaka nāhi yāba ||
jala [2] binu jalacara nā karaye keli |
kalikā-kamale bhramara nahe meli ||
dekhaïte śunaïte pāō [3] tarāsa |
āju puchaba muñi priya [4]-sakhī pāśa ||
so yaba jānaye e-saba śūdhi |
dīna-dāsa kaha bhāla kaha būdhi ||

[Kīrttanānanda, p. 179.]

« [Rādhā has met Kṛṣṇa for the first time, and she is afraid of his aggressive love. She thus speaks to him:] 'You are the cleverest gallant but hard-hearted, while I first hear the name of love only to-day. When you take hold of my skirt my heart trembles; can a girl endure such an interview? O Hari! O Hari! so my (entreaty be to you). I do not know anything about this passion. Excessive desire (for me) does not gain anything: a beggar never goes to the house of a poor man. A fish never finds pleasure without water: a bee does not come to a lotus yet a

[1] 'kaṭhina?'
[2] Text reads 'janu.'
[3] Text reads 'nāo.'
[4] Text reads 'piyā.'

bud. On seeing and hearing (your behaviour and your talk) I feel afraid. I shall ask my dearest friend (about this). She may know (something about) such affairs.' Says Dīna-dāsa: 'You have spoken of a good idea.'»

In the PKT. there is a poem (in Bengali) with the *bh.* of 'Dīnahīna-dāsa' [288]. This poem which describes Caitanya-deva, is a very well written one, and its metre is rather remarkable. This metre occurs in a poem by Mathurā-dāsa [789], and this poem seems to have been the model of the poem in question.

I quote below this poem by 'Dīnahīna-dāsa.'

mari mari nā lo nadīyāra mājhāre o nā rūpa |
kevala mūratimaya pirītira kūpa ||
vadana-maṇḍala cānda jhala-mala
kanaka-darapaṇa nindite |
kapāla raṅgima bhurura bhaṅgima
atanu-sāraṅga khaṇḍite ||
nayana-yugala preme chala-chala
nāsā khaga-pati nindite |
cānda-mukhe hari bole kāndite kāndite
teji sukhamaya śayana āsana
nāma-ḍora gale śobhite |
sugandhi candana aṅge lepana
saṅkīrttana-dhūli-bhūṣite ||
bhāve gara-gara nā cine nija-para
pulaka-āvali-śobhite |
rā baliyā dhā bola nā pāre balite ||
bājaye mādala kara-hi karatāla
kali-kaluṣa-bhaya nāśite |
bhakata-gaṇa meli deï kara-tāli
phiraye cau-dike nācite ||
caraṇa-pallava bhakata-vallabha
kalapa-taru parakāśite [1] |
dīnahīna-dāsera mana rahila tāhāte || [PKT. 288.]

«Fine, O fine indeed is that loveliness at Nadīyā! It is a well of pure love incarnate. His face, resplendent like the moon, puts to shame

[1] Text reads 'prakāśite.'

a mirror of gold. His forehead is graceful, and his arching eyebrows shoot down the buck, the bodyless (god of love). His two eyes are liquid with (divine) love: his nose puts to shame that of the lord of birds (*i.e.*, Garuḍa). With tears (of universal love) he utters, in his moonlike mouth, the Name of Hari. He has discarded comfortable seats and bed: a rosary for telling the Name of God beautifies his neck. With fragrant sandal-paste he has painted his person: he is decorated as it were, with the dust (kicked up) in *Saṅkīrttana*. Engrossed deeply in *bhāva* (divine communion) he does not differentiate between friends and outsiders: he is beautified with horripilations (of joy). After uttering the syllable 'rā' he cannot utter (the remaining) syllable 'dhā' (*i.e.*, he cannot, out of ecstasy, fully utter the name of Rādhā). Drums (*mādala*) are being beaten, and cymbals are being sounded by hand—in order to destroy the fear of the defilement of the *Kali* age. Surrounded by his devotees he claps his hands, and moves about, dancing around. His twig-like feet that are dear to the devotees (he has) exposed, as the Wishing Tree: the heart of Dīnahīna-dāsa remains fixed thereat.

Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna seeks to identify this Dīnahīna-dāsa as 'Dīna Caṇḍīdāsa,' a probable disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura [*vide* PKT., Vol. V, p. 123]. But this assumption seems to be quite unwarrantable. This Dīnahīna-dāsa seems to be the same person as Dīna-dāsa. In fact the last line of the poem in PKT. should be read as follows:

dīna-dāsera mana rahila tāhāte.

This proposed reading no doubt improves the metre.

I do not know who this Dīna-dāsa was. It is too much of a guess to suppose that he was the same person as one 'Caṇḍīdāsa' who often prefixed the adjective 'dīna' before his name.

Nanda.

There are four poems—all in Brajabuli—by Nanda [PKT. 1045, 1046, 1648, 1733]. In one of these poems [1733] the poet mentions himself as *dvija* (Brahmin). This poem is quoted below as a specimen of the poet's composition.

dekha sakhi bariṣā-raṅga |
kona aparādhe ānāyala manamatha
kāṭite virahiṇī-aṅga ||

caṛi rahu kumbha kadamba-gajendrahi
bāndhala ketakī-tūṇa |
dhari dhanu-rāja sāja kari nīrada
garajala samare nipuṇa ||
dhari kharaśāṇa taṛita-asi cañcala
camakaï vāra-hi vāra |
cātaka-caya jaya- śaṅkha-śabada karu
dekhi sukhī śikhi-parivāra ||
maṇḍūka-gaṇa ghana karu raṇa-bājana
sārasa haṃsa viṣāṇa |
pavana-ka aṅga saṅga kari ūṛata
nava baka-pāti niśāna ||
ko kahe nīra tīra janu barikhata
murachita virahiṇī-vṛnda |
nāsā-pavane kemane dhanī bāraba
apaśosaï dvija nanda || [PKT. 1733.]

« O my friend, look at the conduct of the rainy season. The god of love has brought him down to hack the limbs of the love-lorn ladies (separated from their lovers), for some unknown offence. Riding on the head of the elephant, the *kadamba* tree in blossoms, he has fastened on the *ketakī* flower as his arrow-case. Taking up the immense bow, and putting on armour the cloud, clever in battle, started roaring. He held aloft the keen-edged and supple sword, the lightning, which flashed again and again. The host of *cātaka* birds raised the note of victorious conch-shells, and on looking at this the peacock families are delighted. Frogs shouted the prolonged battle-cry: cranes and ducks crackle like horns. The rows of herons, the new-comers, fly up with the wind as banners. Who says that (these are) rain-drops? They are falling like showers of arrows, and the entire conclave of love-lorn ladies are become senseless. How can the precious girl (*i.e.*, Rādhā) retain her breath? Thus condoles Nanda the Brahmin. »

In APR. there are four poems, one with the *bh.* of 'Nanda-dāsa' [435], and three with the *bh.* of 'Nanda' [436-438]. These poems are written in Brajbhākhā—at least they were, most probably, *originally written in* Brajbhākhā. It is therefore very unlikely that the Bengali poet Nanda could have been the author of these poems. I, therefore, think that these four poems must be ascribed to Nanda-dāsa, the Brajbhākhā poet

[*c.* 1567 A. C.], who was a disciple of Viṭṭhal-nāth [*vide* Grierson, the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān, p. 25].

'Nandana-dāsa.'

Two poems (in Brajabuli) with the *bh.* of 'Nandana-dāsa' have been incorporated in PKT. [1044, 1742]. These two poems are at par with the Brajabuli poems by Nanda. In fact two poems by Nanda [PKT. 1045, 1046], consecutive with one of the poems of 'Nandana-dāsa,' appear with the *bh.* of 'Nandana-dāsa' in the *Pada-rasa-sāra* [*vide* PKT., Vol. ii, p. 221]. I, therefore, am of opinion that 'Nandana' was the same person as Nanda.

Kṛṣṇakānta(-dāsa).

In PKT. there are twenty-nine consecutive poems by Kṛṣṇa-kānta [PKT. 2876-2904]. All these poems, except two [2888, 2898], are written in Brajabuli. One poem by Kṛṣṇa-kānta occurs in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 15f.]. I quote below one poem as a specimen.

kanaka-dharādhara-mada-hara deha |
madana-parābhava subaraṇa-geha ||
hora dekha aparupa gaura-kiśora |
kaichana bhāva nahata kachu ora ||
ghana-pulakāvali diṭhi jala-dhāra |
uradha nehāri racaï phutakāra ||
nirupama nirajana-rāsa-vilāsa |
acala su-sañcara gada-gada bhāṣa ||
kiye rava-mādhurī vāśī-nisāna |
ihā bali saghane pāte nija-kāna ||
sadana teji taba calata ekānta |
mīlaba aba jani kiye kṛṣṇakānta || [PKT. 2876.]

« His body removes the pride of a golden hill: it is a house of gold, and it defies the god of love. Look! there is the unrivalled young Gaura. One cannot fathom and ascertain what sentiment (he is possessed of). (His person is) profusely horripilated, and streams of tear flow down from his eyes: glancing upward he gives out cries of pain. (He is) unrivalled, (and he thinks about) the *Rāsa* sports in seclusion: he, a

(veritable) moving hill, talks falteringly. 'What sweetness of music the notes of the flute (of Kṛṣṇa emits)!' Saying this he hastens to listen intently. Leaving home he then goes out all by himself. Will Kṛṣṇa-kānta ever find him (*i.e.*, his grace)?»

Kṛṣṇa-kānta was a careful writer of Brajabuli [*cf.* PKT. 2879, 2891]. There are a few traces of Brajbhākhā in his writings. There is a Brajbhākhā poem with the *bh.* of 'Kṛṣṇakānta-tanayā' (daughter of Kṛṣṇa-kānta) in APR. [483]. It is quite likely that our Kṛṣṇa-kānta was the writer of this lyric.

I do not know who this poet Kṛṣṇa-kānta was. It is certain that he must have lived for some time at least at Vṛndāvana; otherwise we cannot account for the Brajbhākhā element in his poems. Kṛṣṇa-kānta is generally identified with the poet Uddhava-dāsa (ii) whose real name was Kṛṣṇakānta-Majumdār [*vide* PKT., Vol. v, p. 39]. But there is no justification for this assumption. No poet, so far as I know, has ever used his real name in the *bhaṇitā*, if he already possesses a pen-name.

Cuṛāmaṇi-dāsa.

There is a single poem—a Brajabuli one—by Cūṛāmaṇi-dāsa in PKT. [1142]. The *bhaṇitā* half of the last line is in Bengali, and looks suspicious. I think that Cūṛāmaṇi plagiarized this poem. I quote it below.

nācata mohana nanda-dulāla (mero kāna) |
nāsā-virājita motima-bhūṣaṇa
kaṭi-mājhe ghuṅguru rasāla ||
sundara ura-para vara ruru-nakha [1] pada-
saroruha ratana-mañjīra |
nava nava vatsa puccha dhari dhāota,
paṛata aṅgana [2] dhūli-dhūsara śarīra ||
marakata-cānda- mukura mukha-maṇḍala
parisara kuñcita alaka-hilola |
vraja-ramaṇī para- -bodha karāyata
nayana phirāota ādha-ādha bola ||

[1] *Ruru* really means a kind of antelope. But tiger may have been meant here. It was used as charm.

[2] The text as in the PKT., without variant reading, has 'patana aṅguli,' which gives no sense. It has been emended as above.

abhinava nīla- jalada jini tanu-ruci
kahila nahila rūpa kiye niramāṇa |
kata kata bhakata yatana kari dhyāota
sabe cūṛāmaṇi-dāserḍ ei nivedana ||

[PKT. 1142.]

«The charming Son of Nanda (—my Kṛṣṇa—) dances. An ornament of pearl hangs from his nose: sweet girdle-bells (tinkle) round his waist. A fine claw of the *ruru* (lies) against his lovely chest: on his lotus-feet (there are) jewelled anklets. He catches hold, by the tail, new-born calves, and runs after them: he falls down on the courtyard, and his body is grey with dust. His round face is like a mirror-like emerald moon: (over his head there are) thick curly locks. When the women of the Vraja fondles him, he rolls his eyes, and speaks lisping words. The complexion of his person defeats that of a newly formed dark cloud: his loveliness, fashioned (we know not) how, cannot be described. Many, many devotees contemplate (on him) with devotion. This is all that Cūṛāmaṇi-dāsa submits (to his feet).»

Jagamohana-dāsa.

There are two poems by Jagamohana-dāsa in PKT. One is written in Bengali [1127], and the other in Brajabuli [1517]. The Bengali poem occurs in the *Kīrttanānanda* also [p. 1], where, however, the last line runs thus:

āju-ka ānanda nāhika avadhi
e rādhāmohana-dāse ||

This reading is evidently wrong. Had this poem belonged to Rādhāmohana it must have occurred in the *Padāmṛta-samudra*, but it does not occur there. In the *Pada-rasa-sāra* it occurs with the *bh.* of Vṛndāvana-dāsa [*cf.* PKT., Vol. ii, p. 257].

The Brajabuli poem is quoted below.

rādhā mādhava saṅga |
biharaye prema-taraṅga ||
cau-diśe sahacarī meli |
maṇḍalī kari karu keli ||

kara-hi kara-hi bandhāna |
mājha-hi rādhā kāna ||
bahu-vidha rāgiṇī chanda |
gāota kata-hū parabandha ||
kata kata yantra rasāla |
bheda paṛana [1] dharu tāla ||
aparupa rāsa-vilāsa |
kaha jagamohana-dāsa || [PKT. 1517.]

« Rādhā and Mādhava (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) are disporting together in the waves of love. Their female companions have made a circle around, and are dallying together, hand in hand: Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are in the centre. They sing various melodies in various styles. (They play on) various sweet-sounding (musical) instruments. Various measures, repetition of the music rotation,[1] and time-beats are made. Wondrous is this *Rāsa* sport. So says Jagamohana-dāsa. »

Uddhava-dāsa (ii) [*c.* 1718 A.C.].

Uddhava-dāsa (ii) was a disciple of Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura [2] and a friend of Vaiṣṇava-dāsa, the compiler of the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. His real name was Kṛṣṇakānta-Majumdār.[3] He was Vaidya by caste, and his native place was Teñā-Vaidyapura in the district of Murshidabad, not very far-off from Katwa.

Uddhava-dāsa (ii) seems to have written extensively on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. In PKT. about a hundred poems with the *bh.* of 'Uddhava-dāsa' have been incorporated. A few of these songs might have been written by the earlier Uddhava-dāsa [see *supra* pp. 8[illegible]f.], but the bulk undoubtedly goes to the later Uddhava-dāsa. Very many other poems by 'Uddhava-dāsa' are to be found in modern anthologies such as the *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*, the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu*, and the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī*. Two poems by 'Uddhava-dāsa' have been cited in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp.

[1] PKT. text reads 'pavana': a variant gives *paṛana* which is the correct reading, giving sense.

[2] *Cf.* PKT. 1562, 3092.

[3] He had probably the title 'Tarkālaṅkāra' [Padāmṛta-samudra, Introduction, p. ix]. He was present at the great doctrinal controversy held in A. C. 1718 [see *supra* p. 275].

14f.=PKT. 1139, 1140]. There is only one poem by 'Uddhava' in the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* [445]. A mutilated version of this poem occurs without the *bhaṇitā* in PKT. [1987]. This poem therefore belongs to Uddhava-dāsa (i), as it is very likely that Vaiṣṇava-dāsa knew this poem in a mutilated form, which shows its comparative antiquity. Forty-one poems by 'Uddhava' occur in the *Mukundānanda*.[1]

Uddhava-dāsa (ii) was a very good writer of Bengali and Brajabuli lyrics. He was unquestionably one of the best poets of the early eighteenth century. The following poems will testify to his poetic achievement.

kālindīra kūla vikaśita phula matta ali-kula
paṛala-hi pāṭiyā |
nācata mora karata-hi sora anaṅga āgora
phirata-hī mātiyā ||
kānana-ora heraïte bhora kiśorī kiśora
prema-rase bhāsiyā
jhūlana-keli duhū-jana meli aṅga-aṅga heli
hṛdaya ullasiyā ||
kataye sutāna karata-hī gāna rākhata māna
yantra suraṅgiyā |
dei kara-tāla ati-surasāla kahe bhāli bhāla
bāoye mṛdaṅgiyā ||
kata rasa-bhāṣa kamala-vikāśa mṛdu mṛdu hāsa
duhū-candrānane |
uddhava-dāsa- cita-mana-āśa duhū-ka vilāsa
darśana kānane || [PKT. 1565.]

On the bank of the Kālindī (*i.e.* the Yamunā) flowers are blooming, and the intoxicated bees have fallen on them in rows. Peacocks are dancing and giving out cries: the god of love, in ecstasy, is abroad. On glancing at the fringes of the woodland the Youth and the Girl are charmed, and they swim in blissfulness. Both sit together, reclining against each other, on a swing, and their hearts are overjoyed. (Their female friends) are singing songs in exquisite melody, and excellent instruments keep harmony. (Some) clap their hands very charmingly, beating time and saying, 'Fine, O very fine!': (others) beat drums (*mṛdaṅga*). (The

[1] Information very kindly supplied by Babu Śivaratan Mitra.

Young Couple) talk so many nice things (to each other) : lotuses bloom when soft smiles (appear) on their moon-like faces. The desire of Uddhava-dāsa's heart and soul is a sight of (these) sports of the Couple in the woodland. »

The following poem is given as a specimen of Uddhava-dāsa's Bengali composition.

muralī re, minati kariye bāre-bāra |
śyāmera adhare raiyā rādhā rādhā nāma laiyā
tumi mene nā bājio āra ||
khalera vadane thāka nāma dhari sadā ḍhāka
guru-janā kare apayaśa |
khala hay yeï-janā se ki chāṛe khalapanā
tumi kene hao tāra vaśa ||
tomāra madhura-svare rahite nārilū ghare
nijhare jharaye du-nayāna |
pahile bājilā yabe kula śīla gela tabe
avaśeṣe āche mora prāṇa ||
ye bājilā seï bhāla itheï sakali gela
tore āmi kahilū niścaya |
e dāsa uddhava bhaṇe ye bāśīra gāna śune
se-jana tejaï kula-bhaya || [PKT. 821.]

« [Rādhā is sorely afflicted with the distracting, sweet notes of Kṛṣṇa's flute, which she hears from home. She thus addresses the flute not to send her any such calls:] ' O thou flute ! I beseech thee again and again : being in touch with Śyāma's lips do thou never talk again the name of Rādhā. Thou art at the lips of an evil person, and thou often soundest, calling my name : (at this) my people speak ill of me. If a man is evil-minded, can he ever forego his evil nature ? But why dost thou submit (thyself) to his exploitation ? For thy sweet notes I cannot stay at home : my two eyes are streaming down incessantly. When thou piped for the first time, my family life and good name were lost at once : now, at last (only) my life remains. Thou hast piped all this time—so far so good, as that has robbed me of every thing : this much I tell you sincerely.' Uddhava-dāsa says : ' (The girl) that ever listens to the notes of (Kṛṣṇa's) flute loses all concern for (her) good name.' »

Uddhava-dāsa (ii) seems to have been something of a scholar. Some of his poems show traces of Brajbhākhā.

Vaiṣṇava-dāsa [*c.* 1718 A.C.].

Vaiṣṇava-dāsa was the compiler of the cyclopaedic anthology *Pada-kalpa-taru.* He is said to have been a disciple of Rādhā-mohana-Ṭhākura. But in no poem of his Vaiṣṇava-dāsa mentions Rādhā-mohana. It is, therefore, unlikely that he was a disciple of Rādhā-mohana. Still he must have been a great admirer of that scholar poet, as he has quoted almost all the poems of the latter in the *Pada-kalpa-taru.*[1] Vaiṣṇava-dāsa's real name was Gokulānanda-Sena. He was a Vaidya, and he lived at Teñā-Vaidyapura, a village a few miles to the north of Katwa. He was a good musician. He, along with his friend Kṛṣṇa-kānta (Uddhava-dāsa ii) was present at the great Vaiṣṇava theological controversy wherefrom Rādhā-mohana emerged victorious [*vide* GPT., Introduction, pp. 137ff.].

There are twenty-six poems by Vaiṣṇava-dāsa in PKT., including the poem with the apparant *bh.* 'Vaiṣṇava-caraṇa.' The proper reading of the last line should be thus :

nibedaye vaiṣṇava caraṇe ॥

That this poem was written by Vaiṣṇava-dāsa is clear from a comparison with the subsequent poems. All these poems are written in Bengali, excepting a few written in Brajabuli.

Vaiṣṇava-dāsa was a mediocre poet at best. The following is an instance of his Brajabuli writing. It embodies a prayer to Rādhā.

yamunā-ka tīra samīra iha mṛdu
ali piku pañcama gāne ।
duhū-rase bhora ora nāhi pāoba
bilasaba naṭana-vidhāne ॥

sadaye, hena kiripā habe tora ।
so rasa-vaibhava rāsa-mahotsava
darśana hoyaba mora ॥

sahacarī-saṅge raṅge kari maṇḍalī
yaba-hū nācāyabi śyāma ।
taba sakhī-iṅgite tantra saṅāriyā
yantra deyaba tuyā ṭhāma ॥

[1] Vaiṣṇava-dāsa mentions the *Padāmṛta-samudra* in the concluding poem in PKT. [*vide* Vol. iv, p.262].

hena kiye hoyaba mahati su bolaba
hariṣa-hi herabi moy |
hāma taba amiyā- sarovare ḍūbaba
śunaba madhura svara [1] soy ||

nācaba naṭavara- śekhara nāgara
gāyabi tuhū sakhī-saṅge |
tuhū nācabi yaba nāgara gāoba
kata kata rāga-taraṅge ||

aïchana anudina śrī-vṛndāvane
bilasabi rāsa-vilāsa |
iha durabhaga jana so kiye daraśana
pāoba vaiṣṇava-dāsa || [PKT. 3079.]

« On the bank of the Yamunā there is a soft breeze here, and bees and cuckoos are (humming and) singing sweetly. Engrossed in the devotion for the Couple I shall have no end (of blissfulness), and I shall delight in dancing sportiveness. O Merciful One! will you ever feel such pity for me? Shall I ever be blessed with a sight of that great *Rāsa* festivity, a wealth of joyfulness? Making a circle of it, with your companions, when you shall make Śyāma dance, I, beckoned by a friend, shall string up musical instruments, and then give them over to you. Shall it ever happen that I shall sing [2] mighty fine (?) and you, delighted, shall glance at me? I shall then be plunged into a pool of ambrosia, and shall hear that sweet voice (of you). When the Gallant, the Master Dancer, will dance you shall sing in company of your friends; and when you shall dance the Gallant will sing (songs) in various melodies. You shall thus enjoy the *Rāsa* sports daily at Śrī-Vṛndāvana: will this unfortunate fellow, Vaiṣṇava-dāsa, have ever a sight of it? »

There is a Bengali poem [3] with the *bḷ.* of 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa,' in the *Kīrttanānanda* [p. 5], which does not occur in the *Pada-kalpa-taru.* There is also another such Bengali poem [4] in the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [854], which too does not occur in the *Pada-kalpa-taru.* The question then naturally arises whether there was a second Vaiṣṇava-dāsa. Had

[1] Text reads 'saba.'
[2] *Literally* 'talk.'
[3] This poem describes a joyful scene on Kṛṣṇa's birth.
[4] This poem is on Caitanya-deva.

these two songs belonged to the compiler of the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, it is really very strange that they had not been incorporated in that cyclopaedic anthology. There is also another point in favour of the above hypothesis. The compiler of the *Kīrttanānanda* was probably anterior to Rādhā-mohana and Vaiṣṇava-dāsa. At least it is certain that the anthologies of Rādhā-mohana and Vaiṣṇava-dāsa were unknown to Gaurasundara-dāsa, the compiler of the *Kīrttanānanda*. When there is not a single poem by Rādhā-mohana in the latter work, is it reasonable to suppose that its compiler had incorporated a poem by Vaiṣṇava-dāsa? Vaiṣṇava-dāsa was certainly not a prolific writer, and from this we can safely conclude that no poem by him, outside the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, existed. I would, therefore, ascribe these two Bengali poems to a second—possibly an earlier—Vaiṣṇava-dāsa.

Gaurasundara-dāsa (ii).

Gaurasundara-dāsa (ii) was the compiler of the *Kīrttanānanda*. This anthology, as published,[1] seems to be incomplete. As it is, it contains six hundred and fifty-one poems by about sixty different writers. Gaurasundara's own contribution numbers seven only [pp. 22f., 23, 23f., 27, 28f., 29, 30].[2] Two of these poems are in Brajabuli [pp. 28f., 29] and the rest in Bengali. The following poem is quoted as a specimen.

śuna bhāi kṛṣṇa-saṅkīrttana |
śunaïte kīrttana tanu-mana suśītala
vijayī karaye tri-bhuvana ||
cīta-darapaṇa karaye janu mārjjana
mahābhavānale janu vāri |
maṅgala-kumuda vidhu kiraṇa pradāpaï
jīvaṇa bhela vidyā-nārī ||
ānanda jaladhi karaye ati vardhana
deha deha pīyūṣa-pāna |
aïchana aparupa nā dekhi nā śuniye
kayala gaura prema-dhāma ||

[1] Edited by Banoyārī-lāl Gosvāmī and published from the Murshidabad Hitaiṣī Press, Saidabad, under the patronage of the Maharaja of Cossimbazar.

[2] In PKT. there are five poems by 'Gaurasundara-dāsa.' I have shown *supra* [pp. 281f.] that this Gaura-sundara was a different poet.

uttama adhama dīna hīna jana
kayala prema-rase bhora |
hena saṅkīrttana majhu mana nā darabe
gaura-sundara pāpa jora ‖ [Kīrttanānanda, p. 29].

« Listen, O brother, to the *Saṅkīrttana* of Kṛṣṇa. On hearing *Kīrttana* mind and body are both soothed: it makes the three worlds triumphant. It cleanses, as it were the mirror-like heart: it (acts) like a (heavy) shower on the great conflagration of worldliness. As the moon it sends its rays to the lily-like (spiritual) good: real knowledge, like a young woman, is revived. It makes the sea of blissfulness swell up vastly: it supplies drinks of ambrosia. Such an unparalleled thing—unseen and unheard of before—Gaura, the store-house of (divine) love, has introduced. Good, bad and low—he has made all people intoxicated with (divine) love. But such *Saṅkīrttana* does not melt my heart! Gaura-sundara is a great sinner. »

The first half of the above poem is but a paraphrase of the introductory verse from the *Śikṣāṣṭaka* by Caitanya-deva. It is as follows:

ceto-darpaṇa-mārjanaṃ bhava-mahādāvāgni-nirvāpanaṃ
śreyaḥ-kairava-candrikā-vitaraṇaṃ vidyā-vadhū-jīvanam |
ānandāmbudhi-vardhanaṃ prati-padaṃ pūrṇāmṛtāsvādanaṃ
sarvātma-snapanaṃ paraṃ vijayate śrī-kṛṣṇa-saṅkīrttanam ‖
[Padyāvalī 22; CC. iii. 20].

Bhagavatī.

Two poems (apparently in Brajabulī) by 'Bhagavatī' occur in the Tipperah fragment of the *Gīta-candrodaya*. The *bhaṇitā* lines[1] of the two poems run thus—

bhagavatī-manoratha pūraṇa bhela ‖
bhagavatī kahala yugala-rasa-beli ‖

Śaśi-nātha.

One poem by 'Śaśi-nātha' occurs in the Tipperah fragment of the *Gīta-candrodaya*. The poem begins with this line[1]—

kata nā kauśala keli-mandire.

[1] Only these lines of the poems are known to me, and so I cannot cite the entire poems.

Mathureśa-dāsa [*ante* 1771 A.C.].

In the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* of Dīnabandhu-dāsa there are two Brajabuli poems by Mathureśa-dāsa [206, 317]. This poet must be distinguished from the poet Mathurā-dāsa who has been discussed *infra*.

One of the Brajabuli poems is quoted below as a specimen.

madana-madālase śyāmara bhora |
śaśi-mukhī hāsi hūsi karu kora ||
rahi rahi cumbaï nāha-bayāna |
cānda cakora milala eku-ṭhāma ||
adhara nirakhi rasa pibi ageyāna |
amiyā-mahodadhi ḍūbala kānha ||
dhani dhani rādhā-rasa-nirabāha |
vaśa bhela akhila-kalā-guru nāha ||
nayana ḍhulāḍhuli lahū lahū hāsa |
aṅga helāheli gada-gada bhāṣa ||
rasa-bhare dūre rahu śikhaṇḍa pīta-vāsa |
duhū-rūpa-nīchani mathureśa-dāsa ||

[Saṅkīrttanāmṛta, 206].

« Śyāmara (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) was deeply engrossed in love's ecstasy. The moon-faced (Rādhā), smiling, seated him on her lap, and at intervals she kissed on the lips of her Lover. It seemed as if the moon and the *cakora* have come together. Glancing on her lips and drinking their sweetness (he became almost) senseless: Kṛṣṇa was drowned, as it were in the ocean of the blissfulness. Unique, unique is the perfect love of Rādhā, (as) her Lover, a master of all accomplishments, has been conquered ! Rolling (their) eyes they smiled softly: reclining against each other they talked in choked voice. Besides himself in love's bliss his peacock-feather crest and his yellow cloak were thrown away. Mathureśa-dāsa is but a paltry offering to avert any ill of the loveliness of the Couple. »

Mukunda-dāsa [*ante* 1771 A.C.].

In the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* there are two poems with the *bh.* of 'Mukunda-dāsa.' One is written in Brajabuli [105] and the other in Bengali [135]. The Brajabuli poem occurs with some variations in the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-*

cintāmaṇi [243] with the *bh.* of 'Śaṅkara Ghoṣa' [see *supra*, p. 251]. I quote below the Bengali poem. A slightly different version of it occurs without the *bhaṇitā* in PKT. [1347]. The poem is simple and as such quite interesting.

nīla-kamala-dala śrī-mukha-maṇḍala
īṣata madhura mṛdu hāsa |
nava-ghana jini kālā galāe guñjāra mālā
ābhīra-bālaka cāri-pāśa ||

maṇimaya jhuri māthe aṅgada valayā hāthe
ratana-nūpura rāṅgā-pāy |
hāsite khelite yāy godhūli-dhūsara gāy
barhā uṛiche manda-bāy ||

navīna rākhāla hari naṭavara-veśa dhari
śiśu-saṅge garuyā carāy |
bhūṣaṇa banera phula ki diba tāhāra tula
mukunda ānande guṇa gāe ||

[Saṅkīrttanāmṛta 135.]

« The round of his lovely face (resembles) the petal of a blue lotus: (on his lips is playing) a soft, sweet smile. (He is) dark as a fresh cloud: there is a chaplet of *guñjā* seeds round his neck. Cowherd boys are seated round him. A jewelled tiara (*jhuri*) lies over his head; there are armlets and bracelets on his arms, and jewelled anklets (are girt) round his rosy ankles. He moves about laughing and frolicking: his body is covered all over with dust (kicked up) by the cattle. The peacock feather (on his crest) is nodding in soft breeze. As a young cowherd, Hari, robed as a clever dancer, pastures the cattle in company of the (cowherd) boys. His ornaments are wild flowers: how can I compare them (*i.e.*, their charm)? Mukunda, in joy, sings in his praise. »

Nanda-kiśora [*ante* 1771 A.C.].

In the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* there are six poems by Nanda-kiśora. Of these poems only one is in Bengali [320], and the remaining five in Brajabuli. Nanda-kiśora seems to be the grandfather of

Dīnabandhu-dāsa, the compiler of the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* [*op. cit.*, p. 170].

locana-lore ghori ghana mṛgamada
kalama karala nakha-candra |
pada-nakhe dāsa- kabaja pahū likhaïte
harakhi dharala pada-dvandva ||
sundarī antare ulasita bhela |
ādara sudhaï sudhā-rasa-bādare
viraha-tāpa dūra gela ||
kare kara bāraïte antara dara-dara
rasavatī pulakita-aṅga |
upajala prema- vihaga-pati tachu bhaye
bhāgala māna-bhujaṅga ||
nāha-bāha dhari athira kalevara
madana-jaladhi-jala-bhaṅge |
bhāṅgala māna- janita bhaya mādhava
kore pasārala raṅge ||
bhuja-bhuja baṇḍhana niviṛa āliṅgana
vadana vadana eku meli |
nanda-kiśora heri anumānaï
duhū-ka kalaha kie keli ||

[Saṅkīrttanāmṛta 395.]

« Making thick musk paste with tears of his eyes he used his moon-like (fore-) finger as a pen. While going to write out a deed of (livelong) slavery on her toe-nails, he, in a gust of joy, took hold of her feet. The lovely girl (*i.e.*, Rādhā) became joyful at heart: with the rains of ambrosia (in form of) unadulterated confessions of love her pangs of estrangement were (at once) removed. When she was pushing away his (aggressive) hands with hers, her heart was melted, and the loving girl horripilated in joy. Thus appeared (in the scene) love as the lord of birds (*i.e.*, Garuḍa): afraid of him love-sulk, a snake, slipped away. When she caught the arm of her Lover her person was tossing heavily on the waves of the sea of desire. Mādhava's apprehensions due to her pique were removed, and he, lovingly stretched out his arms (for an embrace). Their arms joined up together in a close embrace: their faces came in touch. On seeing this Nanda-kiśora conjectures whether it was a quarrel or a love-scene. »

One Bengali poem by 'Nanda-kiśora' occurs in a dated (B.E. 1091 = 1684 A.C.) manuscript [CU. MS. 2491]. This poem is an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu. It runs as follows :

rāma-avatāre anuja lakṣmaṇa
kṛṣṇa-avatāre balarāma |
ibe kali-kāle gaura-agraja
nitāï tāhāra nāma ||
abadhauta-veśe phire deśe deśe
chāṛi naṭavara-veśa |
bhāi bhài bali āveśe avaśa
āïlā gauṛa-deśa ||
rādhāra anuja anaṅga-mañjarī
jāhnabā yāhāra nāma |
tāra prāṇa-pati nitāï-sundara
seï se āmāra prāṇa ||
ayācita-jane yāci prema dei
bhinna-para nāhi [1] kare |
ke āche emana dayāra ṭhākura
[tarā]ye [2] nanda-kiśore ||

[CU. MS. 2491, Song 13.]

« In the Rāma incarnation (he was born as) the younger brother Lakṣmaṇa, and in the Kṛṣṇa incarnation as Balarāma. Now in the days of *Kali* [3] (he has been born as) the elder brother of Gaura: his name is Nitāi. Leaving aside his magnificent robes [4] he wonders about from land to land in the garb of an *avadhūta*. [5] Mentioning his brother he is overwhelmed with joy: he has come to the country of Gauḍa. The younger sister of Rādhā (was) Anaṅga-mañjarī whose name is (now) Jāhnabā: her beloved husband is Nitāi the beautiful, and it is he that is my life. To the unasking people he bestows (divine) grace out of his own accord: he makes no distinction between outsiders (and his own followers). Who is there another such pitying master that can save Nanda-kiśora ? »

1 'nāhika' MS.
2 There is a *lacuna* here in MS.
3 Sin, darkness.
4 *Literally* robes of a master dancer.
5 A type of *yogin*.

If this Nanda-kiśora be the same poet as has been incorporated in the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta*—and this hypothesis is extremely probable—he must have flourished in the second half of the seventeenth century [*ante* 1684 A. C.].

Candra-śekhara (ii) [*ante* 1771 A. C.].

In the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* there are two poems by 'Candra-śekhara' [406, 429]. These two poems are written in Brajabuli, and are quite common-place.

This Candra-śekhara is distinct from the earlier poet Candra-śekhara who was, in all probability, a contemporary of Caitanya-deva. No Brajabuli poems of Candra-śekhara (i) are known. He has been discussed *infra*.

Candra-śekhara (ii) seems to be quite distinct from the late eighteenth century poet Candra-śekhara. This Candra-śekhara (iii) was a distinguished writer of Brajabuli poetry [see *infra*].

Dīnabandhu-dāsa [*ante* 1771 A. C.].

Dīna-bandhu was the compiler of the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta*. It has been published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad from a unique MS. copied in Śaka 1693 (=1771 A.C.). The anthology contains four hundred and ninety-one poems by more than forty different poets. The compilation seems to have been made in the early eighteenth century, if not still earlier, as all well-known and major early eighteenth century poets such as 'Hari-vallabha,' Rādhā-mohana, Narahari-dāsa (ii), Uddhava-dāsa (ii), 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa' and others are unrepresented. 'Caṇḍīdāsa' too is entirely absent, which is a strong point in favour of its comparative antiquity.

Out of these nearly five hundred lyrics Dīna-bandhu himself contributed more than two hundred, of which about a hundred are written in Brajabuli. The *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* does not apparently contain the entire output of Dīna-bandhu. Other poems, undoubtedly from the same hand, are found elsewhere [*e.g.*, Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī 512-514; Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu, pp. 94ff.].

Dīna-bandhu was a descendant of the renowned Sarkār family of Śrī-khaṇḍa, as is evident from the *bh.* of several of his poems. His father

was Vallavīkānta-ṭhākura, grandfather Nandakiśora-ṭhākura, and great grandfather Hari-ṭhākura [Saṅkīrttanāmṛta, p. 170]. Dīna-bandhu was a Sanskrit scholar. He has quoted several Sanskrit verses from various works, mainly Vaiṣṇava treatises. He was a careful writer of Brajabuli, though he has sometimes injected a few peculiarly Bengali words to give some zest to the poem, in the manner of the later poet Śaśi-śekhara. Dīna-bandhu was a good metrician, and as regards the short tripping *tripadī* Brajabuli verse he can be said to be the predecessor of Śaśi-śekhara in this respect [*vide* Song 310 quoted *infra*].

The following poems are quoted as specimens of Dīna-bandhu's Brajabuli composition :

dhanī sājata śyāma-manohara veśa |
kasi kānaṛa-chāde bādhāola keśa ||
sīthi sindūra candana-bindu-chaṭā |
ravi-maṇḍala beṛhala cāda-ghaṭā ||
mṛganābhi-vicitrita gaṇḍa-dukūla |
vara-veśara lambita nāsika-mūla ||
ghana-kuṅkuma ghori lepi kuca-bhāra |
tahi śobhita sundara motima-hāra ||
kara-kaṅkaṇa heri anaṅga bibhora |
kaṭi kiṅkiṇī-maṇḍita nīla nicola ||
pada-paṅkaja rañjita yāvaka-raṅga |
dīna-bandhu nehāri praphullita-aṅga ||

[Saṅkīrttanāmṛta 44.]

« The precious girl (*i.e.*, Rādhā) is putting on garments that will charm the heart of Śyāma. She has done up her hair tight in *kānaṛa* (*karṇāṭa*) style. There is vermilion paint on the parting of her forelocks, and prints of sandal paste (on her forehead): (this looks fine as if) the halo of the moon has encircled the orb of the sun. Both her cheeks are decorated with musk paint: a precious nose-drop dangles from the tip of her nose. Her breasts are smeared with thick *kuṅkuma* paste, and over them rests a charming necklace of pearls. Glancing at her wristlets the god of love is overwhelmed (in love). Her waiste is beautified with a girdle with tiny bells, and a blue-coloured bodice (sits on her bust). Her lotus-like feet are painted with lac-dye: on looking at them Dīna-bandhu's body horripilates (in joy). »

calala dūtī kuñjara jiti
manthara-gati-gāminī ।
khañjana-diṭhi añjana miṭhi
cañcala-mati-cāhanī ॥
jaṅgala-taṭa pantha-nikaṭa
āsi dekhila gopinī ।
gopa-saṅge śyāma raṅge
goṭhe kayala sājanī ॥
nā pāñā virala ākhi chala-chala
bhābiñā ākula gopikā ।
nāha-ramaṇa- darašana binu
kaïche jīyaba rādhikā ॥
yāmuna-kūla campaka-mūla
tāhī basila nāgarī ।
dīna-bandhu paṛala dhanda
haïla bipada-pāgalī ॥

[Saṅkīrttanāmṛta 310.]

«Then the *dūtī* (messenger) set out: she walked in a slow gait that put to shame the elephant. Her eyes, like a pair of *khañjana* birds, (were) painted nicely with collyrium, and her glances (betrayed) her restless mind. The cowherd maiden came up to the path (that passes) by the fringes of the woodland, and she found that Śyāma had left for the pasture fields in company with the cowherd boys. Failing to find him alone the maiden became perplexed, and her eyes became moist. How can Rādhikā survive without a sight of her lover, her lord? The young woman sat down at the root of a *campaka* tree on the bank of the Yamunā. Dīna-bandhu was in a fix: she[1] lost her head at this calamity.»

Dīna-bandhu was probably the first to introduce the practice of mixing Sanskrit forms with Brajabuli. It introduced novelty in Brajabuli literature that had became almost drab. Śaśi-śekhara took it up, and he proved a great success. The following is an instance of mixed Sanskrit (often pseudo-Sanskrit) and Brajabuli versification:

nija-mandira teji gataṃ jhaṭakaṃ ।
cala-kuṇḍala-maṇḍita-gaṇḍa-taṭaṃ ॥

[1] The poet here imagines himself to be the *dūtī*.

mada-matta-mataṅgaja-manda-gatā |
jaṭilā-pada-paṅkaja-dhūli-natā ||
nata-kandhara heri gataṃ subalaṃ |
jaṭilā jaya deï bale kuśalaṃ ||
[1] madhurādhara-bāta-hi śūdha-miṭhaṃ |
guru-garvita śuni ta deï piṭhaṃ ||
subalākṛti rāï vane gamanaṃ |
rahu [2] dīnabandhu-kalitaṃ bhaṇanaṃ [3] ||
[Saṅkīrttanāmṛta 151 ; APR. 510.]

« [Rādhā is anxious to meet her Lover. But she cannot do it for fear of Jaṭilā, her ever vigilant sister-in-law. Subala, her brother (or, according to the Gosvāmins, her cousin), comes to her help. She exchanges her garments with his. Subala stays at home as Rādhā, while Rādhā, impersonating Subala, goes out without any hindrance to meet Kṛṣṇa.] Leaving her own home she walked quickly away: her cheeks looked glorious with the earrings oscillating. Her gait was slow, like an elephant in rut: she bent low to take the dust of Jaṭilā's feet (as a ceremonial of formal leave-taking). Glancing at 'Subala' walking away with 'his' neck bent low Jaṭilā bade 'him' godspeed and wished 'him' hale. The words from Jaṭilā's sweet lips were pure honey as it were: she (*i.e.*, Rādhā in the garb of Subala) heard (these words) of her senior, and turned her back to her. Rāï, dressed as Subala, went to the woodland. May (these) words spoken by Dīna-bandhu endure. »

I have shewn previously that a Bengali song by 'Nanda-kiśora' occurs in a dated (B.E. 1091 = 1684 A.C.) MS. [CU. MS. 2491]. In all probability this Nanda-kiśora was Dīna-bandhu's grandfather. In that case we can safely assume that Dīna-bandhu flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century at the latest.

Nayanānanda (ii) [*c.* 1731 A.C.].

Nayanānanda, the younger poet, flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century. He was a Brahmin and a learned man too. His

1 madhurādhara-vāda sudhā sama mīṭha |
guru garvita chardita deola pīṭha || [Saṅkīrttanāmṛta, p. 53.]
2 'pahu' [*loc. cit.*]. 3 Variant 'bhavanaṃ.'

native place was Maṅgala-Ḍihi in the Birbhum District. He completed his *Preyo-bhakti-rasārṇava*, a Vaiṣṇava theological work in Bengali verse in *Śaka* 1653 [=1731 A.C.].[1]

One Brajabuli poem by Nayanānanda (ii) has deen quoted in the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa*, Vol. i [p. 180 vi]. In the Calcutta University Library there is a MS. anthology of poems by Nayanānanda (ii) [CU. MS. 2135]. This MS. contains seventy-two lyrics, all on the Vraja theme. Only one poem [34] contains another poet's *bhaṇitā*, *viz.*, that of 'Gakula-candra.' Besides the last poem is incomplete, which shows that the MS. is fragmentary. I quote below one Brajabuli poem from this MS.

niśi-mukhe sukhe hari chāndata gāï |
gābī-dohana keli karata mādhāï ||
dohata gābī sakhā-gaṇa saṅga |
ghara-ghara gāgarī bolata raṅga ||
go-dohana keli karu avasāna |
sahacara āsi puna bheṭala kāna ||
e nayanānanda kahaï juṛi hāta |
eke eke mīlala sakala-sāgāta ||

[CU. MS. 2135, Song 71.]

« In the evening Hari (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa), at his pleasure, strapped the hind-legs of the (milch) cows: Mādhava (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) enjoys the sport of milking the cow. He milks the cows in company of his boy friends. The (milking) pan is making a joyful sound. When he finishes the sport of milking the cows a friend comes in and meets Kṛṣṇa. This (fellow), Nayanānanda, says with folded hands that all the boy friends come in one by one. »

The poem quoted in the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa*, Vol. i, is cited below. It contains some pseudo-Hindi forms, and is, therefore, interesting from linguistic view-point.

uṭha gopāla	prātaḥ-kāla	mukha nehāri tera |
rajanī ava-	-sāna bheï	kāma bheï mera ‖
uṭhata bhānu	dekhata kānu	rajanī geï dūra |
bālaka saṅge	melata raṅge	rauhiṇeya bala-vīra

[1] *Vide* Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. i, p. 117.

ei śrīdāma dāma sudāma saṅgi-gaṇa tera |
pūrata veṇu dhāota dhenu āṅginā bharala mera ||
nanda-rāṇī pasāri pāṇi bālaka lei kora |
mukha nehāri duḥkha bisari kiye sukha jāni ora ||
śyāma-candra candra udita nāśala hṛdi ghora |
heriyā vayana kahiche nayana uṭha kānāi mora ||

[Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. i, p. 180 vi.]

« 'Get up, Gopāla (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa)! It is morning. Let me have a sight of your face. The night is over, and my (morning) duties are all finished. Just look, Kṛṣṇa, the sun is up and the night has far receded. This here Śrīdāma, Dāma, Sudāma, (in fact) all your companions are blowing their pipes. The cattle are about to start (for the pasture field), and my courtyard is crowded.' (Saying this) the consort of Nanda extended her arms and took Kṛṣṇa on her lap. On looking at his face she forgot her cares and anxieties and was filled with indescribable joy. Śyāma-candra (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa), the moon, was arisen, and he dispelled the darkness at (human) heart. Looking at his face Nayana says, 'Get up, dear Kṛṣṇa mine.' »

Gokula-candra (Gokulānanda ii).

There are a few stray leaves from a manuscript showing old handwriting, in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Library [VSP. MS. (Bundle) 2416]. These leaves—three in number—are from a manuscript which was apparently an anthology of Gokula-candra's poems. These leaves contain eight complete poems as well as fragments of a few more. The poet has used the following *bhaṇitās*—'Gokula-candra,' 'Gokula-cāda,' 'Gokula,' and 'Gokula-dāsa.'

I quote below specimens of Gokula-candra's Bengali and Brajabuli compositions. The following poem, written in Brajabuli spiced with pseudo-Sanskrit forms, occurs in a modern anthology under the *bh.* of 'Yadunandana' [Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī 751].

dhairyaṃ rahu dhairyaṃ rahu
gaccham mathurāye |
ḍhūṛaba purī pati-pratīkṣe
yāhā daraśana pāoye ||

ati-bhadraṃ ati-bhadraṃ
śīghraṃ kuru gamanā |
avilambe mathurā-purī
praveśa karila lalanā ||

eka ramaṇī alpa-bayasī
nija-prayojana pūche |
nanda-jāta kṛṣṇa khyāta
kāra bhavane āche ||

śuni so dhanī kahaï vāṇī
so kāhā̃ hiyā̃ [1] āaba |
vasu [2]-daivakī-suta kṛṣṇa khyāta
kaṃsa-ripu mādhava ||

soï soï koï koï
daraśane majhu āsā |
gokula-candra kahe jāo jāo
oï ye ucca bāsā [3] || [VSP. MS. 2416.]

« [Kṛṣṇa has come to Mathurā, and he has no intention of returning to Vṛndāvana. One of Rādhā's friends requests her to be a little more patient, and she comes to Mathurā in quest of Kṛṣṇa.] 'Be patient, be patient: I am going to Mathurā. I shall search through the city for (thy) Lover. I shall go wherever I can meet him.' 'Very well; go there without delay,' (Rādhā replied). Without delay the lady came to the city of Mathurā. (She found) a woman of young age, (whom) she thus asked for her necessary information: 'At whose house dwells (he who is) born of Nanda and (is) famed as Kṛṣṇa?' On hearing (this) that precious girl spoke (these) words: 'How should he come here?' The son of Vasu [4] and Daivakī, [5] known as Kṛṣṇa and also as Mādhava, (who is) the foe of Kaṃsa (lives here).' 'It is he! It is he! Where (is he)? Where (is he)? I have come to see him (*literally* my advent is for seeing him).' Gokula-candra replied: 'Go, go (over there). That lofty (house) (is his) residence.' »

This poet Gokula-chandra was the same person as Gokulānanda (ii),[6] the brother of Nayanānanda (ii). My ground for this conclusion is this.

[1] 'kahai' MS. [2] Hypermetrical. [3] 'aiche ucca āśā' MS.
[4] Vasudeva. [5] Devakī.
[6] One Bengali poem by Gākulānanda (ii) has been quoted in the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa*, Vol. p. 117.

In a manuscript anthology of the younger Nayanānanda's poems one and only one poem by Gokula-candra occurs [see *supra*, p. 312]. This should not have happened unless Gokula-candra was very closely connected with Nayanānanda (ii). This Gokula-chandra or Gokulānanda (ii) must have then flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century.

The following poem is cited as a specimen of Gokula-candra's Bengali composition :

lalitāra sane rāï gelā nija-ghara |
śyāma-preme gara-gara sabhaya [1] antara ||
niravadhi camakita nahe gṛha-kāja |
saṅare bandhura guṇa teji saba-lāja ||
hena-kāle āilā tathi vraja-vadhū-gaṇa |
rāï bale bhāla haila āilo sakhī-gaṇa ||
piyā binu hiyā mora dharaṇe nā yāy |
tāhāra darśane puna sṛjaha [2] upāyā ||
jaṭilāre viśākhikā kare nivedana |
sūrya pūjite āju kariba gamana ||
sāmagrī [3] āniñā deha uttama kariā |
sakhī-sane cale gokulā [4] rādhāre laïyā [5] ||

[VSP. MS. 2416, Song 7.]

« Accompanied by Lalitā Rādhā returned home : her heart, full of love for Śyāma, was timid. She was perpetually nervous : her household duties could not be done. Leaving aside all vestiges of bashfulness she mentally dwelt on the virtues of her Lover. Then came there in a body the youngwomen of the Vraja. (To them) Rādhā said : ' It is well that you have come, my friends. Without my Beloved my heart cannot be pacified. So do you devise some way for (my) meeting him.' (At this) Viśākhikā (came to) Jaṭilā and said (to her) : ' We are now going out to worship the sun ; do please supply us with choice things (for offering to the deity).' In company of those friends Gokula set forth, escorting Rādhā. »

[1] 'sahmaï' MS. [2] 'sṛja' MS.
[3] 'sāmagi' MS. [4] 'gokule' MS.
[5] This line may thus be emended to give a better sense :
sakhi-sane cala gokule rādhāre laïyā 'Do please escort Rādhā along with her friends to Gokula.'

Jagadānanda (ii).

Jagadānanda (ii) was the son of Gokulānanda, the brother of Nayanānanda (ii) of Maṅgala-ḍihi. Jagadānanda (ii) like his father was a learned Brahmin *adhyāpaka* (professor). Jagadānanda (ii) had written a few vernacular poems, some of which may have been mixed up with those of Jagadānanda (i) of Jophlāi, who was by far a superior poet. Two Brajabuli poems by Jagadānanda (ii) have been cited in the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa*, Vol. i [pp. 179f., 180 vii]. One is quoted below as a specimen. Jagadānanda's poems (and that of his uncle Nayanānanda also) bear the ring of Śaśi-śekhara's style.

ārati kare	nanda-rāṇī	bālaka-mukha heri ।
gāota nava-	nāgarī saba	rākhāla sakala gheri ॥
rambhā-phala	ghṛta-pradīpa	puṣpa-racita thāli ।
sundarī-gaṇe	huloti dei	śiśu-gaṇa kara-tālī ॥
rākhi śiṅgā-veṇu	yaśodā māi	kore nila duno bhāī ।
mākhana dahi	deï kṣīra	khāoye rāma kānāï ॥
sakala śiśura	mukha tuli tuli	yaśomatī cumā khāoye ।
maṅgala puche	nanda-ghoṣa	jagadānanda gāoye ॥

[Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. i, p. 179f.]

« Looking at the boy's (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa's) face the consort of Nanda performed the (auspicious rite of) *ārati*. (Standing) around the cowherd boys the young girls chanted (prayers). A plate (was) filled up with plantain fruits, a lamp burning *ghee*, and flowers. Lovely girls raised the auspicious cry, and children clapped their hands. Taking off the horn-pipe and the flute, mother Yaśodā took the two brothers on her knees. She gave them butter, curd and cream, and Rāma and Kṛṣṇa partook of it. Holding up the face Yaśomatī kissed every child, and Nanda-ghoṣa asked them all well. So sings Jagadānanda. »

Vrajānanda (ii).

According to the compiler of the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa* [Vol. i, p. 180] Vrajānanda (ii), the grandson of Nayanānanda (ii), wrote a few vernacular lyrics.

Vṛndāvana-dāsa (ii).

Through the courtesy of Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna I have been able to examine a MS. from Śrī-khaṇḍa, which is an anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics, entitled the *Rasa-niryāsa* by one Vṛndāvana-dāsa. The work is unfinished. It contains twenty-nine sections called *Āsvāda* (taste). The thirtieth section was begun with the heading 'atha śrīkṛṣṇasya āpta-dūtī' ('now the section on Śrī-Kṛṣṇa's confidential female messenger'), but the author or the copyist did not proceed further.

The introductory portion of the *Rasa-niryāsa* contains thirteen Sanskrit verses. The first twelve verses are odes to the compiler's *guru*, Caitanya-deva, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, Nityānanda-prabhu, Advaita-prabhu, Sanātana-Gosvāmin, Rūpa-Gosvāmin, Śrī Jīva-Gosvāmin, Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa, Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, and the Vaiṣṇava devotee respectively. The first stanza in which Vṛndāvana-dāsa pays his respects to his *guru* Rādhā-mādhava, is as follows :

vṛndāraṇya-nikuñja-madhya-vasatiṃ kāruṇya-vistārakaṃ
dhīraṃ bhakta- janaika-bhakti-rasadaṃ lāvaṇya-sārojjvalaṃ |
kṛṣṇākūla (?)-vilāsi-lālasa-paraṃ premno nidhiṃ sat-priyaṃ
rādhā-pūrvam ahaṃ namāmi satataṃ śrīmat-prabhuṃ mādhavam ||

« I bow low perpetually to (my) glorious master Mādhava (whose name begins) with the (word) Rādhā, who has made his residence within a grove (*nikuñja*) at Vṛndāvana, who extends his mercy (to all), who is calm, who is the sole dispenser of the bliss of devotion (*bhakti*) to the devotee, who is resplendent with supreme gracefulness,.....who is the receptacle of Divine Love, and who is dear to the pious (and holy) people. »

The last stanza shows that the compiler cited poems by the illustrious predecessors only, and no poems by his contemporaries have been incorporated in it. This verse runs thus :

mahābhāgavatair yāni gītāni racitāni tu |
dāsa-vṛndāvanenaiva saṃgṛhyante kramād iha || [13]

« Those songs which had been composed by great devotees are being quoted here in (proper) order by Vṛndāvana-dāsa. »

Now the compiler of the *Rasa-niryāsa* quotes, among others, poems by Ratipati-dāsa, Gopāla-dāsa and 'Hari-vallabha.' Ratipati, as we have seen, was the *guru* of Rāmagopāla-dāsa, the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* [*c.* 1673 A. C.]. Gopāla-dāsa was the same person as the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*, and 'Hari-vallabha' was, as is universally believed, no other person than Viśvanātha-Cakravartin who flourished in the second half of the seventeenth century [see *supra*, pp. 258f.]. Vṛndāvana-dāsa, the compiler of the *Rasa-niryāsa* must have then flourished, at the earliest, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Nor can he be dragged down much later, as no poems by Rādhā-mohana and other early eighteenth century poets are cited in the anthology. Vṛndāvana-dāsa belonged to the school of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, as is manifest from his paying respects to Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa and Śrīnivāsa. The absence of any reference to Narahari-Sarkār (though one or two poems of his have been quoted) or to Raghunandana precludes his connection with the Śrīkhaṇḍa school. Vṛndāvana-dāsa mentions that his *guru* was Rādhā-mādhava and that he lived at Vṛndāvana. The poet Rādhā-mohana had a brother called Rādhā-mādhava. Was he the same person as the *guru* of Vṛndāvana-dāsa ?

The extant portion of the *Rasa-niryāsa* contains poems by about forty poets. These are as follows :

Ananta-dāsa, Abhirāma-dāsa,[1] Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa (Caṇḍīdāsa), Balarāma-dāsa, Bhāgavatānanda, Campati, *Drija* Śyāma-dāsa (Śyāma-dāsa), Giridhara-dāsa, Gopāla-dāsa, Gopīkānta-dāsa, Govinda-dāsa, Ghanaśyāma-dāsa, 'Hari-vallabha' (Vallabha-dāsa), Jagannātha-dāsa, Jñāna-dāsa, Kavirañjana, Kavi-śekhara (Śekhara kavi), Locana-dāsa, Mādhava, Mānasiṃha-dāsa, Murāri, Narahari-dāsa, Narottama-dāsa, Nayanānanda, Nīlāmbara,[2] Ratipati-dāsa, Rāmacandra, Rāmānanda-Vasu, Rāmānanda-dāsa, Śrī-vallabha, Vasanta, Vaṃśī-vadana, Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa (Vāsudeva), Vidyāpati, Vṛndāvana-dāsa,[3] Yadunātha, Yadunandana-dāsa.

I have made a unique find in the *Rasa-niryāsa*. It is a poem on the Śakti theme by Govindadāsa Kavirāja. Although it has been recorded in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and similar works that Govindadāsa, before his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism by Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, was a Śakti worshipper and had written poems on that deity no such poem was hithertofore available. The *Prema-vilāsa*, as a matter of fact, quotes the last couplet from such a poem [Prema-vilāsa xiv]. The poem that I have come across in the

[1] Only one poem has been quoted ; it is the same as APR. 467.

[2] Only one poem has been quoted ; it occurs in APR.

[3] Vṛndāvana-dāsa (i), the author of the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*.

Rasa-niryāsa is this very poem quoted in entirety. There, however, it has been made to serve as an ode to Advaita-prabhu who was believed to have been an incarnation of Śiva (and Śakti). (The MS. of the *Rasa-niryāsa* came to my hand when the chapter on Govindadāsa Kavirāja had been already printed off. So I could not quote the poem in its proper place. I quote it here). The poem describes the *Ardhanārīśvara* aspect of Śiva and Śakti.

hema-hima-giri duï-tanu chiri
ādha-nara ādha-nārī |
ādha ujara ādha kājara
tinaï locana dhāri ||
dekha dekha duhū milita eka gāta |
bhakata [pūjita] bhuvana-vandita
bhuvana mārati tāta (?) ||
ādha phaṇimaya ādha maṇimaya
hṛdaye ujora hāra |[1]
ādha bāghāmbara ādha paṭṭāmbara
pindhana duhū ujiyāra ||
nā devī[2] kāminī [nā] deva kāmuka
kevala prema-prakāsa[3] |
gaurī-śaṅkara caraṇa-kiṅkara
kahaï govindadāsa || [Rasa-niryāsa 3.]

« A hill of gold and snow—(such is) the beauty of the persons of the Two (in embrace): one half is male, the other half female. Partly fair and partly (painted with) collyrium,—there are the three eyes. Look, look—the Two are in close union, having a single body. They are worshipped by the devotees and are revered by the (whole) world :..... One half has serpents (as decorations), the other has jewels: there is a magnificient necklace on the chest. One half (wears) a tiger's skin while the other (is draped) in silk garment: resplendent is the robe of the Two. Neither is the Goddess a woman, nor is the God a lustful man: it is a manifestation of pure Love. So says Govindadāsa, the servant at the feet of Gaurī and Śaṅkara. »

It is quite possible that Vṛndāvana-dāsa (ii), the compiler of the *Rasa-niryāsa* was the same person as the poet Vṛndāvana-dāsa (iii), but

[1] MS. 'ādha maṇimalaya hṛdaye ujara hāra.'
[2] MS. 'deva.' [3] MS. 'parakāśa.'

there is nothing to substantiate this except the fact that both Vṛndāvana-dāsas were posterior to Visvanātha-Cakravartin and were probably contemporaneous.

Abhirāma-dāsa.

One poem, written in corrupt Brajabuli and Bengali, by Abhirāma-dāsa has been quoted in APR. [467] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. This poem has been cited in Vṛndāvana-dāsa's *Rasa-niryāsa*. The poet is otherwise unknown.

Nīlāmbara.

One Brajabuli poem by Nīlāmbara occurs in the *Rasa-niryāsa*. This poem as well as another has been quoted in APR. [550, 551]. A third I have found in a stray MS. leaf [VSP. MS. 2322]. All these poems are written in Brajabuli. The last poem, being unpublished, is cited below as a specimen of Nīlāmbara's composition.

rādhā-vinaya-karuṇā śuni kāna |
jara-jara-antara sajala-nayāna ||
pāṇi pasāri dhanī kore [1] nela |
vadana cāhi hari haraṣita bhela ||
pīta-vasane pada [2] deï [3] muchāï |
vacana-amiyā-rase tūṣala rāï ||
cita-dhaïraja dhara nā bhābiha āna |
nīlāmbara kahe kara avadhāna ||

[VSP. MS. 2322.]

• On hearing the pitiful supplications of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa's heart ached, and his eyes became moist. Stretching out his arms he took the beloved girl in his embrace, and glancing at her face he, Hari, was full of love. He wiped her feet in his yellow-coloured garment, and he delighted Rādhā with the nectar of his speech. (He said:) 'Have patience at heart, and do not think otherwise.' Nīlāmbara adds: 'Do please take note (of this).' •

[1] MS. 'kari.' [2] MS. 'pade.' [3] MS. 'dey.'

Bhāgavatānanda.

One Brajabuli poem by 'Bhāgavatānanda' has been cited in APR. [556] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. The same poem occurs also in the first issue of the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* (A. C. 1849). A Bengali poem by Bhāgavatānanda occurs in the *Rasa-niryāsa*. This poem, a description of the Great Master at Nīlācala, is quoted below. The description is simple and vivid, and seems to have emanated from the pen of an eye-witness.

sonāra baraṇa gā cale vā nā cale pā
bhāva-bhare paṛe āulāiyā | [1]
gobindera kāndhe bāhu diyā cale mahāprabhu
nāce pahu hari bolā baliyā ||
pulake pūrita tanu kadama-keśara janu
mukha heri [paṛe] kata janā |
āveśe avaśa haiyā bhuja-yuga paśariyā
kola dite pāsare āpanā ||
nīlācalera mājhe bhakata-samāje sāje
saṅkīrttana aṅga parakāśa |
kahe bhāgavatānanda mane baṛa ānanda
janame janame haba dāsa || [Rasa-niryāsa.]

« His limbs have the complexion of gold, his legs are not in his control, and for the rush of ecstatic feelings he falls in a swoon. Supporting his arm on the shoulder of Govinda the Great Master walks on, shouting (now and then), 'Take the name of Hari!' His person is all horripilation, like a prickly *kadamba* flower, and, on eyeing his face innumerable men [fall down in a fainting fit]. Under gushing ecstasy he stretches his arms and runs forward to embrace (people), but he loses self-consciousness (immediately). At Nīlācala he shines among the host of his devotees: he has displayed the essential item (of devotional practice), *Saṅkīrttana*. Bhāgavatānanda, with great joy in his heart, says, 'I will be his slave in all my subsequent births.' »

Vṛndāvana-dāsa (iii).

It is extremely doubtful that Vṛndāvana-dāsa, the author of the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* had written any poem, Bengali or Brajabuli, on the

[1] MS. 'alvāiyā.'

Kṛṣṇa topic. There are two, or rather three such poems in PKT. [468, 573, 2312], of which the first two are written in Brajabuli. The language of these two poems is elegant Brajabuli, not the slip-sod Brajabuli we meet with in the poems on the Caitanya-Nityānanda theme. There are four Bengali songs on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, with the *bh.* of 'Vṛndāvana-dāsa,' in KPS. [pp. 103-106, 178]. These songs are of the narrative type, and they show that their author must have written a complete lyrical work consisting of songs on some topic or topics of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. Another Bengali poem on the same theme occurs in VSP. MS. 2051 (dated B.E. 1236).

Now it is remarkable that none of these songs on the Vraja theme, whether Brajabuli or Bengali, occur in the earlier works on anthologies such as the Das MS. (older portions), the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*, the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* and the *Bhakti-ratnākara*. This is most strange, especially in view of the fact that one at least of these poems [PKT. 468, which we have previously ascribed to Vṛndāvana-dāsa (i) (*vide supra*, pp. 47f.) but which is quite unlikely in view of the facts given here] is one of the best poems in the whole range of Brajabuli literature. We are, therefore, constrained to surmise that the younger Vṛndāvana-dāsa must have been posterior to Viśvanātha-Cakravartin, the author of the *Kṣaṇadā*. It may be—though there is no proof forthcoming—that this younger Vṛndāvana-dāsa was the same person as the compiler of the *Rasa-niryāsa* [see *supra*, Vṛndāvana-dāsa ii].

In the *bhaṇitā* of the other Brajabuli poem [PKT. 573] the poet mentions "Rāya Raghupati Vallabha." Nothing is known about this Rāya Raghupati-vallabha, or Rāya Raghupati *and* Vallabha.

Bhārata-candra [A.C. 1712-1760].

Bhārata-candra, the best known poet of the eighteenth century, had written a few poems in Brajabuli. These poems which number about half a dozen, occur in his *Annadā-maṅgala*. These poems are mostly secular. Bhārata-candra was one of the first writers to use Brajabuli in secular poetry. There are also four Sanskrit lyrics in that work as well as a few more in Hindi.

CHAPTER XII

LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POETS: POETS OCCURRING IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY ANTHOLOGIES AND MANUSCRIPTS

Candra-śekhara (iii).

Candra-śekhara (iii) was a son of Govindānanda-Ṭhākura of the village Kā̆ḷṛā or Kā̆ḷṛā in the district of Burdwan. The poet flourished in the second half of the eighteenth century [*vide* Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. iii, pp. 153ff.]. Candra-śekhara and his younger brother Śaśi-śekhara were the last great poets of Brajabuli literature. They introduced new notes into the otherwise drab and monotonous form to which Brajabuli literature had fallen since the early seventeenth century. These poems became at once popular. As metricians the Śekhara brothers were inferior to none except perhaps Govindadāsa Kavirāja.

Candra-śekhara's (and also Śaśi-śekhara's) poems do not occur in any of the known anthologies. They however occur in the *Pada-rasa-sāra.*[1] By far the biggest collection of Candra-śekhara's poems is to be found in the *Nāyikā-ratna-mālā* which seems to have been the joint work of the two brothers [see *infra*]. The *Nāyikā-ratna-mālā* contains forty-five songs by Candra-śekhara. Of these thirty-eight are written in Brajabuli, six in Bengali and one in Sanskrit. A few additional poems are to be found in APR., in the *Kīrtana-gīta-ratnāvalī* and in the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa,* Vol. iii, pp. 155f.

The following poems, quoted as specimens, will suffice to shew that Candra-śekhara was a good metrician and that his poems are

[1] The *Pada-rasa-sāra* was probably compiled in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

entirely free from the monotonousness of the contemporary Brajabuli literature.

[1] kāhe tuhũ kalaha kari kānta-sukha tejali
aba se basi royasi kāhe rādhe |
meru-sama māna kari ulaṭi phiri baïṭhali
nāha yaba caraṇa dhari sādhe ||
taba-hũ uhe nāgari bhartsana [2] kari tejali
māna bahu ratana kari gaṇalā |
aba-hũ tuhũ dharama-patha- kāhinī ugārasi
rokhe hari vimukha bhaï calalā ||
kātare tuā caraṇa-yuga beṛhi bhuja-pallave
nāha nija-śapati bahu dela |
[3] nipaṭa-kuṭi-nāṭi kaṭu kaṭhinī bajarā-bukī
[4]kaïche kara caraṇa para ṭhela ||
aba-hũ saba-sakhinī tava nikaṭe nāhi baïṭhaba
henaï avicāra yadi karali |
candra-śekhara kahe [5] kataye samujhāyala
[6] majhu vacana upekhi prema bhāṅgali ||
[KGR. 231 ; APR. 247.]

[Rādhā is in a mood of love-sulk. Kṛṣṇa apologised and supplicated, but she spurned him away. At this unreasonable capriciousness of Rādhā one of her friends chastises her in this manner.] 'Why did you quarrel (with Kṛṣṇa) and deprive yourself of the company of your Lover? Why do you now sit aside and weep? Adopting a sulky mood as (heavy as) the (Mount) Meru you turned your back when your Beloved supplicated you, touching your feet. Then again, my belle, you spurned him by cruel words: you considered your pique as a very precious thing. Yet you talked of the moral code and piety, and your Lover, offended and cross with you, walked away. The gallant (Lover), in distress,

[1] The metre of this poem is the same as in Jayadeva's song :
vadasi yadi kiñcid api danta-ruci-kaumudī
harati dara-timiram ati-ghoram |

[2] It should be pronounced as 'bhasana' or 'bhachana.'

[3] Compare in Jayadeva's song : 'iti caṭula-cāṭu-paṭu cāru mura-vairiṇaḥ.'

[4] APR. reads 'kaïche jiu dharali kara ṭhela.'

[5] APR. reads 'e dhani abodhini.'

[6] APR. reads 'piriti hena kāhe tuhu tejali.'

caught hold of your two feet with his tender (*literally* twig-like) arms and sweared by himself again and again : how could you then, O peevish, quarrelsome, bad-tempered, hard-hearted woman !—how could you push away his hands (placed) on your feet ? Now we all, your friends, will not sit near you, as you have done such an unjust act.' Candra-śekhara says: 'I remonstrated with you ever so much: but you paid no heed to my advice and have broken off (your) love.' »

svarṇa-varṇa vivarṇa bhaï gela
pūrṇa-vidhu-mukha tūrṇa nīrasala
nayana-paṅkaja nīra-hi bhīgala
hiya-ka ambara go ।
māna bhela tuyā prāṇa-gāhaka
nahile upekhasi rasika-nāyaka
yo bhela so bhela aba-hũ abudhini
āpana sambara go ॥

yata-hi mana maha kopa upajata
tata-hi kopa ki karite samucita
pāye paraṇata yo jana hoyata
tāhe ki tejiye go ।
hīta kahaïte ahita mānasi
suhṛda-gaṇe tuhũ vairī jānasi
ataye dekhi śuni nīrave rahi nahi
ūtara dījiye go ॥

ye bine yuga-śata nimikha hoyata
se tuhe hari hari minati kata śata
karala kara juṛi gala-hī ambare
dharaṇī lūṭhala go ।
aïche haṭhapana palaṭi baïṭhali
kānta-vadana nitānta nā herali ,
candra-śekhara bhaṇaye bhāvini
pirīti bhāgala go ॥

[Nāyikā-ratnamālā 48.]

[Rādhā is in pique, and she has spurned Kṛṣṇa away. At this her friend says as follows :] « (Your) golden complexion has faded. Your fullmoon-like face has in no time lost its freshness. The clothes at your chest is thoroughly wet with the tears of your lotus-eyes. Your

attitude of sulk has become your executioner; otherwise how could you spurn the accomplished Lover? However, let that be. Now, O brainless girl, just check yourself (from further mischief). Is it proper to show as much anger as bubbles up at one's heart? Can he—who falls at the feet—be ever kicked out? If you are given good advice, you take it bad. You look upon your friends as so many foes. Therefore we see and hear everything, but keep silent: we do not interfere. He, Hari, without whom a moment seems like ages, begged your thousand pardons. With folded palms and with the hem of his cloth around his neck he grovelled in dust. And such is your indiscretion that you turned your back (against him), and never gave even a single glance at your Beloved's face! Candra-śekhara says: '(My) girl, your love perishes.' »

The following poem is written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Brajabuli. Rādhā questions Uddhava in Sanskrit, and the latter replies in Brajabuli.

kas tvaṃ śyāmala-dhāmā |
hari-kiṅkara hāma uddhava-nāmā ||
adya hariḥ sa kutra |
madhu-pure basaï baraja-jana-mitra ||
kurute kiṃ madhu-nagare |
kaṃsa-ka pakṣa dalana kari bihare ||
puna puna pūchaï gorī |
candra-śekhara kahe prema-bhikhārī ||

[Nāyikā-ratnamālā 54.]

« 'Who are you, O dark-complexioned one!' 'I am a servant of Hari, Uddhava by name.' 'Hari—where is he now?' 'He, the friend of the people of the Vraja, now resides at Madhu-pura (Mathurā).' 'What is he doing there?' 'He moves about suppressing the members of Kaṃsa's party.' The fair damsel thus put repeated questions. So says Candra-śekhara, hankering after divine love. »

Śaśi-śekhara.

Śaśi-śekhara was the younger brother of Candra-śekhara (iii) [see *supra*, p. 323]. Besides his full name Śaśi-śekhara used as his *bhaṇitā* both 'Śaśī' and 'Śekhara.' It is quite probable that a few of his poems with the last *bhaṇitā* have been mixed up with those of Rāya Śekhara.

Śaśi-śekhara was a good poet of Brajabuli, and his style is identical with his brother's, with this exception that Śaśi-śekhara's Brajabuli was distinctly inferior to that of his brother. But Śaśi-śekhara certainly excelled his brother in the rapartee style and in the manipulation of the light, tripping metres, though his poems do not show such a variety of long metres as his brother's poems do. The popular appeal of the lyrics of Śaśi-śekhara seems to have been greater than that of his brother, and this he fully deserves.

The number of Śaśi-śekhara's poems in the *Nāyikā-ratnamālā* is fourteen only, of which five are written in Brajabuli and the rest in Bengali. A few additional poems are to be found in APR., the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* and the *Kṛṣṇa-vadāmṛta-sindhu*.

The following are specimens of Śaśi-śekhara's composition in Brajabuli :

ati-śītala malayānila
manda-madhura-bahanā |
hari-baïmukha hāmāri aṅga
madanānale dahanā ||
kokilā-kula kuhu kuharai
ali jhaṅkaru kusume |
hari-lālase tanu tejaba
pāoba āna janame ||
saba saṅginī ghiri baïṭhali
gāota hari-nāme |
yaïkhane śuno taïkhane uṭhe
nava-rāgiṇī gāne ||
lalitā kore kari baïṭhata
viśākhā dhare nāṭiyā |
śaśi-śekhare kaho gocare
yāota jīu phāṭiyā || [APR. 257.]

[Rādhā's distress is acute, as she is separated from Kṛṣṇa owing to his sojourn at Mathurā.] « (She says,) 'The breeze from the south, fanning slowly, is very cool, but (it is) burning my person, rejected by Hari, with the anguish of passion. The cuckoos are raising their notes, and bees are humming over flowers. I shall give up the ghost, longing for Hari and shall be born again.' (Then) all her companions

sat around her, and sang the name of Hari. No sooner had she heard it than she sat up, with her love rekindled at the name of Hari. Lalitā took her on her lap, and Viśākhā felt her pulse. Śaśi-śekhara cried aloud that his heart was about to burst (in grief). »

The following is a question and cross-question between the two Lovers :

nīlotpala- mukha-maṇḍala
jhāmara kāhe bhela |
madana-jvare tanu tātala
jāgare niśi gela ||
sindūra-hi parimaṇḍita
caurasa kāhe bhāla |
govardhane gaurī-ka sebi
sindūra tathi nela ||
nakhara-kṣata vakṣasi tuyā
deyala kona nārī |
kaṇṭake tanu kṣata-vikṣata
tuhō ḍhūṛaïte gori ||
nīlāmbara kāhe pahirali
pītāmbara choṛi |
agraja saṅe parivartita
nandālaye bhori ||
añjana kāhe gaṇḍa-sthale
khaṇḍana kāhe adhare |
uttara-prati- uttara dite
parājaya śaśi-śekhare || [APR. 256.]

« (Rādhā.) Why does your blue-lotus-like face look flushed ?

(Kṛṣṇa.) The fever of passion had heated up (my) body, and the whole night passed without a wink of sleep.

(Rādhā.) Why is your broad forehead smeared with vermilion paint ?

(Kṛṣṇa.) Having worshipped (the Goddess) Gaurī at Govardhana, I had (my forehead painted) there (with holy) vermilion.

(Rādhā.) Who is the girl that has imparted the prints of finger-nail upon your chest ?

(Kṛṣṇa.) When searching for you, O lovely one! my person has received scratches from thorns.

(Rādhā.) Why have you put on blue-coloured clothes, discarding (your) saffron-coloured robes ?

(Kṛṣṇa.) At Nanda's place I must have unwittingly changed them with those of my elder brother (*i. e.*, Balarāma).

(Rādhā.) But why are there marks of collyrium upon your cheeks, and why should there be bite-marks on your lips ?

Śaśi-śekhara is at a loss to meet this cross-question. »

Viśvambhara-dāsa (ii).

Viśvambhara-Ṭhākura, or Viśvambhara-dāsa (ii), was a resident of the village Muluk in the district of Birbhum. Viśvambhara was a disciple and admirer of the poet Śaśi-śekhara. The two poems with the *bh.* of 'Viśvambhara' in PKT. cannot be the work of our poet, because no poem of his *guru*, who was by far a greater poet, occurs in it. It is, therefore, quite unlikely that poems of a very minor poet like Viśvambhara could have been incorporated therein. Moreover one poem with the *bh.* of 'Viśvambhara-deva' occurs in the Das MS. [1653 A.C.]. So there must have been an earlier Viśvambhara, who was responsible for the two poems in PKT. [see *infra* under Viśvambhara-dāsa (i).]

The following poem which, according to Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhitya-ratna, has been recovered in the author's manuscript, undoubtedly belongs to the later Viśvambhara. The poem, moreover, breathes the flavour of Śaśi-śekhara's poetry.

jāgī ho kiśorī gorī rajanī bhai bhore |
rati-alasa-me ninda jāota rasa-rāja-hi kore ||
nīla-vasana maṇi-abharaṇa bhai geo bithāre |
sāsu nanadī eisē vivādī mana-me nāhi tere ||
nagara-ka [loka] jāgi baïṭhaba keise jāoba pure |
aruṇa-udaya hoï āota śārī śuka phukāre ||
śuni nāgara uṭhi baïṭhala nāgarī kari kore |
viśvambhara-dāsa jhāri puri lei ṭhāri rahata dvāre ||

[Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. iii, p. 184.]

« 'Be awake, O young beauty, the night has dawned. Tired out with amorous sports you are sleeping on the lap of the King of lovers. Your blue skirt and ornaments and jewellery are all rumply. Do you

not remember that your mother-in-law and her daughter are such pests? The people of the town will be (soon) awake. How can you then come home? The dawning of the young sun is imminent, and the *śārī* and *śuka* (birds) are (already) chirping.' On hearing this the Lover got up and sat with the Girl on his lap. Viśvambhara-dāsa, having (previously) filled up a jug (with water), remained standing at the door.»

Another Brajabuli poem by Viśvambhara-dāsa (ii), an ode to his *guru* Śaśi-śekhara, has been cited in the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa*, Vol. iii [p. 153].

Rohiṇīnandana-dāsa.

Fifteen poems by Rohiṇī-nandana are found in a MS. about a hundred years old [Cat. MS., Vol. ii. 1, p. 98]. These poems were published in the *Vīrabhūmi* [B. E. 1320, pp. 692-699]. Four of these poems are written in Brajabuli. Rohiṇī-nandana's poems are worse than commonplace. One is quoted below as a specimen.

bhaja mana rādhe kṛṣṇa govinda |

yā-ko nāma-hi mocita bhava-bandhana hota-hi prema-ānanda ||
e śuka śaṅkara sanaka sanātana anta nāhi pāoye ananta |
yā-ko nāma-hi tri-bhuvana-maṅgala aharniśi japata-hi santa ||
yā-ko nāma-hi surāsura-nara-vara muni-gaṇa karata dheyāna |
yā-ko nāma rauta(?) nārada sadā bhuvana phirata kara gāna ||
veda-hi yā-ko yaśa guṇa gāota karata-hi nāma-ki āśa |
tā-ko nāma-hi pāpi-jana vañcita rohiṇīnandana-dāsa ||

[*Op. cit.*, p. 694.]

« Pray, O (my) mind, (uttering the names) 'O Rādhā! O Kṛṣṇa! O Govinda!' His Name absolves (one from) the bondage of birth and gives bliss. Śuka, Śaṅkara, Sanaka, Sanātana and Ananta (*i.e.*, Balarāma) do not find his limit. His Name which purifies the three worlds the saints always mutter. His Name the best of gods, *Asuras* and men, and the host of hermits meditate upon. Singing his Name Nārada roams about in the universe. His glory and greatness the Vedas sing of, and they (*i.e.* the *ṛṣis*) base their hopes on his Name (alone). All sinners, (including) Rohiṇīnandana-dāsa are deprived of it.»

Pītāmbara Mitra

Śacī-nandana (ii).

Śacīnandana-Vidyānidhi, the poet, was an inhabitant of the village Cānak in the district of Burdwan. He was the author of the *Ujjvala-candrikā*, an adaptation in Bengali verse of the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* by Rūpa-Gosvāmin. The *Ujjvala-candrikā* [1] was completed on the 10th Pauṣa 1707 *Śaka* (=December 1785 A. C.). Only four poems in the work bear the *bhaṇitā*, and hence they alone are entitled to be recognised as full-fledged lyrics (*padas*). One poem is quoted below as a specimen.

yā-kara pada-dyuti darašane nigaraba
koṭi koṭi manamatha bhela |
kuṭila dṛgañcala bidagadhi biharaṇi
tri-bhuvana mana hari nela ||
abhinava-jaladhara- sundara-ākṛti
karata-hi parama vihāra |
tri-jagata-yuvatī-ka bhāgi-vara-sādhana
mūrati siddhi avatāra ||
so ava nanda-ki nandana nāgara
tohe karu ānanda bhora |
śrī-śacīnandana o nava-mādhurī
baraṇi nā pāola ora || [*Ujjvala-candrikā*, p. 3.]

« At a sight of the loveliness of his feet millions and millions of gods of love have lost their pride. His askance glances, his playfulness and sportiveness have taken possession of the heart of the three worlds. Beautiful as a fresh cloud laden with water, he is engaged in high sports. The highest attainment of the supreme fortune of young women in the three worlds, he is success incarnate. May he, now, the gallant Son of Nanda, make you full of ecstatic joy. Srī Śacī-nandana does not find limit in describing his ever fresh gracefulness. »

One of his lyrics is written in Sanskrit [*op. cit.*, p. 182f.].

Pītāmbara-dāsa (ii) [d. A.C. 1806].

Pītāmbara Mitra,[2] the great grandfather of Raja Rajendralala Mitra, the renowned indologist and antiquarian, was a devout Vaiṣṇava. He

[1] It has been edited and published by Babu Śivaratana Mitra from Suri (no date).

[2] *Vide* 'Kavi Sankarṣaṇa-dāsa' by Mṛṇāla-kānti Ghoṣa in the *Kāyastha-Patrikā* for Kārttika, 1339 B. E. See *infra* under 'Sankarṣaṇa.'

obtained the title of 'Raja Bahadur' and the status of a 'tin-hāzāri mansabdār' in addition to a *jaigir* in the Doab from the Emperor at Delhi. He was a 'Vakil' at the Court of Oudh. He returned to Calcutta in 1787-88 and died there in 1806. He was an initiated Vaiṣṇava, and he wrote a few Vaiṣṇava lyrics in both Bengali and Brajabuli. Four of these songs were published by his grandson Janamejaya Mitra in his own anthology *Saṅgīta-rasārṇava* [see *infra* under 'Saṅkarṣaṇa']. As this book has not been available to me I am unable to cite any poem by Pītāmbara-dāsa (ii).

Rāsānanda.

Poems by Rāsānanda are not rare in late manuscripts and anthologies. Seven such poems have been cited in APR., two from the *Pada-ratnākara* and the rest from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. Three poems by Rāsānanda occur in the later portion of the Das MS. One poem occurs in VSP. MS. 2049.

The following poem is given as a specimen of Rāsānanda's Brajabuli composition.

surīta kahāyasi sakhī-gaṇa meli |
gañjane dūkha dvi-guṇa kari deli ||
eke hāma dukhinī anāthinī nārī |
dagadha-parāṇe dahasi avicāri ||
sakhi he majhu mana būjhasi koï |
soï gaṛala prema bhāṅgala soï ||
ithe yadi mohe deobi anutāpa |
kāliya-viṣa-hrade deaba jhāpa ||
aïchana vāṇī kahala yaba rāï |
rāsānanda taba-hū mukha cāï || [VSP. MS. 2049.]

« [While in a mood of love-sulk Rādhā had spurned Kṛṣṇa away. Her friends chastised her for this thoughtless act. She thus replied to them :] 'You, my friends, now talk of good behaviour ! You have really doubled my grief by your chastisement. I am but a poor, helpless woman : and you have quite inconsiderately burned my lacerated heart ! My friends, does any (of you) understand my mind ? It is he that formed (our mutual) love, and it is he that has disturbed it. Now if you heap repentance on me I will throw myself off into the poisonous pool of (the snake) Kāliya.' As Rādhā spoke these words Rāsānanda glanced up at her face. »

The name Rāsānanda, if not very peculiar, was extremely rare even in the Vaiṣṇava epoch. The only Rāsānanda known in Vaiṣṇava history was a son of Rādhānanda and grandson of Rasikānanda [*vide* Syāmānanda-prakāśa,[1] p. 60]. Rasikānanda flourished in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. So it seems that this Rādhānanda flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century. Our poet Rāsānanda, in all probability, flourished in the middle of the eighteenth century, if not still later. Hence these two persons are not identifiable with each other.

Gopīnātha-Durllabha.

There is a Brajabuli poem (mixed with Bengali forms) with the *bh.* of 'Gopīnātha-Durllabha' in the later portion of the Das MS. The surname 'Durllabha' is rather peculiar, though it is found among low-caste people in Bengal. The poem, which is rather good, is quoted below.

śuna he nāgara-guru rasera kalapa-taru
anāthinī rāï-parāṇa |
caturera śiromaṇi prema-ratana-khani
bidagadha-nāgara kāna ||
bandhu, jānasi rāï tohāri |
nīla-ambara gale deï minati karu
rākhabi vacana hāmāri ||
yaba rāï guru-janā- saṅgati taba tahi [2]
nā kariha muralī-nisāna |
śunaïte madhura- śabade tanu pulakita
camaki camaki uṭhe prāṇā ||
utapata cīta rīta nāhī mānata
lore nayāna mora jhāpa |
tuā mukha daraśana lāgi cita ākula
guru-durajana-bhaye kāpa ||
ki kahaba o mukha- cāda-daraśa bine
khene kata yuga kari māni |
lākha-jana-cakora- tāpa-haraṇa mukha
dekhile ki hae nāhi jāni ||

1 Edited by Amulya-dhana Rāya-bhaṭṭa and published from Pāṇihāṭi, B. E. 1335

2 'tuhu' ?

kahaïte gorī pulake paripūrala
nāgara karala-hi kora |
āhā mari mari kari cumbaï kata-beri
gopīnātha-durllabha bhora ‖ [Das MS.]

« 'Listen, O you master Lover and Wishing-Tree of love, you are the life of the helpless Rādhā : (you are) the Crest-jewel of gallants, the Mine of the diamond of love, the accomplished Beau Kṛṣṇa. My friend, know you Rādhā as yours alone. With the skirt round my neck I pray to you : do you respect (these) words of mine. When Rādhā remains in the company of her seniors do you never raise the note of your flute. At the sweet notes, when heard, my body horripilates and my heart jumps up now and then. My soul in anguish rebels at proprieties : my eyes are blinded with tears. My heart, yearning for a sight of your face, quakes in fear of my domineering seniors. What more shall I say ? Without a sight of that moon-like face I deem a moment as so many æons. I do not know what happens when (your) face, (a moon), that removes the misery of lakhs of *cakora*-like people, is seen.' As the fair-complexioned Girl was speaking thus her body horripilated : the Lover took her up on his knees. Ejaculating words of sympathy he kissed her many times. (At their reunion) Gopīnatha-Durllaba was overjoyed. »

Vraja-nātha.

In the later portion of the Das MS. there are three Brajabuli and three Bengali poems by Vrajanātha-dāsa.[1] Another Bengali poem, an ode to Caitanya-deva, with the *bh.* of 'Vrajanātha-dāsa' occurs in a late MS. [CU. MS. 342].

The following poem is given as a specimen of Vraja-nātha's Brajabuli composition.

dūtī-ka vacana śunala yaba nāgara
sacakita puna puna hoï |
rāï-ka śeṣa- daśā yaba śūnala
phukari phukari kata roï ‖

[1] There is also one Bengali poem with the *bh.* of 'Vraja-dāsa.' 'Vraja-dāsa' may stand for 'Vraja-nātha,' 'Vrajānanda' [see *supra*, p. 316] or 'Vraja-kiśora' [see *infra*].

kātare taba hari dūtī-ka kare dhari
deyala āpana māthe |
dui-eka divasa mājhe hāma yāyaba
tuhū parabodhaba tāthe ||
tuhū majhu antara jānasi re sakhi
so bine āna nāhi jāna |
so-mukha-darašana bine tanu jara-jara
avirata jharaī nayāna ||
rāi-ka āge kahabi tuhū sundari
hāmāri minati beri beri |
kahe vraja-nātha taba-hi dukha mīṭaba
yaba hāma o-mukha heri || [Das MS.]

« [Kṛṣṇa is at Mathurā and has no intention of returning to Vṛndāvana. Rādhā is extremely love-sick. One of her friends comes to Kṛṣṇa to take him back.] As the Lover heard the words of the *dūtī* he was startled again and again: and when he came to hear of the last stage of Rādhā (*i.e.*, her extreme love-sickness which put her life on jeopardy) he sobbed and wept aloud. Then Hari, in sorrow, took the hands of the *dūtī* and placed them over his head. (He said:) 'I shall be coming in a day or two: thus you should console her. O my friend, you know my heart (well enough): I know no other than her. Deprived of a sight of her face my body is sick: my eyes are streaming heavily. You should, my pretty girl, repeat before Rādhā more than once my supplications (to her).' Vraja-nātha [1] says: 'Then only will my misery be removed when I shall have a look at her face.' »

Akiñcana-dāsa.

Poems by Akiñcana-dāsa are to be found in several MSS. of the late eighteenth century. The *Mukundānanda* is the only known anthology that records any poem by Akiñcana. One poem occurs in CU. MS. 2376 (consisting of four stray leaves only). A few occurs in DU. MS. 2689. Two poems by Akiñcana have been cited in KPS. Both these poems deal with Caitanya-deva's childhood. Four additional poems occur in a MS. sheet from Śrīkhaṇḍa. This sheet also contains three poems by a poet named Alaka [see *infra*].

[1] Also 'Lord of the Vraja,' *i.e.* Kṛṣṇa.

Akiñcana seems to have written connected poems on some of the topics of the Vraja theme. Most of his poems are written in Bengali, only a few in Brajabuli. The following poem is given as a specimen of Akiñcana's Brajabuli writing.

śuna śuna subala sāṅgāti |
sahaï nā yāy dukha āju-ka rāti ||
rāï-ka prema-mahimā nāhi ora |
paraśi rahaï tanu hiyā hiyā jora ||
bhāve bibhora rāï majhu parasaṅga |
animikha heraï nayana taraṅga ||
rasavatī rāï kata-hũ rasa jāna |
prema-rase bāndhala hāmāri parāṇa ||
so dhanī adhare adhara [1] yaba dela |
rāja-haṃsa yena sarovare kela ||
bhaṇaï akiñcana nāgara sujāna |
iha rasa-līlā saba tuhũ jāna || [DU. MS. 2689.]

« [Kṛṣṇa speaks to his friend Subala about Rādhā's love for him.] 'Listen, listen, O my friend Subala! My grief this night (—because of separation from Rādhā—) cannot be endured (any longer). There is no limit to the greatness of Rādhā's love: when our persons come in contact (it seems as if) our hearts are joined fast with each other. At my mention (*i.e.*, when I am mentioned in conversation *or* when I talk) Rādhā becomes overwhelmed with love: she keeps her eyes fast (on me), (and love) surges in her eyes. Rādhā, expert in love's arts, knows so many ways (of showing her love): she has (in fact) captivated my heart with the ardour of her love. When that precious girl put her lips against mine (I felt) like a swan sporting in a lake.' Akiñcana says: 'O you kind-hearted Gallant, all these arts of love you know (full well).' »

In the following Bengali poem Akiñcana prays that he may be accepted as a serving maid to Rādhā, when his *sādhanā* will be fulfilled. The poem is a very indifferent composition to say the least.

yābaṭe āmāra rāi-era vasati
gocara haïbe yabe | [2]
śrī rūpa-mañjarī more kṛpā kari
caraṇe rākhibe kabe ||

[1] 'adhare'—MS.

[2] 'jābaṭe āmāra reyera gocara vasati haibe jabe'—MS.

more kṛpā kari govardhana giri
rādhā-kuṇḍa kuñja-vane |
ye-khāne ye-khāne āra līlā-sthāne
nibhṛta nikuñja-vane ||
nibhṛta nikuñje rāī yābe raṅge
nayane dekhiba kabe |
guru-rūpā sakhī anāthinī dekhi
paścāte [1] rākhibe kabe ||
āra kata-dine sevā-parā-gaṇe
āmāre iṅgita-vāṇī |
iṅgita bujhiba pālaṅka bichāba
rādhāre basāba āni ||
pālaṅka upare basāe rādhāre
caraṇa dhuyāba sukhe |
śuṣka bāsa die caraṇa muchāba
karpūra-tāmbula mukhe ||
ṭhākura-caraṇe mora nivedane [2]
ke āra karibe dayā |
akiñcana-dāse sevā-abhilāṣe
deha more pada-chāyā ||

[CU. MS. 2376.]

« When will the home of Rādhā at Yābaṭa come to my sight? When will Śrī Rūpa-mañjarī take pity on me and keep me at her feet? (When will she) taking pity on me (reveal to me) the hill Govardhana, Rādhā-kuṇḍa, the grotto and all other spots for the sports (of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) in the secluded woodland? To the secluded garden Rādhā will go joyously; when shall I see with my eyes? Finding me to be a helpless (girl) when will a female companion in the form of my *guru* keep me behind her? Again, after how long (will) the female friends in service command me in gestures? May I understand (the drift of) those beckonings, make the bed on the bedstead and bring Rādhā in and make her sit (on the bed). Making Rādhā sit on the bed may I wash her feet joyfully. May I then rub her feet dry with a piece of dry cloth and then give her betel spiced with camphor to chew. At the feet of Ṭhākura (*i.e.*, *guru*) my submission is (this): 'Who can take pity on me but you? Akiñcana-dāsa wants service: give me the grace (*literally* shade) of your feet.' »

1 'pastāte' MS. 2 'nivedana' MS.

Dayāla.

One Brajabuli poem by Dayāla has been incorporated in APR. [503]. The poem originally occurs in VSP. MS. 201. The poem, which is quoted below, is rather good.

pekhalũ aparupa nanda-kumāra |
kālindī-nīra- tīra-taru helana
yaïchana jalada-sañcāra ||
cūṛa-hi ūṛaye mayūra-śikhaṇḍaka
so eka aparupa-ṭhāma |
yaïchana indra- dhanuka tahi ūyala
aïchana majhu mane bhāna ||
motima-hāra ura-para lolata
heriye tāraka-pāti |
kaṭi para pīta- vasana tahi rājita
jini saudāminī-kāti ||
caraṇa-avadhi vana- mālā virājita
unamata madhukara-jāla |
pada-paṅkaja-tale mānasa sōpalu
kātare kahata dayāla ||

[APR. 503.]

« I have seen the wonderful Son of Nanda: (he was) reclining against a tree by the waters of the Kālindī, as if a mass of cloud had gathered (on that quarter). On his crest shivers a peacock's feather—it was a wondrous sight: it occurred to my mind as if a rainbow had appeared there. Against his chest dangled a necklace of pearls, and it appeared like a chain of stars: round his loins was girt a fine, yellow-coloured cloth, which vanquished the dazzle of the lightning. A wreath of wild flowers (*vana-mālā*) reached up to his feet, which maddened a cluster of bees. 'Under the lotus of his feet I have given away my heart,' says Dayāla piteously. »

Kāśī-dāsa.

In APR. one Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Kāśī-dāsa' has been quoted from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. The same poem was incorporated in the first issue of the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* (1849 A. C.). The poem is quoted below.

nanda-nandana- saṅge mohana
naola gokula-kāminī |
tapana-nandinī- tīre bhāle bani
bhuvana-mohana-lābani ||

tā-thaï tū-thaï mṛdaṅga bājaï
mukhara kaṅkaṇa kiṅkiṇī |
bilase govinda prema-ānanda
saṅge nava-nava raṅgiṇi ||

ura-hi lambita kanaka-campaka-
dāma karddama-candane |
dōha-kalevara bhela śrama-jala
moti marakata kāñcane ||

rāse mātala saṅge ṣaḍa-ṛtu
kuñja-kānane rājaï |
śuka śikhī pika cātaka ḍāhuka
bhramara pañcama gāoï ||

rāsa-maṇḍala gopinī-kula
śyāma-sanc nava-raṅgiṇī |
dei kara-tāli bole bhāli bhāli
kāśī-dāsa bali yāïni ||

[APR. 479.]

« In the company of the Son of Nanda the charming young women of Gokula (look) very fine with their all-conquering loveliness, on the bank of the Daughter of the sun (*i.e.*, the Yamunā). 'Tā thai tā thai'—drums are beating, and their bangles and girdle-bells are quite vocal. In love's joyfulness Govinda is enjoying himself in company of the ever brilliant damsels. On their (*i.e.*, Rādhā's and Kṛṣṇa's) chests, smeared with sandal-paste, dangle garlands of golden *campaka*: the beads of perspiration on their persons appear as pearls, on emerald and gold. They begin the *Rāsa* (dance): all the six seasons appear simultaneously in the woodland grove, and parrots, peacocks, cuckoos, *cātakas*, *ḍāhukas* [1] and bees sing sweetly. The *Gopīs* form a circle (around the dancing pair,) Śyāma and the young *belle* (*i.e.*, Rādhā); they clap their hands and give shouts of approval. Kāśī-dāsa offers (himself as) a sacrifice (for their good). »

[1] A kind of water-bird that becomes vocal in the rainy season.

Harivaṁśa-dāsa.

Two Brajabuli poems by Harivaṃśa-dāsa have been cited in APR. [581, 582] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. The poet though pedantic seems to have been a good writer of Brajabuli.

Sarvānanda.

Seven Brajabuli and four Bengali poems by Sarvānanda have been cited in APR. from the *Pada-ratnākara*. Two Bengali poems on Caitanya-deva by the same poet occur in GPT. [pp. 174f.]. These two poems are distinctly superior to the poems quoted in APR.

The poet Jagadānanda of Jophḷlāi had a brother named Sarvānanda. Was he the poet in question ?

The following Bengali poem (mixed with a few Brajabuli forms) is quoted as the masterpiece of Sarvānanda. The poem belongs to the *Dhāmālī* type. It seems to be rather corrupt at places.

hiraṇa-baraṇa dekhilāma gorā duli duli yāy ṭhāṭe |
tanu mana prāṇa āpanāra nay ḍubinu tāhāra nāṭe ||
acala pada gada-gada vāk dhairya-mada gela |
cetana-hārā bāula pārā āgama-daśā haila ||
bhaya kari nay bhaya kena hay gā kene mora kāṅpe |
nirakhi locana harala cetana daṃśala yena sāpe ||
rūpera chaṭā cāḍera ghaṭā jaṭādhārī dekhe bhule
naidārṇ nārīrṇ [1] dhairya-dhvaṃsa dāga rahe vā kule ||
prati-aṅge yadi nayāna thākita pūrita manera sādha |
eke kulavatī tāy duṭi ākhi tāy ghuṅaṭā vāda ||
cāḍara-cule cāpāra phule cāru cañcarī cale |
bhāla jhala-mala suruja lukāy tāy alakā-dole [2] ||
bhurura jyoti [3] haraye mati śakra-dhanu-chaṭā hare |
apāṅga-taraṅga ṭaṅka kulavatīrṇ vrata-bhaṅga kare ||
vadana-cāde madana kāde hṛde mukutāra pāti |
mṛdu-mṛdu hāsi-rāśi dekhe kebā dhare chāti ||
svarṇa-kapāṭa hṛdaya-taṭa ājānu-lambita bhujā
kona dhanī nā nayāne heriyā diṭhi diṅā kare pūjā ||

[1] 'nadīyā-nārīra ?' 'kole' Text. 'bhuru-jyoti' Text.

jānura baraṇa kācā-sonā yemana sāca-mocā[1] |
herile tāra nācā kōcā nā yāy kula bāchā ||
sthala-padma caraṇa-yugala nakha indu ninde |
sarabānanda cita cañcala maju caraṇāravinde ||

[GPT., pp. 174f.]

« I saw the gold-complexioned Gorā going in a swaggering manner: (on seeing him) my body, my mind and my life were no longer mine. I was drowned in his gracefulness. My feet became immobile; my voice became choked, and my patience and prestige were gone. Bereft of consciousness, (I became) like one mad, as if in an ecstatic (*agamya*) situation. There was nothing to be afraid of, yet I felt terrified: (I could not know) why my limbs trembled. Glancing (at him) with my eyes I lost consciousness, as if I were bitten by a snake. The glamour of his loveliness was like the halo of the moon: even a wearer of matted hair (*i.e.*, a *sannyāsin*), on looking (at him), was charmed. It was the destroyer of the self-control of the women of Nadīyā. (I am afraid,) good name may be stigmatized. Had there been eyes on every limb my heart would have been satiated. But I am a woman of a good family, and there are only two eyes: over and above the veil is an obstacle. Pretty bees hover about the *campaka* flowers on his wavy locks. His resplendent forehead (looks as if) a sun is hidden (behind it): on it are dangling strands of stray hairs. The beauty of his eyebrows, that charms the heart, steals away the gracefulness of the rainbow. The waves of his sidelong glances undermine the vow (of loyalty) of women of good family—the vow that is like the steep bank (of a river). (On looking) at his moon-like face the god of love weeps. A necklace of pearls (rests) against his chest. Who can control herself at his abundant, soft and sweet smiles? His wide chest is like a door-leaf made of gold: his arms reach up to the knees. Who, indeed, is the blessed girl that feasts her eyes on him and worships him with her glances? His knees have the complexion of gold, pure and clean. Having once seen his flowing *kōcā* (*i.e.*, the ample folds of *dhuti* gathered up in front) one cannot keep one's good name safe. His two feet are like (a pair of) *sthala-padma* flowers: his toe-nails put the moon to shame. May the restless heart of Sarvānanda be intoxicated at the lotus of his feet! »

[1] *Cf.* Hindi 'sac-muc.'

Kṛṣṇānanda.

Four Brajabuli and one Bengali poem by Kṛṣṇānanda have been quoted in APR. from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. Another poem with the same *bh.* but written in Brajbhākhā has been quoted there [485] from the *Pada-ratnākara*. The author of this poem seems to be different from that of the other five poems.

The poet Jagadānanda of Jophṣlāï had a brother named Kṛṣṇānanda. Can it be that this Kṛṣṇānanda was the poet of the Bengali and Brajabuli pieces ?

'Dvija' Rāja-candra.

One Brajabuli poem by Rāja-candra the Brahmin (*dvija*) has been cited in APR. [561] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. The same poem also occurs in the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* (first issue).

Manmatha.

Three Brajabuli poems by Manmatha have been quoted in APR. from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. A fourth, an ode to Caitanya-deva, occurs in GPT. [p. 147] as well as in the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī*. The poems are quite common-place. Sixteen poems by Manmatha occur in a MS. from Śrīkhaṇḍa.

Nanda-dulāla.

Two poems—one Bengali and one Brajabuli (mixed with Bengali forms)—have been quoted in APR. from VSP. MS. 201. The Bengali poem is rather good.

Vīra-bāhu.

One Brajabuli poem in a pseudo-Sanskrit garb, by Vīra-bāhu, has been quoted in APR. from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. The poem occurs also in the *Pada-kalpa-latikā*. It is quoted below.

dekha sakhi mohana-madhura-suveśaṃ ।
candraka-cāru-mu- -kutā-phala-maṇḍita-
ali-kula-sundara-keśaṃ ॥

taruṇa-aruṇa-karu- -ṇāmaya-locane
manasija-tāpa-vināśaṃ ।
aparupa-rūpa- manobhava-maṅgala-
madhura-madhura-mṛdu-hāsaṃ ॥

abhinava-jaladhara- kalita-kalevara-
dāminī-vasana-vikāsaṃ ।
kiye jaṛa ajaṛa sakala pulakāyita
kuñja-bhavana-kṛta-vāsaṃ ॥

yo pada-paṅkaja bhava nārada aja
bhāva abhāva-viśeṣaṃ ।
vraja-vanitā-gaṇa- mohana-kāraṇa-
viracita-vividha- vilāsaṃ ॥

pañcama-rāga- tāna-taraṅgāyita-
adhara-milita-vara-vaṃśaṃ ।
abhinava-kamala jitala pada-paṅkaja
vīrabāhu-mana-haṃsaṃ ॥

[ṖKL.; APR. 555.]

«Look, my friend, at the sweetly-robed Charmer (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa). His locks, black like the bee, (look) fine, decorated with the peacock's feather and lovely pearls. His eyes that resemble the young sun and that are full of tenderness remove the anguish of love. His loveliness is unparalleled, and it is a desire even of the god of love: his soft smiles are sweet, very sweet. His body resembles a mass of fresh cloud: the tint of his garment emulates the flash of lightning. (His presence) causes horripilation (*i.e.*, excessive joy) to all, whether animate or inanimate. He dwells in woodland pavilion. His lotus-feet Bhava (*i.e.*, Śiva), Nārada, and Aja (*i.e.*, Brahman) contemplate, (the feet) which are extremely unattainable (?). For winning (the hearts of) the young women of the Vraja he resorts to various arts of love-making. The charming flute touches his lips: it gives out waves of melodies in the fifth note.[1] His lotus-feet, lovelier than fresh-blown lotuses, have conquered the swan, the heart of Vīra-bāhu.»

1. 'Pañcama svara' is the sweetest tune according to Indian music.

Nimānanda-dāsa.

Nimānanda-dāsa was the compiler of the anthology *Pada-rasa-sāra.*[1] This work contains twenty-seven hundred poems, of which about six hundred and fifty are the compiler's own composition. Nimānanda modelled his anthology closely after the *Pada-kalpa-taru.* The compilation was made some time towards the close of the eighteenth century or in the beginning of the next. The only information that we can gather about Nimānanda is that he was a Brahmin (*dvija*) and that his younger brother was named Vaṃśī [*cf.* APR. 530].

Thirty-two poems (Brajabuli and Bengali) by Nimānanda have been incorporated in APR. In the Calcutta University Library there is a MS. containing poems by Nimānanda on Caitanya-deva exclusively [MS. 323]. As a poet Nimānanda was quite common-place, if not absolutely stale. The following is a specimen of his Brajabuli composition.

sakhī-gaṇa-saṅge raṅge kula-kāminī
karaï hāsa-parihāse |
priya eka sahacarī turita-hi āyala
śyāmaru-vacana-viśeṣe ||
śuna śuna sundari rāï |
so vara-nāgara kuñja-bhavane geo
turita hi aba tuhũ yāï ||
saṅketa-vacana śuni tahi haraṣita
sakhī-ka kahaï vāre-vāra |
nibhṛta nikuñje āju hari bheṭaba
turita-hi karaha śiṇgāra ||
śyāmaru-prema-made gara-gara sundarī
ulasita hṛdaya-ka mājha |
nimānanda-dāsa- āśa āju pūraba
bheṭaba nāgara-rāja ||

[APR. 532.]

The lady of a noble family (*i.e.*, Rādhā) is chatting merrily with her friends when one of her intimate companions comes in hurriedly with

[1] This work has not yet been published. Poems from it—especially poems by authors otherwise unknown—have been incorporated in APR. Detailed information about this anthology has been given by Satīśa-candra Rāy in VSPP., Vol. 21. Also *vide* APR., pp. iv f.; PKT., Vol. V, Introduction, p. 6.

a special message from Śyāma-rūpa (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa). (She says :) 'Listen, listen, my lovely Rādhā ! That cleaver gallant has gone to the pavilion : you go there without delay.' Delighted to hear of the trysting message, she told her friends again and again, 'I shall meet to-day Hari at the secluded pavilion : you help me dress quick.' The lovely lady was overflowing with pride for (monopolizing) the love of Kṛṣṇa : she was overjoyed at heart. The desire of Nimānanda will be fulfilled to-day when she (*or* he as her attendant) will meet the King of Lovers.»

Kamalākānta-dāsa [*c.* 1806].

Kamalā-kānta was the compiler of the anthology *Pada-ratnākara* which was completed at Burdwan on the 27th Vaiśākha 1213 B.E. (=1806 A.C.).[1] This work has not yet been published. It is known in a unique MS. (very possibly the original one) which is preserved in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Library.

Kamalā-kānta has given some facts of his life in one of his poems and at the end of his anthology [PKT., Vol. V, pp. 7]. These are as follows. He was Karaṇa (Kāyastha) by caste, and his native place was Siur, a village about sixteen miles to the west of Katwa. His father was Vraja-kiśora and his younger brother was Rukmiṇī-kānta. He made the compilation at the instance of Rādhānātha Vasu, an officer of Teja-candra, the Maharaja of Burdwan. In one poem [APR. 469] he mentions that his *guru* was Naṭavara who was a scion of the family of Śivānanda, a disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa.

The *Pada-ratnākara* is divided into forty-three sections (*taraṅga*). It contains thirteen hundred and fifty-eight poems in all. Of these his own contributions number thirteen only. Out of this eleven have been incorporated in APR. Kamalā-kānta sometimes used the shorter from of his name, 'Kamala,' as the *bhaṇitā*.

Kamalā-kānta was a fairly good poet and careful writer of Brajabuli. He was perhaps the last of the good poets of Brajabuli and Bengali Vaiṣṇava literature. The following poem is cited as a specimen of Kamalā-kānta's Brajabuli writing.

śyāma guṇa- dhāma bine yāma yuga bhela |
kāma-śara- dāma aba bhela mujhe śela ||

[1] The materials for this note have been taken from APR., pp. v ff.; PKT., Vol. V, Introduction, pp. 6 ff.

bhramara-kula- nāde ava- -sāda majhu prāṇa |
kuñja mana- rañja bhaya- puñja sama bhāna ||
kokila-kala- bhāṣe aba trāsa bhela cīta |
saṅga-sukha lāgi mama aṅga bhela bhīta ||
gandha saha gandha-vaha manda-gati bhela |
iha sukhada vipina-druma- dāma sukha dela ||
vikaca phula- vṛnda cita gandha hari nela |
sabala-hṛdi kamala aba tarala-mati bhela ||
[APR. 475.]

«'Without Śyāma the receptacle of all virtues a *yāma*[1] has become an aeon. The series of arrows (sped) by the god of love has become splinters unto me. At the hum of the bees my heart is failing (me): the delightful garden house seems to be a terror. At the notes of the cuckoo my heart now gets frightened: my limbs are afraid of (his) joyful touch. Laden with perfume the carrier of fragrance (*i.e.* wind) is blowing softly (*literally* has became slow-gaited). These charming trees of the woodland have given (me) much pleasure, and by the fragrance of the full-blown flowers (my) heart has been carried away.' (On hearing these words of Rādhā) the strong-minded Kamala (=Kamalā-kānta) has now become anxious at heart.»

Rādhānanda-dāsa.

One Brajabuli poem by Rādhānanda occurs in stray leaf in a bundle of MSS. [CU. MS. 2383]. Another (written in mixed Brajabuli and Bengali) occurs in an unpublished anthology, *Mukundānanda* (or more fully, *Rādhā-mukundānanda*).[2] As no poem by Rādhānanda has yet been published I quote below both the poems. The poet Rādhānanda may have been the same person as the disciple of Śyāmānanda, with the same name [Bhakti-ratnākara, XV, p. 1056; Prema-vilāsa, XX]. This Rādhānanda was probably the son of Rasikānanda [*vide* Śyāmānanda-prakāśa, p. 60].

[1] Fourth part of day or night.

[2] This information as well as the poems cited here has very kindly been supplied by Babu Śiva-ratana Mitra, who is the owner of the MS. of the *Mukundānanda*. Fuller details of this anthology have been given *infra* under the head 'Rādhā-mukundadāsa.'

tuhũ majhu prāṇa-ka piyārī |
rākhaba hṛdaya bidāri ||
tuhũ vara-nāgarī bālā |
hṛdaya-ka campaka-mālā ||
tuhũ mukha-candra ujorā |
hāma diṭhi lubadha-cakorā ||
ramanīra anugata kāna |
rādhānandete rasa gāna || [CU. MS. 2383.]

«'You are the dearest of my heart: I shall tear it open and retain you there. You are a young lady, an accomplished *belle*: you are the chaplet of *campaka* on my heart. Your face is the bright moon: my eyes are the thirsty *cakoras*.' Kṛṣṇa is loyal to the lady. So says Rādhānanda, out of joy.»

nikuñja-bhavane duhũ nikuñja-bhavane |
saudāminī aṅga ki sōpila nava-ghane ||
rādhā-kānu duhũ karu abheda pirīti |
dundubhi sahite vijayā kaila rati-pati ||
taruṇita yamunā uthali bahilā |
sumeru kanayā-giri timire muṭilā ||
kanakera nadī bhedi kālindī bahilā |
hema-latā bhuja-daṇḍe randaki (?) bāndhilā ||
rati-rasa avasāne duhũ-ka ullāsa |
yugala-caraṇa sebe rādhānanda-dāsa ||
[Mukundānanda.]

As the poem is rather indelicate I do not append a translation.

Magana-candra.

Four poems by Magana-candra have been incorporated in the *Mukundānanda*. The name Magana-candra or Magana is very unusual. Two of these poems are quoted below. Both the poems are on Caitanya-deva.

āju re gaurāṅga-mane ki bhāva uṭhila |
pūraba-caritra bujhi manete paṛila ||
sabhā kari basilena gaurāṅga-sundara |
rāmāī murāri-gupta āra vakreśvara ||

cāri-dike bhakta-vṛnda nāce hari bali |
ānanda haïyā keha dey kara-tāli ||
nityānanda gaura-candra śobhiyāche bhāla |
jagannātha-miśrera ghara kariyāche ālo ||
koṭi-kāma murachita nayanera koṇe |
magana haïyā magna heraï nayane ||

[Mukundānanda.]

« What a feeling does appear to-day in the mind of Gaurāṅga the moon! Is it that he recalls at heart his conduct in his previous incarnation? He is sitting in a company: (there are, among others,) Rāmāī, Murāri-Gupta, and Vakreśvara. Around them the devotees raise shouts calling Hari, and dance: some, in joy, clap hands. Nityānanda and Gaura the moon look resplendent: (they two) have illumined the homestead of Jagannātha-Miśra.[1] By their side-long looks (*literally* with the corners of their eyes) ten millions of gods of love are struck senseless. Being wrapt (in this sight) Magana beholds with his eyes. »

cāndanī-rajanī heri gaurāṅga-sundara |
kṛṣṇa-abhisāra rase prabhu bhela bhora ||
bhramara kokila karu sumadhura gāna |
śeja teji uṭhilā gaura rasa-dhāma ||
ṭhamaki ṭhamaki yāy caraṇa athira |
bhāvāveśe āola suradhunī-tīra ||
eke se nirjjana puna gaṅgāra taraṅga |
phula-vana dekhi bhāva bāṛhala mātaṅga ||
tahī prabhu baïthala nīpa-taru-mūle |
śeja bichāyala kiśalaya phule ||
diśa heri rādhā bali ākhi chala-chala |
magana-candra heri hṛdaya-tarala ||

[Mukundānanda.]

« Finding it a moonlit night my Master Gaurāṅga the beautiful joyfully recalled the *abhisāra*[2] of Kṛṣṇa. Bees and cuckoos raised charming notes, and Gaura, the receptacle of divine love, got up

[1] Father of Caitanya-deva.

[2] Going out in secret to meet the beloved at a trysting place.

from bed. With his restless feet he walked on gracefully, and, dazed with surging sentiments, he came to the bank of the Suradhunī (*i.e.* Bhagīrathī, the Hoogly river). For one thing, it was perfectly secluded, and for another, there was the rippling Ganges; and on finding a flowering garden there his sentiments increased, (and he became like a rutting) elephant. There the Master took his seat at the root of a *nīpa* (*i.e.* kadamba) tree: he made a bed of fresh twigs and flowers. Looking at the quarters he remembered Rādhā, and his eyes welled up with tears. Seeing this Magana-candra was moved (profoundly) at heart.»

Rādhāmukunda-dāsa (Mukunda-dāsa ii).

Rādhāmukunda-dāsa (*or* Mukunda-dāsa as he has often mentioned himself) was the compiler of the anthology *Mukundānanda*. This work is known in the original MS. of which no copy seems to have been made. It is now preserved in the Ratan Library, Suri.[1] There are six hundred and fifty-nine poems by more than ninety different poets. The compiler contributed only fifteen poems.

The *Mukundānanda* was compiled after the *Padāmṛta-samudra*, the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* and the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. Thus the compiler says

> padāmṛta-samudra śrī-saṅkīrttanānanda |
> pada-kalpa-taru mata pada bhaktānanda ||
> śrī-mukundānanda grantha mukunda-varṇana ,
> mahākṛpā prakāśe śudhibenṡ mahājana ||
> [VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. II. 1, p. 5.]

The work is divided into sections (*bhāga*) and sub-sections (*stavaka*). The MS. does not bear a date. It was probably compiled in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and was, in all probability, anterior to the *Pada-rasa-sāra* and the *Pada-ratnākara*. There is one poem by Śaśi-śekhara in this anthology.

[1] A description of this MS. has been given in the Catalogue of Old Bengali Manuscripts ('Bāṅgālā Pracīna Puthira Vivaraṇa'), Vol. II, Part 1, VSP., Calcutta, 1326 B.E. Supplementary notes have been very kindly supplied to me by Babu Śiva-ratana Mitra, the owner of the Ratan Library.

Rādhāmukunda-dāsa mentions that he was a descendant of the poet Govindadāsa-Cakravarttī.

jaya jaya cakravarttī govinda-caraṇa |
chaya cakravarttī madhye mukhyete gaṇana ||
śrī-ācārya-prabhu-kṛpāpātra sarvottama |
tāra vaṃśe janma prabhu muñi narādhama ||
[*op. cit.*, p. 4.]

From the following couplet it appears that his father's name was Patita-pāvana.

caitanya-caraṇānvayā patitāpāvanā-suta |
patita uddhāra prabhu ati-kṛpāyuta || [*op. cit.*, p. 5.]

The following Bengali poem (with some admixture of Brajabuli forms) is cited as a specimen of Rādhāmukunda-dāsa's composition. He has used as the *bhaṇitā* the following forms of his name—'Mukunda,' 'Mukunda-dāsa,' 'Rādhā-mukunda,' and 'Rādhikā-mukunda.'

nāciche kānāï saṅge balāï |
hena kāle tathā āyala rāï ||
lalitādi sakhī saṅgete kari |
animiṣe hari-mukha nihāri ||
nīla-giri kibā rajata-giri |
tathāï śobhaye su-hemagiri ||
śveta nīla janu kamala-mājhe
sonāra kamala adhika rāje ||
hema nīla śveta candra udita |
sakhī-gaṇa tahi tārā milita ||
adabhuta śobhā śrī-nandālaye
hay nāï kabhu habāra nahe ||
nayane nayana kamala ali |
cātaka pāyala megha-āvali ||
cakora milala candra ujore |
rādhikā-rūpa mukunda nehāre || [*op. cit.*, p. 7.]

Kānāï (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) was dancing in company of Balāï (*i.e.* Balarāma): at that time there came in Rāï (*i.e.* Rādhā) accompanied by her friends, Lalitā and others. She gazed, without blinking, at Hari's face. (It

seemed as if there were a dark hill and a silvery hill, and a golden hill appeared there in all glory. (It seemed) as if a golden lotus looked resplendent between a blue lotus and a white lily. (It looked as if the three) moons, one golden, another dark and the other, were risen, and (Rādhā's) friends were like stars around. (It was) a wondrous sight at the house of Śrī-Nanda: it had never happened before nor it shall ever happen (in future). (Kṛṣṇa's) eyes (met the) eyes (of Rādhā: as if) the bee (was making for) the lotus, (or) as if the *cātaka* had obtained a mass of cloud. The *cakora* has reached the dazzling moon: Rādhikā-mukunda looks on [*or* Mukunda (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) looks on at the loveliness of Rādhikā]. »

Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa.

One Brajabuli poem by Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa occurs in KPS. and also in the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* (recent issue). Two additional poems occur consecutively in a MS. [CU. MS. 327]. One of these two poems is written in corrupt Sanskrit. All the three poems are cited below.

candra-vadanī dhanī prema-taraṅgā |
nayana nalina-yuga bhāwā vibhaṅgā ||
nāsā khaga-pati adhara bimba-jyoti
motima re kuca śiva śiva gaṅgā |
keśarī jini kaṭi nābhi sarovara
kiṅkiṇī jhalakaï mugadha anaṅgā ||
pratāpa-nārāyaṇa haṃsa-kula-gāminī
bhaminī vilasati mohāna-saṅgā ||[1]

[KPS., p. 127; PKL., p. 48.]

« The moon-faced precious girl is a stream of love. Her eyes are a pair of lotuses, and her eyebrows are arched. Her nose is the lord of birds, her lips (have) the tint of the *bimba* fruit. Her two breasts are white like pearls. Śiva! Śiva! Gaṅgā! Her waist defies (that of) a lion: her navel is but a pool. Bells tinkle (around her hips), which stupefies the god of love. Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa (says), the lady that moves like the swan is sporting in company with the Charmer (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa). »

[1] One line at least seems to be lacking in this poem.

[1] mukulita-bakula-kusuma-maṅgala-keśaṃ |
rucira-candana-cāru-carcita-veśaṃ ||
abhinava-jaladhara-kuntala-jāle |
śobhita parimala mālatī-māle ||
maṇimaya-makara-kuṇḍala-śruti-deśaṃ |
tarid-iva nava-nīta [2] vasana-vikāśaṃ ||
pratāpa-nārāyaṇa-bhaṇita-madhupaṃ |
parama-puruṣa-puruṣottama-rūpaṃ || [CU. MS. 327.]

« (Kṛṣṇa's) locks are decked with buds of *bakula* flowers: (he has) toileted superbly with fine sandal-paste. (He looks) lovely with his locks (as dark as) fresh cloud and with a wreath of fragrant *mālatī* flowers. Jewelled earrings, shaped like the *makara* (shark), (beautify his) ears: the brightness of his garment is like lightning on a piece of dark-cloud (?). Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa, the bee (at the beauty of Kṛṣṇa), describes (thus) the beauty of the Supreme Person, Puruṣottama.[3] »

śārada-pūrṇimā-himakara-baraṇe |
cañcala-nīla-nalinī-dala-śayane ||
prātar-udita-ravi-sindūra-kāti [4] |
dasána sājala mukutā-phala-bhāti [5] ||
baṅka-vilokanī kājara-raṅgi |
kāma-kāmāna kuṭila-bhrūbhaṅgi ||
śrī-phala-suphalita-kṛta-kuca-kalase |
matta-mayūrī-gati jiniyā alase ||
mṛgamada-candana-carcita-dehā |
tarala-ghanātata-[6]dāminī-rehā ||
pratāpa-nārāyaṇa-saṅgīta-bhaṇitaṃ |
ramaṇī-śiromaṇi rādhāra caritaṃ || [CU. MS. 327.]

« (Rādhā's) complexion is that of the rays of the full moon in autumn, filtering between the petals of the quivering blue lotus. (Between

[1] This poem is corrupt at place. Should the first line read 'mukula-bakula-phula-maṅgala-keśaṃ ?'

[2] 'nava-ghana?'

[3] Name of the Supreme Being. It literally means 'the highest among men.'

[4] 'kānti' MS.

[5] 'bhāti' MS.

[6] '-ghanātaṭa-' MS.

her lips) crimson like the tint of the morning sun ; her teeth appear like pearl beads. She looks askance : (her eyes are) painted with collyrium. The curves of her arching eyebrows (are veritable) bows of the god of love. Her full breasts, like (a pair of) the *śrī-phala* (*bilva*) fruit, have been rendered fruitful (?). Her lazy gait defeats that of an elated peahen. Her body is painted with musk and sandal-paste : (she is like) the trembling flash of lightning stretched on a cloud. Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa, in his song, celebrates the beauty (*literally* conduct) of Rādhā the crest-jewel among women. »

Kiṅkara.

A stray leaf in a bundle of MSS. in VSP. Library [MS. 2322] contains a Brajabuli poem by Kiṅkara. The poem is quoted below. The first few lines of the poem are lost. It describes Rādhā after her dalliance with Kṛṣṇa.

bigalita-kuntala bhuru-mahāraṅga |
dvandva-bhujaṅgama janu bhela saṅga ||
nayana rāga bharu sā(?) dura-dūraṃ |
nīla-nalinī yena paraśala sūraṃ ||
daśana-ka daṃśana adhara-ka aṃśaṃ |
janu[1] bimbu-phala kīra nahi daṃśaṃ ||
alakā galita tana motima-hāra |
tarala salila yena prātarakāra ||
uca-kuca-kañcuka nakha nakha dantaṃ |
śātakumbha-giri-śira cira khaṇḍam ||
śuni camakita dhanī mṛdu mṛdu hāsaṃ |
kiṅkara kaha sakhi kiye ati-bhāṣaṃ ||

As the text is very corrupt I do not append a translation.

Lāla-vihārī.

There is a MS. in the Calcutta University Library [MS. 3499], which contains ten poems—all in mixed Brajabuli and Bengali—by

[1] 'jānu,' MS.

Lāla-vihārī. Four of these songs describe the beauty of Rādhā, three are on the 'Dūtī-saṃvāda'[1] and the remaining three on 'Milana.'[2] The following is cited as a specimen.

dekha sakhi nikuñja-mājhāre anupāma |
kautuke kokila ali karaye su-gāna ||
eke se rasera kuñja bahe nava-bāe |
parāga-sahita manda adhika suhāe[3] ||
kibā apar upa śobhā vinodinī rādhā |
heriyā madana made pari gela bādhā ||
ki kahaba śyāma-mohanamayī veṇī |
yāhāra upare śobhe mukutāra śreṇī ||
vividha-rasera phula sāje sāri sāri |
yāra mājhe ratana-khecanī manohārī ||
tāhāra agrete sukhamaya phula-thopā |
dolae vicitra makha tula (?) ratna jhāpā ||
sucikana rasa-veśa lakhala[4] nā yāe |
nāgara-ratana-mana harae helāe ||
yāhāra saurabhe vṛndāvana bhora[5] |
lāla-vihārī tāhe kibā diba tura[6] || [CU. MS. 3499]

«Look, my friend, at the unrivalled (sight) within the pleasure garden. The cuckoo and the bee are singing and humming sweetly in joy. For one thing it is a pleasure garden, then again there is blowing a fresh breeze, soft and fragrant, which gives increased delight. What a wonderful sight is the charming Rādhā! On looking at her the god of love has his pride removed. What should I say about her plaited hair which has charmed Śyāma? On it lie strings of pearls. Various flowers have been arranged side by side, in the midst of which gems are set: at its centre there is a delightful tassel of flowers. Her glossy, beautiful dress dazzles the eye (*literally* cannot be seen): without any effort it captivates the heart of the Lover. How can Lāla-vihārī offer any comparison to her whose fragrance (*i.e.* beauty and gracefulness) has pervaded the entire Vṛndāvana?»

[1] The sending of message through, or intercession by a 'Dūtī' or female messenger.
[2] Final union.
[3] 'sohāe,' MS.
[4] 'lakhila?'
[5] 'bhūla?'
[6] 'tula?'

Parāṇa-dāsa (Prāṇa-dāsa).

There is a MS., about a hundred years old, in the Calcutta University Library [CU. 3554], which consists of forty-five Brajabuli poems by Parāṇa-dāsa or Prāṇa-dāsa. The following poem is given as a specimen.

madana mataṅga samare bhela bhaṅga |
baïṭhala duhũ jana smera bayana-vidhu
srama-jala-pūrita aṅga ||
nava-kara-pallava añcala bījaï
kuntale mājaï deha |
śikhinī-śikhaṇḍa yatana kari sājaï
puna nava bāṛhala neha ||
kati vana-māla kati-hũ pīta-ambara
kati rahũ muralī su-yantra |
kāla [1]-bhujaṅgama daṃśane yaïchana
vāraṇa nahe maṇi-mantra ||
adhara-sudhā-rasa puna puna pībaï
puna parirambhaṇa [2]-keli |
ramaṇa ramaṇī duhũ lakhaï na pāwaï [3]
anupama hiya hiya meli ||
kāñcana-śaila jalade duhũ jhāpala
nīla-jalade kiye indu |
bhukhita vidhuntuda vidhu kiye jhāpala
manthana kiye rasa-sindhu ||
bahata anila kuhare kuhu-kaṇṭhinī
jhaṅkaru madhukarī-puñja |
taru-nava-śākhe kusuma-bhāra pūrita
jharu makaranda su-kuñja ||
rasamaya-rāja rasika varṇ-nāgarī
bilasata madana-vilāsa |
kuñja-bahāra sakhinī-gaṇa-saṅgati
heraï prāṇa-hu dāsa || [19]

« Madana,[4] the elephant, was defeated in the battle: the two (*i.e.* Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) sat up, their moon-faces smiling and their bodies

[1] 'bāna,' MS.
[2] 'puna rambhan,' MS.
[3] 'pābai,' MS.
[4] The god of love.

perspiring. (Rādhā) fanned (Kṛṣṇa) with the hem (of her *sāri*) moved by her hands (that resembled) fresh twigs: she wiped his body with her tresses, and carefully trimmed the peacock's feather. (At this) love surged up (in them) afresh. Where indeed was the wreath of wild flowers (*vana-mālā*), where indeed his yellow-coloured garment, and where indeed his precious instrument, the flute! (Kṛṣṇa was sore stricken;) just as the bite of a fatal snake cannot be cured by the best magical remedies. He drank repeatedly of the nectar (at Rādhā's lips): he embraced her again and began the sport of love. The Lover and the Beloved could not be distinguished: they were in such close embrace, heart against heart. The cloud (*i.e.* the hands of Kṛṣṇa) covered up the two golden hills (*i.e.* Rādhā's breasts): the dark cloud, as it were, shut out the moon. The hungry foe of the moon (Rāhu, eclipse), gobbled up the moon, as it were: or (it seemed that) the ocean of love was being churned. A (sweet) breeze was blowing: the cuckoo was singing, and the bees were humming. The fresh boughs of trees were laden with flowers in plenty: their honey dripped in the pleasant grove. The Lover, the prince of clever gallants, and the prime *belle* were enjoying the pleasures of love. Outside the pavilion Prāṇa-dāsa was looking on in company with their female friends.

Dāmodara.

The following poem by a poet named Dāmodara I have obtained through the courtesy of Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna. The language is mixed Brajabuli and Bengali. The poet seems to be a late one.

rāï nayāna meliyā kena cāha nā |
tumi moṛa ratana jīvana dhaṛa yauvana
madana-dahana śara sahe nā ||
tuyā-ka rūpa-śaśi paraśi sarasi-ruha
adhīna-janere kena deha nā |
tuyā mukha-cānda cānda adharānana
hāsi bikaśi kena kaha nā ||
dava-hi hutāśane madane tanu bhājali
paraśa nahile tanu rahe nā |
leha mora khata likhi dāmodara rahu sākhi
tuyā binu āra kāra haba nā ||

« Rāï, why do you not look straight up at me? You are my treasure, my life, my property and my youthfulness: I cannot bear (any longer) the smarting darts of Love. Why do you not bestow me a lotus, after having touched your moon-like lovely person with it? Your face is a veritable moon and so are your lips and your mouth: why do you not smile broadly and speak (to me)? You have roasted my body on the bonfire of Love: the tree (*i.e.* my body) cannot live without a touch (of you). Do please accept from me a deed (as follows), and let Dāmodara be the witness thereto: I shall never be anybody's except yours. »

Sevā-cānda.

The following poem by Sevā-cānda, written in mixed Brajabuli and Bengali, I have obtained through the courtesy of Pandit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna.

dekha sakhi nikuñjera aparupa-raṅga |
vinodinī gāna kare binodiyā-saṅga ||
gheri gheri baïṭhata yata candrāvalī |
añcala pātiñā māge yaubanera ḍāli ||
tā dekhi mayūra-gaṇa nāce phiri phiri |
jaya rādhe śrī-rādhe bali gāy śuka sārī ||
phula-bhare taru-gaṇa lambita haïla |
caraṇa-paraśa lāgi luṭiñā paṛila ||
sevā-cānda bhābi rase nā pāïyā ora |
duhū-mukha nirakhiyā bhaï gela bhora ||

« Look, my friend, at the delightful sight in the pavilion! The lovely lady (*i.e.* Rādhā) is singing with the handsome young man (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa). Around (them) are sitting all the beautiful maidens (*candrāvalī*): they have spread out the hems (of their *sāris*) and are begging for the cornucopia of youthfulness. Seeing this the peacocks dance about in rounds, and *śukas* (parrots) and *sārikās* are singing, 'Victory, O Rādhā! O Glorious Rādhā!' With the load of flowers the trees are bending low: (their branches) trail on the ground for a touch of their (*i.e.* Rādhā's and Kṛṣṇa's) feet. Not fathoming, on pondering,

the depth of the sentiment (of divine love) Sevā-cānda becomes overjoyed at a sight of the faces of the Couple.»

The use of the word 'candrāvalī' as a common name is very interesting.

Rāma-ratana ('Dvija' Rāma).

There is a MS. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Library [MS. 2054], which contains poems by Rāma-ratana. The poet also has mentioned himself as 'Dvija Rāma.' The MS. bears a date—15th Agrahāyaṇa (November-December) 1237 B.E. (=1830 A.C.), and it is, in all likelihood, the author's original manuscript. The poet mentions his patron 'Viśvambhara dvija' who was undoubtedly the same person as 'Viśvambhara-Śarmā Cakravartti' mentioned at the end of the MS.

The following Brajabuli poem is cited as a specimen.

nārada heri nanda phukāri
lālana kahi jhore |
paraṇāma kari muni-pāye dhari
bhāsala ākhi-nīre ||
hāma udāra nā jāni phāpara
i-ki paramāda bhela |
saravasa-dhana lālana jīvana
kona vidhi hari nela ||
ki phale pāola ki pāpe chāṛala
nā bujhi karama-bāta |
hāma abhāgiyā lālana hārāiyā
nā bhela e-deha pāta ||
parāṇa bidare nāhi yāy dūre
ye du(ḥ)kha kahaba kāy |
bobāra svapana temati parāṇa
bhitare ghumi beṛāy ||
rāma-ratana ei nivedana
caraṇe muni tohāra |
nīla-ratane bāreka nañāne
dekhāha muni hāmāra || [VSP. MS. 2054]

«On seeing Nārada Nanda, mentioning his dear child (Kṛṣṇa), wept aloud. He bowed to the sage, and taking hold of his feet,

he was in a flood of tears. (He said:) 'I am a simple man, and have never known difficulties: what a calamity has now happened! My dear child, my all, my life—what god has taken him away? For what merit I had got him, and for what sin he has left me (I do not know): I do not know the ways of the fate. I am a wretched man, having lost my darling. (I wonder,) this my body has not yet fallen dead! My heart is rent asunder, but it does not depart: to whom shall I tell this my suffering? Like unto the dream of the dumb, my vitals (do not come out, but) are moving restlessly within.' O sage, this is the prayer of Rāma-ratana at your feet: 'Do please, O sage, make visible to my eyes, only for once, the Blue-jewel (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa).' »

Gadādhara-dāsa.

Two Brajabuli poems by Gadādhara-dāsa occur in a late MS. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Library [MS. 2433]. The MS. is in book form and contains the date 1273 B.E. (=1866 A.C.) on one page. One of the two poems is quoted below. It appears to have been tampered with by singers or scribes.

aparupa rādhā-mādhava-bhāti |
tāmbula choṛi seja para baïṭhala
puna-hi madana-rase māti ||
ratana-pālaṅka para śūtala duhū-jana
hiye hiye nayāne nayāne |
lalitā-sundarī tāmbula kapura puri
deala duhāra bayāne ||
sakhi saba nirakhata aparupa-mādhurī
duhū-jana gāata duhū-rase bhori |
duhū-ka kore lapaṭāï duhū-jana
kāla gaura koï lakhaï nā pāri ||
koï kahata iye thīra-bijurī kiye[1]
rahata-hi jaladhare gheri |
gadādhara kabe iha soï nava-kaiśora
vṛṣabhānu-kiśorī || [VSP. MS. 2433]

[1] 'kae,' MS

«Unparalleled is the loveliness of Rādhā and Mādhava. Throwing away (the chewed) betel they sat on the bed and were again engaged in love's sport. The Couple (*i.e.* Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) reclined on the rich couch, chest against bust, eye to eye. Lalitā the lovely gave them betel (spiced) with camphor to chew (*literally* in their mouths). All their female companions looked on at their superb loveliness: thoroughly sympathetic to their love they sang in praise of the Couple. The Couple rolled about in each other's embrace, so that nobody could detect which was the dark one and which one the fair. Some said: 'Is it a steady streak of lightning that has encirled the cloud?' Gadādhara replies: 'He is the One in early youth, and She the youthful Daughter of Vṛṣabhānu.'»

This poet Gadādhara or Gadādhara-dāsa must be distinguished from Rāya Gadādhara, the Brajbhākhā poet, whose poems occur in some MSS. of Vaiṣṇava poetry. One such poem occurs in VSP. MS. 978.

Lalitā-dāsa.

One poem by Lalitā-dāsa, written in mixed Bengali and Brajabuli, occurs in the first issue (1849 A.C.) of the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* [pp. 98-99].

Kṣetramohana-Datta.

The following Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of Kṣetramohana-Datta occurs in the first issue of the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* (1849 A.C.). With some variant readings this poem occurs in *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* [378] with the *bh.* of Govindadāsa. The poem seems to be a composition of the Kavirāja. It institutes a comparison between Śiva and Kṛṣṇa who is in dishevelment.

mādhava aba tuhū śaṅkara-devā |
yākara puṇa-phale prātare-bheṭalū
dūre-hu dūre rahū sevā ||
ākula kuṭila- cūṛa-śikhi-candraka
bhāla-hi sindūra-dahanā |
candana-mājhahi mṛgamada lāgala
tēi bekata tina nayanā ||

candana-reṇu- dhūsara bhela saba tanu
soï bhasama-sama bhelā |
tohāri vilokane majhu mana manamatha
manamatha sañe jvari gelā ||
kāhe digambara abahū vasana para
śaṅkara-niyama upekhi |
khṣetramohana-datta kahaye para ambara
ganaïte lekhi nā lekhi ||

«'Mādhava, you are now the god Śaṅkara. At his grace (?) I have met you early in the morning, though I have not worshipped him sufficiently enough. Your (locks are) dishevelled; on your crest there is the eye in the peacock's feather; and on your forehead is a bright dash of vermilion. There, on sandal painting, musk paint has been superimposed, which has made manifest the third eye. All your limbs are powdered with sandal dust, which appears like ash dust. At your (loving) glance the god of love in me is all aflame. Why are you naked? Put on clothes at once, discarding the behaviour of Saṅkara.' Kṣetramohana-Datta says: 'Put on your clothes: in computing (your oddities) it is impossible to note them down all.'»

Jagabandhu-dāsa.

In the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* there are five poems by Jagabandhu-dāsa. One of these poems [p. 20] is written in mixed Brajabuli and Bengali. Jagabandhu seems to have written connected poems on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme.

Mādhavendra-Purī (?)

In the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* there is a poem with the *bh.* of 'Mādhavendra-Purī.' It is exceedingly doubtful that Mādhavendra-Purī (*c.* 1475 A.C.) was the author of this poem. Although the ideas expressed, being based on the usual rhetorical stuff of Sanskrit Poetry, can go back to the fifteenth century the lilt of the verse, however, is modern. I am of opinion that it is the composition of a late eighteenth or early nineteenth century poet named 'Mādhavendra,' while the scribes alone are responsible for making this name 'Mādhavendra-Purī.'

As a matter of fact the reading 'Mādhavendra-Purī' instead of 'Mādhavendra' mars the metre in the last half-verse.

sājalo dhanī candra-vadanī
śyāma-daraśana-āśe |
saṅginī-gaṇa raṅgiṇī saba
gherila cāri-pāśe ||
taruṇāruṇa- caraṇa-yugala
mañjīra tahī śobhe |
bhṛṅgāvalī puñja puñja
guñjare madhu-lobhe ||
kumbhi-kumbha jini nitamba
keśari-kṣīṇa mājhe |
pari nīlāmbara paṭṭāmbara
kiṅkiṇī tahī bāje ||
bāhu-yugala thīra-bijurī
kari-śāvaka-śuṇḍe |
hemāṅgada maṇi-kaṅkaṇa
nakhare śaśi-khaṇḍe ||
hemācala kuca-maṇḍala
kāñcalī tahī śobhe |
candrakānta dhvānta-damana
karṇe kaṇṭhe śobhe ||
jāmbūnada- hema-yukta
mukutā-phala-pāti |
phaṇi-maṇi-yuta dāma-sahita
dāminī-sama bhāti ||
bimba-phala- nindi adhara
dāṛima-bīja-daśanā |
beśara tahī nalake jhalake
manda-manda-hasanā ||
nāsā tila- phula-tūla
kabarī karabī-chāde |
madana-mohana- mohinī dhanī
sājalī tahī rādhe ||
nava-yauvanī candra-vadanī
vṛndāvana-bāṭe |
mādhavendra-purī racita bhāṣa
barṇi pūrṇi(?)pāṭe || [KGR. 111]

« The lovely, moon-faced Girl dressed for the expectation of meeting Śyāma: her companions, sportive girls all, surrounded her on all sides. Her two feet were like (a pair of) young suns, round which were pretty anklets: (over them) hovered swarms of bees thirsty for honey. Her hips defeated (the roundness of) the elephant's head, and her waist was slender like that of the lion. She had put on a blue-coloured silk *sāri*, and girdle-bells were tinkling (at her hips). Her two arms, like steady streaks of lightning, were (shapely like) the trunk of a young elephant. (On them she had put on) gold armlets and jewel-wristlets; her nails were like bits of the moon. Her round breasts were like (a pair of) golden hills: over them was a lovely bodice. Moon-stones that destroyed darkness glowed at her ears and neck. A string of pearls and diamonds threaded and mounted in pure gold dazzled like a flash of lightning. Her lips put to shame the *bimba* fruit: her teeth were like pomegranate seeds. The golden nose-ornament shone with the nose pearl. She smiled softly (off and on). Her nose could be compared to the sesamum flower; her coiffure was done with *karabīra* flower. Thus did dress herself the precious girl Rādhā, the charmer of the Charmer of the god of love. The moon-faced Girl in her early youth (walked on) along the path to Vṛndāvana. This tale told by Mādhavendra-Purī has described the ways (of Rādhā) in their completeness.

Candra-kānta.

In the *Kīrtana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [222] there is a Brajabuli poem with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Candra-kānta.' This poem has close similarity, in style and diction, with the poems by the brothers Candra-śekhara and Śaśi-śekhara. It is therefore not unlikely that 'Candra-kānta' is really a scribe's error for 'Candra-śekhara.'

Campaka-nātha (?)

In the same work there is a Brajabuli poem by 'Campaka-nātha' [284]. This poem belongs to *māna* (love-sulk) topic. The poet Campati or Campati-nātha, as we have already seen [pp. 151ff.], specialized in this aspect of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme. It is, therefore, extremely probable that 'Campaka-nātha' is a scribe's or singer's error for 'Campati-nātha.'

Hṛdaya (?)

In the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [752] there is a Brajabuli poem with the apparent *bhaṇitā* of 'Hṛdaya.' The last couplet is this:

rāï rāï kari phukārata sahacarī
śuni camakita syāma-rāya |
hṛdaya-ka nātha bāta śuni kātara
turita-hi dūtīre bolāy ||

«The (messenger) girl cried, 'Rāï, Rāï (O Rādhā! O Rādhā).' On hearing this Śyāma the prince was startled. The lord of Hṛdaya was moved on hearing this cry, and he sent for the *dūtī* (messenger) at once.»

Vāsudeva-dāsa.

In KPS. there occurs one poem containing the *bh.* of 'Vāsudeva-dāsa' [p. 29]. It also occurs in the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* [p. 24]. The poem is on the *Goṣṭha* theme of the Kṛṣṇa legend. The poet Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa never subscribed himself otherwise than 'Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa, Vāsudeva, Vāsu-Ghoṣa, or Vāsu,' and never as 'Vāsudeva-dāsa.' Moreover Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa does not seem to have written anything on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, except perhaps one poem [Padāmṛta-samudra, p. 414]. Unless there be any corruption in the *bhaṇitā* we must admit that there was a poet Vāsudeva-dāsa distinct from the older poet Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa. As we shall subsequently see, Vāsudeva-Datta also was a poet. He may have written this piece. Two additional poems, apparently by this poet, occur in VSP. MS. 201. One of the two poems is in Brajabuli.

The following two poems are quoted as specimens.

daṇḍe śata-vāra khāy yāhā dekhe tāhā cāy
chānā dadhi e kṣīra navanī |
rākhio āpana kāche bhoka-chāni lāge pāche
āmāra sonāra yādu-maṇi ||
śuna bāpu baladhara eka nivedana mora
ei gopāla māyera parāṇa |
yāite tomāra sane sādha kariyāche mane
āpani haio sāvadhāna ||

dāmāliyā yādu mora nā jāne āpana-para
bhāla-manda nāhika geyāna |
dārunna kaṃsera cara tārā phire nirantara
āpani haio sāvadhāna ||
vāma kare haladhara dakṣiṇa kare giridhara
śuna balāi nivedana-vāṇī |
vāsudeva-dāsa bale titila nayana-jale
mūrachiyā paṛila dharaṇī || [KPS., p. 29]

« ' (Kṛṣṇa) eats hundred-times in a *daṇḍa*. Whatever he finds, be it casein, curd, clotted milk or cream, he wants to eat. Keep him by your side, (so that) he, my precious treasure, may not feel hunger or thirst. Listen, dear Wielder of the Plough (*i.e.* Balarāma), to my only request. This Gopāla (Kṛṣṇa) is his mother's life. He desires to go with you. You, therefore, must be careful yourself. My child is naughty, but he cannot distinguish between his own people and outsiders. Nor has he the sense of good or evil. The cruel spies of Kaṃsa are always prowling about. You be yourself very careful.' (Taking hold of) the Wielder of the Plough (*i.e.* Balarāma) by her left hand and the Lifter of the Hill (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) by her left (Yaśodā said), ' Remember my request, O Balarāma ! ' She then, drenched in tears, fell down senseless on the ground. So says Vāsudeva-dāsa. »

kore baiṭhāyali sundarī rāï |
duhū nava-yauvana duhū avagāï ||
duhū āliṅgana madana-mātā |
tamāle beṛhala janu kanaka-latā ||
rasete cañcala dohāra ākhi |
nācata yaichana khañjana-pākhī ||
rūpa vilokita duhū-ka nayane |
heri lukāyala cāda gagane ||
kare lukāyala duhū hema-kaṭora |
hāsi hāsi kahe duhū marama-ka bola ||
duhū-ka pirīti duhū bhāle jāna |
kahe vāsudeva duhū rasika-sujāna || [VSP. MS. 201]

« Lovely Rādhā was seated on (Kṛṣṇa's) lap. The two (lovers) were engrossed in each other's fresh youthfulness. Madly in love the Two (were) in mutual embrace, (and this looked) as if a golden creeper had

entwined a *tamāla* tree. Their eyes were unsteady for the ecstasy of love, as if a pair of *khañjana* birds were hopping about. Their loveliness was reflected on each other's eyes, looking at which the moon disappeared from the sky. The two golden cups (*i.e.* Rādhā's breasts) were covered up by the hands (of Kṛṣṇa). Laughingly they talked of their secret feelings. Their mutual love was fully known to each other, and both were appreciative lovers. So says Vāsudeva. »

Alaka.

Three poems by Alaka along with four poems by Akiñcana occur in a MS. sheet from Śrīkhaṇḍa. The following mixed Brajabuli poem is cited as a specimen of Alaka's composition.

rati-rase avaśa raï-tanu bheli |
alasa āla sutala duhū meli ||
rāï ghumaï yaba bhela sthira |
jāgata kāna [1] catura sudhīra ||
dhanī-ka hṛdaya para kāculī utāra |
hariñā laïla tahi gajamoti-hāra ||
tabahī cetana bhela rasavatī rāï |
hṛdaya nirakhi dhani camakita cāï ||
lalitā viśākhā bali ghana ḍāka diyā |
kahite lāgilā dhanī sakhī-mukha cāiyā ||
e baṛi viṣama kathā śuna sahacarī |
ācambite kuñje āmāṛ hāra gela curi ||
caturdige saba sakhī nikuñje beṛhiyā |
... ... [2]
lalitā ḍākiyā bole kuñje nāhi rājā |
kahena alaka bujhi arājaka prajā ||

« Rādhā's body was overcome with the excess of desire, and she felt fagged. Both of them (*i.e.* Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) then went to bed. Rādhā fell asleep, and when she was quite still, Kṛṣṇa was yet awake, Kṛṣṇa (who is) clever and patient. He took off the bodice from the precious Girl's bust and removed from there the necklace of fine pearls.

[1] MS. 'kanna'.
[2] At least one line here has been omitted through scribe's oversight.

Then was awake the lovable Rādhā, and glancing at her bust she looked about in distress. She repeatedly called aloud for Lalitā and Viśākhā, and (when they came in) she looked them, her friends, in the face and said, 'Just listen to me, my friends; it is a terrible story: all unexpected, my necklace has been stolen from this pavilion!' Her friends then surrounded the pavilion..... Lalitā then said in a loud voice, 'The prince is not in the pavilion;' (at this) Alaka comments: 'I suppose that the subjects are now without a king!'

CHAPTER XIII

NINETEENTH CENTURY: MODERN REVIVAL OF BRAJABULI

Brajabuli literature continued down uninterruptedly to the middle of the nineteenth century. There is nothing to show that it was already dead, when there was an artificial revival in the hands of the English educated writers in the last quarter of the past century. It is, however, best to date the modern revival with the attempts of those poets who had received some sort of English education. I shall now deal with such poets.

'Saṅkarṣaṇa-dāsa' (Janamejaya Mitra).[1]

Janamejaya-Mitra, the father of the great antiquarian and indologist Rājā Rājendralāla Mitra, published an anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics of his own composition in the year *Śaka* 1782 (=A. C. 1860). The title of this work was *Saṅgīta-rasārṇava*. It contains two hundred and forty-seven Bengali and Brajabuli poems of his own, with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Saṅkarṣaṇa' or 'Saṅkarṣaṇa-dāsa.'[2] He had also cited four lyrics by his grandfather Rājā Pītāmbara Mitra Bāhādur. Fifteen of these poems by 'Saṅkarṣaṇa' are on Caitanya-deva, and of these nine have been incorporated in the *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*. All the poems quoted

[1] For the materials of this section I am indebted to the article 'Kavi-Saṅkarṣaṇa' by Jagadbandhu Bhadra, published in the journal *Śrī-Viṣṇupriyā-o-Ānandabājār-Patrikā* for 15th Bhadra 1311 B. E. I am also indebted to the article 'Kavi Saṅkarṣaṇa-dāsa' by Mṛṇāla-kānti Ghoṣa in the *Kāyastha-Patrikā*, Kārttika 1339 B. E. for the reference to the article by Jagadbandhu Bhadra.

[2] The title page of the *Saṅgīta-rasārṇava*, which was printed by Lālacānda Viśvāsa and Co. at the Sucāru Press (*yantra*), 13 Bahir Mṛjāpur, Calcutta, contained the following statement: 'saṅkarṣaṇa bhoga arthāt puṣpikāy svīya mana-santoṣārthe śrī janmejaya mitra karttṛka racita o prakāśita haila' 'with the *bhoga* (signature) or *puṣpikā* (colophon) of Saṅkarṣaṇa (this work) has been written and published by Śrī Janmejaya Mitra for his own satisfaction.'

mamejaya Mitra

in GPT. are in Bengali. As the *Saṅgīta-rasārṇava* has not been available to me I am unable to cite here any specimen of Saṅkarṣaṇa's Brajabuli composition.

Through the courtesy of Dr. Panchanan Mitra, Head of the Department of Anthropology in the University, himself a descendant of the poet, I had an opportunity of seeing a MS. of PKT. prepared for Janamejaya Mitra. This MS. shows some important variants, and it refers the work to the joint authorship of "Gokula-Kṛṣṇānanda-Sena mahodaya-dvaya."

Madhūsudana Datta [1824-1873].

Madhusūdana did not write anything in Brajabuli. But his Bengali poems on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa topic represent a particular phase in the modern treatment of the Vraja theme. Madhusūdana was the only great writer in modern Bengali literature that had thoroughly imbued the spirit of the Vaiṣṇava literature. As a matter of fact Madhusūdana, though he was a Christian and one of the most westernized Indians of his day, had the profoundest sympathy, the deepest respect and the greatest love for his native culture and literature than any other Bengali poet or author. Baṅkima-candra and Rabindranath, the two other greatest figures in modern Bengali literature, have both attempted Brajabuli verses. But Madhusūdana's poems conform to the spirit of Vaiṣṇava poetry in much greater degree than the works of the latter two. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are the characters in the lyrics of both Madhusūdana and Rabindranath, both have used the *bhaṇitā* throughout. But Baṅkima-candra's poems are mere fragments, there being no terseness and no *bhaṇitā*. Madhusūdana's poems breathe, however faintly, the perfume of devotion. But Rabindranath's Brajabuli poems have a purely esthetic appeal.

Madhusūdana's Vaiṣṇava lyrics (if I may say so) form a little work entitled *Vrajāṅganā-kāvya*. It was published in 1861. The poet had projected a bigger work which he could not or did not complete. The published portion forms the first canto called 'Viraha.'[1] The *Vrajāṅganā-kāvya* consists of eighteen poems. The titles of these poems are as follows :—

Vaṃśī-dhvani (*i*), Jaladhara, Yamunā-taṭe, Mayūrī, Pṛthivī, Pratidhvani, Uṣā, Kusuma, Malaya-māruta, Vaṃśī-dhvani (*ii*), Godhūli,

[1] The *puṣpikā* of the *Vrajāṅganā-kāvya* runs thus :
iti śrī-vrajāṅganā-kāvye viraho nāma prathamaḥ sargaḥ.

Govardhana-giri, Sārikā, Kṛṣṇacūṛā, Nikuñja-vane, Sakhī, Vasante (*i*), Vasante (*ii*).

All these poems are soliloquies of the love-lorn Rādhā. The following poem in triplet verse is quoted as a specimen.

kene eta phula tulili svajani bhariyā ḍālā ?
meghāvṛta hale pare ki rajanī tārāra mālā ?
āra ki yatane kusuma-ratane vrajera bālā ?
āra ki paribe kabhu phula-hāra vraja-kāminī ?
kene lo harili bhūṣaṇa latāra vana-śobhinī ?
ali bādhu tāra ke āche rādhāra hatabhāginī ?
hāy lo dolābi sakhi kāra gale mālā gāthiyā ?
āra ki nāce lo tamālera tale banamāliyā ?
premera piñjara bhāṅgi pika-vara geche uṛiyā ||
āra ki bāje lo manohara bāśī nikuñja-vane ?
vraja-sudhānidhi śobhe ki lo hāsi vraja-gagane ?
vraja-kumudinī ebe vilāpinī vraja-bhavane ||
hāy re yamune kene nā ḍubila tomāra jale—
adaya akrūra yabe se āila vraja-maṇḍale ?
krūra dūta hena badhile nā kena bale ki chale ?
harila adhama mama prāṇa hari vraja-ratana |
vraja-vana-madhu nila vraja-ari dali vraja-vana |
kavi madhu bhaṇe pābe vrajāṅgane madhusūdana || [8]

« 'Why have you, my friend, gathered so many flowers filling up your basket ? Does the night when overcast with clouds ever put on the necklace of stars ? Of what use can flowers now be to a girl of the Vraja ? Can a woman of the Vraja ever put on a garland of flowers ? Why have you stripped the ormaments of the creeper, the charm of the woodland ? The bee is her lover ; but who is there for Rādhā, the hapless ? Alas ! my friend, on whose neck are you going to put the garland, when you have made it ? Does the One with the wreath of wild flowers still dance under the *tamāla* tree ? The cuckoo has broken open the cage of love and has flown away. Does the enchanting flute still blow in the Nikuñja-vana ? Does the Moon of the Vraja (still) smile and shine in the firmament of the Vraja ? The lily of the Vraja is now sorrowing in the bed at the Vraja. Alas, O Yamunā ! Why did not the marciless Akrūra drown (himself) in thy waters, when he came to the region of the Vraja ? Why didst

thou not do away with such a cruel messenger by force or tricks? That contemptible creature has stolen my life, Hari, the Treasure of the Vraja: crushing the (flower-) bed of the Vraja its Enemy has removed the Honey from the Vraja.' The poet Madhu says: 'O Lady of the Vraja! You shall meet (your lover) Madhusūdana (in no time).' »

Baṅkima-candra Caṭṭopādhyāya [1838-1894].

Baṅkima-candra wrote a few songs in Brajabuli. These songs are fragmentary in character, and they lack the *bhaṇitā*. Though written manifestly on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa topic they are rather parodies or rag-time verses than devotional or spiritual songs. These songs which are three in number occur in the novel *Mṛṇālinī* [i. 3; iii. 4, 8] which was first published in B. E. 1276 (=A. C. 1869).

A few mixed Brajabuli poems were published in the *Vaṅga-darśana* [Vol. III: 1281 B. E.]. These poems do not contain any *bhaṇitā*. The poet signed himself as "Raja."

Rājakṛṣṇa Rāya [1855-1893].

Rājakṛṣṇa Rāya incorporated Brajabuli songs of his own composition not only in his comic operas on the Vraja legend such as the *Caturālī* and the *Candrāvalī* but also in his operas on a foreign subject-matter such as the *Benjīr-badremunir* and the *Laylā-majnu*. Rājakṛṣṇa's Brajabuli is mixed up with Hindi forms.

'Prasāda-dāsa' (Guru-prasāda Senagupta).

Guru-prasāda Senagupta, the father of the poet Rajanī-kānta Sena, published a book of Vaiṣṇava lyrics under the title of *Pada-cintāmaṇi-mālā*.[1] The poems, which are mostly in Brajabuli, were written in B.E. 1276 and earlier, but were published as late as B.E. 1283 (=A.C. 1876). In the preface of the work the author makes some correct observations on the phonology and grammar of the Brajabuli dialect. This is

[1] Printed by Śrī Murāri-mohana Viśvāsa at the Tamoghna Yantra, Boalia, B. E. 1283 (=A. C. 1876).

undoubtedly the first attempt of the kind. The first poem is quoted below as a specimen.

pāmara- jana-gaṇa- parama-suhṛta dhana
guru-pade majhu paraṇāma |
komala-nīraja- paṭala-kalevara-
sarasa premamaya dhāma ||
ko jāne tōhāri kṛpā-bala-leśa |
deha karuṇa kari bhūtala avatari
bhava-tari sama upadeśa ||
yo jana so tari bahi bahi yāyata
milata yugala-nidhi pāśe |
sukhamaya-yugala- keli-rasa rañjana
niti niti nirakha ulāse ||
smaraṇa manana kari tuyā pada-paṅkaja
prasāda-dāsa rasa gāba |
vañcita-bhakati durita-mati jāniye
nāhi karuṇa bichurāba ||

«My bow to the feet of the *guru*, the feet that are the best friend and treasure to men that are sinners. His gracefulness, exquisite as a mass of tender lotuses, is made solely of (divine) love. Who can know even slightly the might of your mercifulness? Do take pity and come to the earth and bless (me) with your instructions that are like the life-boat in the sea of being. He who knows, paddles that boat and comes to the proximity of the Precious Couple; and he, ever since, joyfully witnesses the ravishing, sweet sports of the Joyous Couple. With his thoughts concentrated on your lotus-feet Prasāda-dāsa will now sing of the joyous (sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa); knowing him to be devoid of *bhakti* (devotion) and evil-minded you should never withhold pity!»

'Bhānu-siṃha' (Rabindranath Tagore) [*b.* 1861].

Rabindranath in his early youth wrote some poems in Brajabuli, where he used the *bhaṇitā* 'Bhānu'[1] or 'Bhānu-siṃha.' These he published in B.E. 1291 under the title *Bhānusiṃha-ṭhākurera Padāvalī*. The poet's direct inspiration was received from the poems of Vidyāpati-

[1] Literally 'sun:' it is a synonym of 'ravi' the first word in his name.

Ṭhākura. These poems are manifestly written on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa topic. But this is no Vaiṣṇava literature strictly speaking, as the poet has treated his subject particularly from a secular standpoint. In these poems 'Rādhā,' 'Kṛṣṇa' and 'Vṛndāvana' are purely conventional names, which blend nicely with the Brajabuli speech and which lend an exotic or ethereal flavour to them. The language is good Brajabuli with a few sporadic Bengali forms, mainly verbal. The metre is that of Brajabuli. The music of the poems, however, is simply wonderful.

These poems number twenty only.[1] The following poem is quoted as a specimen.

gahana kusuma-kuñja mājhe
mṛdula-madhura vaṃśi bāje
bisari trāsa loka-lāje
sajani āo āo lo |
aṅge cāru nīla-vāsa
hṛdaye praṇaya-kusuma rāśa
hariṇa-netre vimala hāsa
kuñja vana-me āo lo ||
ḍhāle kusuma surabhi-bhāra
ḍhāle vihaga surava-sāra
ḍhāle indu amṛta-dhāra
vimala rajata-bhāti re |
manda-manda bhramara guñje
ayuta kusuma kuñje kuñje
phuṭala sajani puñje puñje
vakula yūthi jāti re ||
dekha sajani śyāma-rāy
nayane prema uthala yāy
madhura vadana amṛta-sadana
candramāy nindiche |
āo āo sajani-vṛnda
heraba sakhi śrī-govinda
śyāma-ko padāravinda
bhānu-siṃha bandiche || [8]

[1] The titles of these poems are: Vasanta-vāsanā, Śūnya-kānana, Viphala-rajanī, Viraha-vedanā, Milana-sajjā, Milana, Vaṃśi-dhvani, Abhisāra (i), Pratīkṣā, Vyākulatā, Rasāveśa, Nidrā, Abhisāra (ii), Varṣā, Anutaptā, Bidāy, Dūtīra prati, Saṃśaya, Maraṇa, Ko tuhu.

«'In the thick woodland in bloom the flute is playing soft and sweet; forgetting your fear for propriety, my friends, come along, O! do come along. Your figures are draped in fine, blue clothes; in your hearts bloom the Flowers of Love; and there is a bright smile in your eyes. O! do come to the pleasurable woodland. Flowers (all around) are diffusing profuse perfume; birds are pouring out the sweetest melodies; and the moon, bright and silvery, is flooding (the world) with streams of sweetness. Bees are humming softly, and in various groves, O my friends! innumerable flowers are blooming in clusters, *bakula*, *yūthi*, *jāti* (and others). Look, friends! there is Śyāma the Prince, and Love seems to gush out from his eyes. His sweet face,* the home of sweetness, puts the moon to shame. Come, do come along, my friends! Let us, my dears, feast our eyes on Śrī Govinda.' Bhānu-siṃha worships the lotus-feet of Śyāma.»

Later Poets.

Later poets need not detain us much. Brajabuli poems by these poets are more curiosities than literature. Such poems were and even now are written generally for literary exigencies such as dedication of a work, etc. Three such poems by Jagad-bandhu Bhadra are to be found in his *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*.

CHAPTER XIV

BRAJBHĀKHĀ POEMS IN VAIṢṆAVA ANTHOLOGIES

In a few anthologies begining with the *Pada-kalpa-taru* and in a few MSS. containing Vaiṣṇava lyrics some Brajbhākhā poems occur. The writers of these poems are either native speakers of Brajbhākhā or Bengali poets who had either settled at Vṛndāvana or lived there for a sufficiently long period. Some of these poems no doubt show Bengali or Brajabuli influence, but I do not know how much of it is due to the poets themselves and how much to the scribes and singers.

There are about fifteen Brajbhākhā poems in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, of which three or four poems lack the *bhaṇitā*.

'Āgarwālī.'

One poem by 'Āgarwālī' occurs in PKT. [2884]. Another occurs in VSP. MS. 978. The first couplet of the second poem runs thus:

priyā-mukh dekhyo śyām nehāri |
kahi na jāti ānan kī śobhā rahi bicāri bicāri ||

Kawala-dāsa.

In the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* there occurs one poem by Kawala-dāsa. The reading of the poem is very corrupt.

'Kṛṣṇakānta-tanayā.'

One poem with the *bh.* of 'Kṛṣṇakānta-tanayā' (the daughter of Kṛṣṇakānta) is quoted in APR. [483] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. Kṛṣṇakānta's Brajabuli poems contain traces of Brajbhākhā [*cf.* PKT. 2886, etc.] This poem, therefore, should be ascribed to Kṛṣṇakānta himself.

'Kṛṣṇadāsa.'

There are four Brajbhākhā poems (mixed with Brajabuli forms) in PKT. with the *bh.* of 'Kṛṣṇadāsa.' Two additional poems are also known, one in APR. [462] and the other in KPS. [p. 113]. There were several Kṛṣṇadāsas living in the Vraja area. I have attributed one of these poems to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja [see *supra*, pp. 103 f.].

Kṛṣṇānanda.

One Brajbhākhā poem by Kṛṣṇānanda is cited in APR. [485] from the *Pada-ratnākara.* One Bengali and four Brajabuli poems by Kṛṣṇānanda are also cited in APR. from the *Pada-rasa-sāra.* Nothing is known about the poet who must have flourished in the late eighteenth century.

Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa.

There are three poems in PKT. one with the *bh.* of 'Gopāla-dāsa' [2966] and two with the *bh.* of 'Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa' [1088, 2838]. See *supra*, p. 41.

Nanda.

One poem written in mixed Brajbhākhā and Brajabuli by Nanda is cited in APR. [437] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra.* Three Brajabuli poems of the same poet are also cited there from the same source. The poet, therefore, does not seem to be the Brajbhākhā poet Nanda-dāsa [*cf.* Grierson, MVLH., § 42].

Paramānanda.

Three Brajbhākhā poems by Paramānanda occur in PKT. [1585, 2858, 2871]. There also occur Bengali and Rrajabuli poems with the same *bhaṇitā* [see *supra*, pp. 61 f.[1]]. This Paramānanda was not the

[1] I have been wrong in identifying the Brajabuli (and Brajbhākhā) poet Paramānanda with Karṇapūra (who was also named Paramānanda), the youngest son of Śivānanda-Sena. There is nothing to prove that Karṇapūra had ever written anything in vernacular and that he had ever used his proper name Paramānanda in any of his literary works, which were written entirely in Sanskrit. Some of the Bengali and Brajabuli poems may be ascribed to Paramānanda-Gupta, a follower of Caitanya-deva [*cf.* Karṇapūra's Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā 199].

disciple of Vallabhāchāryya by the same name [*cf.* Grierson, MVLH., §38]. The poet was probably no other than Paramānanda-Bhaṭṭācārya who lived at Vṛndāvana as a protégé of Sanātana-Gosvāmin and his brother [*cf.* Bhakti-ratnākara, pp. 14 f.]. Paramānanda seems to have been a disciple of Rūpa-Gosvāmin.

Mādho.

Four poems by Mādho (<Mādhava) occur in PKT. [2364, 2365, 2968, 3035]. The first poem occurs in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [p. 472] in a shorter version. The poet is perhaps the Mādhava mentioned in the same work [p. 252]. He seems to have been a follower of Rūpa-Gosvāmin, as two of his poems are odes to the Gosvāmin [PKT. 2364, 2365]. According to Grierson the Brajbhākhā poet Mādhava-dāsa (was he the same person as our Mādho ?) was born in 1523 A.C. [*vide* MVLH., § 26].

Raghunātha-dāsa.

Three Brajbhākhā poems with the *bh.* of Raghunātha-dāsa occur in PKT. [2387, 2467, 2869]. The first of these poems I have ascribed to Raghunātha-dāsa Gosvāmin [see *supra*, p. 42]. Raghunātha-Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin may have written one or two such poems. Another poem with the *bh.* of 'Nṛpa Raghunātha' is cited in APR. [449] from VSP. MS. 201. This poem may be the work of the Brajbhākhā (or Hindi) poet Raghunāth Rāy [*vide* Grierson, MVLH., § 193]. Or he may have been the Malla king of Viṣṇupura.

Rāma-Rāya.

One Brajbhākhā poem with the *bh.* of Rāma-Rāya is cited in PKT. [2844]. Another such poem occurs in VSP. MS. 978. I have previously ascribed the poem in PKT. to Rāmānanda-Rāyà [see *supra*, p. 28]. But very possibly these two poems are the composition of the Brajbhākhā poet Rām-Rāy Rāṭhor [*vide* Grierson, MVLH.].

Rāya Gadādhara.

In VSP. MS. 978 there is a Brajbhākhā poem by Rāya Gadādhara. The poem is rather corrupt. The poet does not seem to be the Brajbhākhā poet Gadādhar-dās [*vide* Grierson, MVLH., § 46].

Vyāsa.

Two Brajbhākhā poems by Vyāsa are cited in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [p. 473]. Both poems are odes to the brothers Sanātana and Rūpa. Another poem by Vyāsa occurs in VSP. MS. 978. The poet was, in all probability, the same as the Brajbhākhā poet Vyās Svāmī [*vide* Grierson, MVLH., § 54].

Śivarāma.

One Brajbhākhā poem by Śivarāma occurs in PKT. [1557]. A few of his Brajabuli poems show Brajbhākhā influence. See *supra*, pp. 177 f.

Śrībhaṭa.

One poem by Śrībhaṭa occurs in VSP. MS. 201. The poem is quoted below:

śyāmā śyāmą seją uṭha bhaiṭhe sa parasą dau karata śiṅgārą |
in pahare oyā-ke motin-ke mālā un pahare nao se bahārą ||
naṭa-paṭi pāgą soṅārata śyāmā alaka sudhāye nandą-kumārą |
śrī-bhaṭą kahe yugala-ke dūtī hāmāri kuñjan me karata vihārą ||

According to Grierson Śrībhaṭą was born in 1544 A. C. [MVLH., § 53].

Sundara-Kavi.

One poem by 'Sundara *kavi*' has been quoted in APR. [464] from VSP. MS. 201.

Sūra-dāsa.

One poem by Sūrą-dāsą occurs in PKT. [1086]. Two others are cited in APR. [465, 466], one from VSP. MS. 201 and the other from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. Sūrą-dāsą was the celebrated Brajbhākhā poet [*vide* Grierson, MVLH., § 37].

The early Brajbhākhā poets on the Kṛṣṇa legend were all under the influence of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. Vallabha-Bhaṭṭa ('Vallabhāchārj'),

their leader, came in direct touch with the Great Master and Gadādhara Paṇḍita [CC. ii. 19 ; iii. 7.] ; he was a friend of Rūpa-Gosvāmin [*cf.* Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 272]. Vallabha's son Viṭṭhalā-nāthā was a follower of Raghunātha-dāsa, if not actually his disciple [*cf.* Bhakti-ratnākara, pp. 197, 210 f.]. The poet Mādho or Mādhava-dāsa (*vide* MVLH., § 26) too was a follower of the Gosvāmins [*cf.* Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 252]. The Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa literature in Brajbhākhā can thus be looked upon as an offshoot of the Neo-Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal.

CHAPTER XV

SANSKRIT LYRICS BY VAIṢṆAVA POETS

Some of the Vaiṣṇava poets wrote lyrics in Sanskrit, evidently emulating Jayadeva. Among them the most outstanding name is that of Rūpa-Gosvāmin, and then comes Rāya Rāmānanda. Sanskrit lyrics, however, were not so popular as Brajabuli poems. This is perhaps the reason why only a dozen poets attempted writing such poetry. All these poets, with the exception of Rūpa-Gosvāmin and Jīva-Gosvāmin, have been previously dealt with as Brajabuli poets. They are, accordingly, only briefly noticed here. Like Brajabuli poems Sanskrit lyrics seem to have been a literary fashion in the eighteenth century as they are found sporadically in Non-Vaiṣṇava literature also. Bhārata-candra inserted four or five such poems in his *Annadā-maṅgala*.

Rāmānanda-Rāya.

Rāmānanda's *Jagannāthavallabha-nāṭaka* contains twenty-one Sanskrit lyrics. The poet used Jayadeva's metres generally. Two of these songs have been quoted before [*supra*, pp. 26 f.].

Rūpa-Gosvāmin [? 1470- ? 1554 A.C.].

Rūpa, the most famous of the *six* Gosvāmins at Vṛndāvana, was a profound scholar, a prolific writer and a fine poet in Sanskrit. Both he and his elder brother Sanātana held two of the highest posts under the Pathan king Husain Shah [1493–1519 A.C.]. Their ancestors came from Karṇāṭa, and some of them were ruling princes.[1]

[1] Jīva-Gosvāmin has given an account of his ancestors at the end of the *Laghu Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* (a commentary on the Tenth Skandha of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*). The story of Rūpa and Sanātana's subsequent history is given in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*.

A Dance of Dervishes

The brothers met Caitanya-deva, when he had come to Rāmakeli [1513-14 A.C.] on his way to the projected pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana. This incident was the turning point in their lives. Soon they managed to escape from their charges and became mendicants. The Great Master told them to remain at Vṛndāvana. The names 'Sanātana' and 'Rūpa' were given to them by Caitanya-deva. Their real names were Amara and Santoṣa respectively, but they were generally known, in their official days, as 'Dabir Khās' and 'Sākar Mallik' respectively. They had a younger brother named Vallabha, who was renamed 'Anupama' by the Great Master.

Rūpa-Gosvāmin's works number much more than a score, and these works comprise literature (poetry and drama), philosophy (including rhetorics) and theology. The following are the more important ones among his writings:

Uddhava-sandeśa [1] (*ante* 1513 A.C.); *Vidagdha-mādhava* [2] (1517-1532 A.C.) *Lalita-mādhava* [2] (1517-1537 A.C.); *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* [3] (1541 A.C.); *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* [3]; *Padyāvalī* [4] (*ante* 1541 A.C.); and *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* [A.C. (?) 1549].

Rūpa was a master of the Sanskrit language and was undoubtedly one of the greatest poets in late Sanskrit. His poems and verses were very largely laid under contribution by almost all the later Vaiṣṇava poets. The lyric poems by Rūpa number forty-two and are collected under the title 'Gītāvalī.' This *Gītāvalī* along with other minor poems and hymns by Rūpa was collected together by Jīva-Gosvāmin into an anthology entitled the *Stava-mālā*.[5] So the compiler says in the introductory verse:

> śrīmad-īśvara-rūpeṇa rasāmṛta-kṛtā kṛtā |
> stavamālānujīvena jīvena samagṛhyata ||

[1] This is a poem written in the mode of the *Megha-dūta*. It must have been written before the poet met the Great Master.

[2] These two dramas were begun as one sometime in 1517 A.C. At the request of Caitanya-deva he split it into two separate dramas.

[3] These two rhetorico-philosophical works are really masterpieces. They are by far the most important productions of Rūpa-Gosvāmin.

[4] It is an anthology of poems on the Kṛṣṇa legend.

[5] This work has been published, with the commentary by Baladeva-Vidyābhūṣaṇa and a Bengali translation by Rāma-nārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore, 1292 B. E.

All these lyrics contain the name of his elder brother and *guru* Sanātana as the *bhaṇitā*. The word, however, has invariably been used in *double entendre*. The occurrence of the name of Sanātana as the *bhaṇitā* has given rise to a widespread erroneous notion that Sanātana was the real author of these songs. Sanātana was one of the profoundest scholars and greatest intellectuals among his contemporaries. He was no less distinguished for his piety and religiousness. He was the *guru* of his younger brother. Rūpa-Gosvāmin, therefore, showed his reverence for his elder brother and *guru* at the beginning, or at the end, or at both, of his works. There also the name Sanātana appears in *double entendre*.

Rūpa-Gosvāmin does not appear to have written any poem in vernacular. His Sanskrit lyrics, however, have always been very popular. Some at least of these poems have been included in each and every anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. No less than thirty-four of these songs are incorporated in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*.

The lyrics by Rūpa-Gosvāmin are by far better than any other Sanskrit lyric or lyrics written after Jayadeva. The Gosvāmin has not infrequently excelled his prototype, Jayadeva, in diction and rhythm. Moreover, wrong caesura is not so frequent here as in the songs of the *Gīta-govinda*. A much greater variety of metres is shown in those lyrics than is found in the work of Jayadeva. There is no doubt want of depth of thought; but this is more than compensated by the delicacy of diction and musical rhythm. The following songs are quoted as specimens:

anadhigatākasmika-gada-kāraṇa-
-marpita-mantrauṣadhi-nikurambam |
avirata-rudita-vilohita-locana-
-manuśocati tām akhila-kuṭumbam ||

deva hare bhava karuṇā-śālī |
sā tava niśita-kaṭākṣa-śarāhata-
hṛdayā jīvatu kṛśa-tanur ālī ||

hṛdi valad-avirala-saṃjvara-paṭalī-
sphuṭad-ujjvala-mauktika-samudāyā |
śītala-bhūtala-niścala-tanur iya-
-mavasīdati samprati nirupāyā ||

goṣṭha-janābhaya-satra-mahāvrata-
dīkṣita bhavato mādhava bālā |
katham arhati tāṃ hanta sanātana-
viṣama-daśāṃ guṇa-vṛnda-viśālā ||
[Gītāvalī 9; PKT. 172]

«The whole family (of Rādhā), not knowing the cause of her sudden malady, and having administered all sorts of medicinal and magic doses, are lamenting for her, with their eyes red through incessant weeping. O lord Hari, be thou merciful! She has her heart pierced with thy darting, sharp glances; let our slight-bodied friend live! All the pearls (on her necklace) have burst on her bust, owing to the vehemence of her protracted fever. Quite helpless, she now collapses in agony, her body lying immobile on the cool floor. O Mādhava, who hast initiated himself in the great vow of free protection to the cow-herd folk! how can that girl, who is endowed with all the good qualities deserve from thee this prolonged state of suffering (*or*, the state of *viraha* of Sanātana)?»

tvaṃ kuca-valgita-mauktika-mālā |
smita-sāndrīkṛta-śaśi-kara-jālā ||
harim abhisara sundari sita-veṣā |
rākā-rajanir ajani gurur eṣā ||
parihita-māhiṣa-dadhi-ruci-sicayā |
vapur arpita-ghana-candana-nicayā ||
karṇa-karambita-kairava-hāsā |
kalita-sanātana-saṅga-vilāsā || [Gītāvalī 25; PKT. 1013]

«The necklace of pearls is throbbing on your bust: with your smiles you are intensifying the moonlight. O lovely lady dressed in white! do you seek Hari? This full-moon night has become your instructor. You have put on clothes immaculate like curd made of buffalo's milk, and you have toileted with thick sandal-paste. (Two) blooming lilies are dangling at your ears: you are manifesting gracefulness for sporting with the Eternal One (*or*, you are manifesting gracefulness in company of your friend Sanātana).»

yad api samādhiṣu vidhir api paśyati
na tava nakhāgra-marīcim |
idam icchāmi ni- -śamya tavācyuta
tad api kṛpādbhuta-vīcim ||

deva bhavantaṃ vande |
man-mānasa-madhu- -karam arpaya nija-
pada-paṅkaja-makarande ||
bhaktir udañcati yady api mādhava
na tvayi mama tilamātrī |
parameśvaratā tad api tavādhika-
durghaṭa-ghaṭana-vidhātrī ||
ayam avilola- -tayādya sanātana
kalitādbhuta-rasa-bhāram |
nivasatu nityam ihāmṛta-nindini
vindan madhurima-sāram ||

[Gītāvalī 24; PKT. 3015]

« Though even the Creator cannot get a glimpse of the shine of thy toe-tips in spite of profuse austerities, still, I, on hearing of the wonderful flow of mercy, O unchanging One! entertain this (desire). O Lord, I beseech thee. Do thou set my mind, the bee, to the nectar of thy lotus-feet? O Mādhava, even though my mind may not have the slightest (pure) devotion to thee, still there is thy wonderful, omnipotent majesty. May this (my mind), O Eternal One, finding the supreme feast of *rasa* (ecstasy), and enjoying the supreme bliss, henceforth reside perpetually in (thy lotus-feet) which defies nectar, (*or*, may this, my mind, finding the supreme feast of *rasa* which has been tasted by Sanātana, and enjoying, etc.). »

Jīva-Gosvāmin [? 1511-1596 A.C.].

Jīva-Gosvāmin was the son of Vallabha (also known as Anupama), the youngest brother of Sanātana-Gosvāmin. Jīva was educated at Kāśī and settled at Vṛndāvana when he was about twenty-four years old. He became the disciple of his uncle Rūpa-Gosvāmin. Jīva was not inferior to his uncles in scholarship. He, too, was a prolific writer in Sanskrit, perhaps more so than Rūpa. His more important works are the philosophical treatises, *Tattva-sandarbha*, *Bhagavat-sandarbha*, *Paramātma-sandarbha*, *Śrīkṛṣṇa-sandarbha*, *Bhakti-sandarbha*, and *Prīti-sandarbha*; the prose narrative *Gopāla-campū*; the grammar *Hari-nāmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa*; and commentaries on the *Bhāgavata-Purāna*, the *Brahma-saṃhitā*, the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*.

Jīva Gosvāmin

The *Gopāla-campū* [1] is a voluminous work. It is divided into two sections: 'Pūrva-vibhāga' and 'Uttara-vibhāga.' The first section, containing thirty-three chapters (called *pūraṇa*), was completed in *Saṃvat* 1645 (*Śaka* 1510=A. C. 1588), and the second, containing thirty-seven chapters, was completed in Vaiśākha *Saṃvat* 1649 (*Śaka* 1514=A. C. 1592). The *Gopāla-campū* contains thirty-six lyrics. But these are lyrics in form only. They are generally long poems and were apparently not intended to be sung. They are, quite rightly, not incorporated in any of the anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. The following which is one of the shortest poems is quoted as a specimen:

rādhā-rākā-śaśadhara muralī-kara gokula-pati-kula-pāla
jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare |
rādhā-vādhā-mocana- sukha-rocana vidalita-gokula-kāla
jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare ||
rādhā-parikara-puṇyada naipuṇyada gokula-rucisu viśāla
jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare |
rādhā-sukṛta-vaśīkṛta maṅgala-bhṛta tilakita-gokula-bhāla
jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare ||
rādhā-nija-gati-dharmada puru-śarmada hata-gokula-ripu-jāla
jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare |
rādhā-jīvana-jīvana go-vraja-dhana gokula-sarasi marāla
jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare ||
rādhā-moda-rasākara sarasija-vara gokula-maṇḍala-nāla
jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare |
rādhā-bhūṣaṇa-bhūṣaṇa gata-dūṣaṇa gokula-hṛdila-bhūpāla
jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare || [pp. 1644ff.] [2]

« O Moon of the full-moon night—Rādhā! O Wielder of the flute! O Protector of the host of cowherds! Hail! Hail! O Kṛṣṇa! O Hari! O Thou that art delighted with the joy of removing obstacles to Rādhā! O Destroyer of the scourge of Gokula! Hail! Hail! O Kṛṣṇa! O Hari! O Thou that causest joy to the attendants of Rādhā! O Bestower of all skill! O Thou the most resplendent in Gokula! Hail! Hail! O Kṛṣṇa! O Hari! O Thou that art tamed by the good deeds

[1] Published by Nitya-svarūpa Brahmacārī under the patronage of Maharaja Manindracandra Nandī in B.E. 1818 *et seq.* (Also published from Brindaban in Nāgarī type.

[2] Nitya-svarūpa Brahmacārī's edition.

of Rādhā ! O Thou that bringest in all blessings ! O Thou that hast become the *tilaka* on the forehead of Gokula ! Hail ! Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Hari ! O Thou that dispensest merit for Rādhā's own way ! O Giver of infinite joy ! O Thou that hast slain all the enemies of Gokula ! Hail ! Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Hari ! O Life of the life of Rādhā ! O Treasure of the cattle and the Vraja ! O Swan on the lake—Gokula ! Hail ! Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Hari ! O Thou the wonderful lotus that contains the essence of Rādhā's pleasures ! O Thou the stalk of orb of (the lotus—) Gokula ! Hail ! Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Hari ! O Thou the ornament to the ornaments of Rādhā ! O Thou devoid of all blemishes ! O Thou the adored King of Gokula ! Hail ! Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Hari ! »

Locana-dāsa.

Locana wrote at least one Sanskrit lyric. This song, which is a paraphrase of a Sanskrit lyric by Rāmānanda-Rāya [Jagannāthavallabhanāṭaka, Act V, 61], has been already cited [*supra*, pp. 64f.].

Govindadāsa Kavirāja.

Only one Sanskrit lyric by Govindadāsa Kavirāja is known [PKT. 379]. It has been quoted previously [see *supra*, p. 134]. His drama *Saṅgīta-mādhava* may have contained a few such poems.

'Hari-vallabha.'

Viśvanātha-Cakravartin, whose pen-name is supposed to have been 'Hari-vallabha,' has five Sanskrit lyrics to his credit. Three of these occur with the full *bhaṇitā* [Kṣaṇadā 213, 249, 290] and the other two with the shorter *bhaṇitā* 'Vallabha' [Kṣaṇadā 254, 294].

Narahari-dāsa (ii).

Narahari-dāsa (ii), whose full name was Narahari-Cakravarttī, has incorporated two Sanskrit lyrics by himself in his *Bhakti-ratnākara* [pp. 265f.]. A few more, perhaps, occurred in his anthology *Gīta-candrodaya*.

Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura.

The *Padāmṛta-samudra* contains five Sanskrit lyrics by its compiler Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura [pp. 17, 21f., 24f., 162f., 422]. Three of these are cited in the *Pada-kalpa-taru.*

Dīna-bandhu.

The *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* [67] contains only one Sanskrit lyric by its compiler Dīna-bandhu.

Candra-śekhara (iii).

Candra-śekhara, the brother of the poet Śaśi-śekhara has only one Sanskrit lyric to his credit. It occurs in the *Nāyikā-ratna-mālā* [57].

Śacī-nandana (ii).

Śacīnandana-Vidyānidhi, the author of the *Ujjvala-candrikā* (A.C. 1785), has incorporated one Sanskrit lyric by himself in that work [pp. 182f.].

Lyric poems written in mixed Brajabuli (or Bengali) and Sanskrit became very popular in the eighteenth century. The poet Śaśi-śekhara had special aptitude for this form of the lyric. The beginnings of this, however, goes back to the sixteenth century. Locana was the first poet to write mixed Sanskrit lyrics. Specimens of such lyrics have been previously given.

Mixed Sanskrit and Bengali poems written in metres of Classical Sanskrit occur in one or two anthologies of the eighteenth century. I have not found such poems in any of the earlier sources. Two such poems occur in the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* [pp. 134, 159].

CHAPTER XVI

BENGALI LYRICS IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY (OR EARLIER)

Ānanta Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa [*ante* (?) 1554 A.C.].

One of the earlier lyric poets to write on the Vraja theme was one 'Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa,' whose other name seems to have been Ananta. 'Caṇḍīdāsa' has almost become a legendary name in mediæval Bengali literature; quite a number of stories have grown up regarding this mysterious person. There is also reason to believe that there were more than one persons with the name of 'Caṇḍīdāsa.'[1] One such has been already discussed [pp. 251ff.]. But we are concerned here with that Caṇḍīdāsa who was the author of the work now known as the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*.

The *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*, known in a unique MS., was discovered by the veteran scholar Pandit Basanta-ranjan Ray Vidvadvallabha in B. E. 1316. It was edited by him and published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, in B. E. 1323. The initial leaf or leaves of the MS. is or are missing, and it is incomplete. Besides there are a few lacunae. The MS. does not bear any title. The title 'Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana' was given by the learned editor. The preserved portion of the MS. contains 420 songs (including a few fragments) written entirely in Bengali. The poet, who subscribes himself as 'Caṇḍīdāsa,' 'Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa,' or (only six times) as 'Ananta Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa' (pp. 56, 61, 62, 324, 327, 341), was a worshipper of the deity 'Bāsalī,' as he pays his respects to her at the colophon of almost all the poems. These are the only facts about the poet that can be gathered from the preserved portion of the MS.

[1] Poems with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Caṇḍīdāsa' are quite plentiful. As a matter of fact such poems number more than a thousand. All these poems certainly do not come from a single hand. Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Pandit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna are bringing out a critical edition, really the first critical edition of the poems of 'Caṇḍīdāsa.' This edition promises to clarify the issues, if not actually solving the problems concerning 'Caṇḍīdāsa.'

The work, on its publication, was at once hailed as a work of the fourteenth century. The script of the MS. (which, however, shows three different hands) is apparently old. Rakhaldas Banerji was inclined to put it to the first half of the fourteenth century. The language is certainly archaic, and there seems to be not the slightest influence of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism in it. These facts generally are deemed quite sufficient to favour an early date for the work.

But recently competent palæographists are not inclined to date the MS. as early as the fourteenth century. They opine that the latest date can come as down as 1525 A.C., if not still later. This has again reopened the question of the date of 'Caṇḍīdāsa.' Before discussing it I shall briefly mention the earliest references to the Bengali poet 'Caṇḍīdāsa.'

It is generally believed that Caṇḍīdāsa was an older contemporary of Vidyāpati, and as the latter flourished in the early fifteenth century, Caṇḍīdāsa is believed to have flourished in the late fourteenth century. But there is not the slightest evidence to justify this popular belief. The earliest reference to a (vernacular ?) poet Caṇḍīdāsa writing on the Vraja theme was made by Sanātana-Gosvāmin in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* [A.C. 1554], a commentary on the Tenth Book of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.[1] The next reference occurs in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* [A.C. 1581], where the Kavirāja mentions more than once that Caitanya-deva in his later days used to enjoy recitals from 'Caṇḍīdāsa' and other poets, *viz.*, Jayadeva, Vidyāpati and Rāmānanda-Rāya [*vide* CC. ii. 2; etc.]. But it should be mentioned here that none of the earlier biographers of the Great Master, *viz.*, Murāri-Gupta, Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Locana-dāsa, and Kavi-karṇapūra (Paramānanda-Sena) mention 'Caṇḍīdāsa.' The next reference occurs in the *Prema-vilāsa* [A.C. 1600], where the author, Nityānanda-dāsa, says that Caṇḍīdāsa's songs on the Vraja theme were sung at an anniversary festival at Khetarī.

> santoṣa govinda gokulā sabe gāy gīta |
> caṇḍīdāserā kṛṣṇa-līlāy hare sabārā cita ‖ [xix.]

Let us now examine these references and judge their bearing on the Caṇḍīdāsa problem. Sanātana-Gosvāmin in his commentary on the Tenth

[1] This reference was first brought to general notice by Satīśa candra Rāya [*vide* APR., Introduction, p. xxvii]. The reference runs thus: *kāvya-śabdena parama-vaicitrī tāsāṃ sūcitāś ca gītagovindādi-prasiddhās tathā śrī-caṇḍīdāsādi-darśita-dānakhaṇḍa-naukākhaṇḍā-di-prakārāś ca jñeyāḥ* [Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī, xxx. 26].

Book of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* [x. 33.26] mentions 'Śrī-Caṇḍīdāsa' along with Jayadeva, and he implies that 'Caṇḍīdāsa' had successfully dealt with with the *Dāna* and *Naukā* episodes.

There is nothing in this reference (supposing it to be genuine) to justify the conclusion that Caṇḍīdāsa was a vernacular poet and that the episodes referred to are the episodes in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*. On the other hand the mention of the *Gīta-govinda* implies that the poet Caṇḍīdāsa too wrote in Sanskrit, as did Jayadeva. The use of the word 'Śrī' also implies that the poet was known to be living when the reference was made. It is true that the epithet 'Śrī' was and is used with the name of persons who are no longer living, but in that case it is prefixed to the names of only very illustrious persons. Sanātana-Gosvāmin could have done so only to the name of a great devotee. But so far as we know Caṇḍīdāsa, the author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* was *not* a Vaiṣṇava, but a worshipper of the goddess Bāsalī, a manifestation of Śakti.

Now as regards the mention of the *Dāna* and *Naukā* episodes, there is nothing to justify that this reference is to the corresponding episodes in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*. This work contains many episodes which are otherwise unknown, and these two episodes are certainly not the only two important episodes in this work. As a matter of fact we know of a Sanskrit work in verse, which contain the four episodes, *Vastra-haraṇa*, *Bhāra-khaṇḍa*, *Naukā-khaṇḍa* and *Dāna-khaṇḍa*. This work is variously known as *Premāmṛta*, *Rādhā-premāmṛta*, or *Gopāla-carita*, and is ascribed variously in various MSS. to Caitanya-deva, Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa, Viṭṭhala-Dīkṣita or Mohinīmohana Lāhirī. This work has been published from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore (B. E. 1335, Third Edition), and also from the Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta (B. E. 1331).[1] Caitanya-deva was certainly not the author of this work. Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa and Viṭṭhala-Dīkṣita were contemporaries and friends.

There is good evidence to show that the work known as the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* was not known to the followers of the Great Master and their contemporaries. The *Dāna* episode was quite popular in Bengal in the early sixteenth century, and several poets of that period have referred or alluded to it. But none of these accounts tally even the slightest with the narration in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*. I shall now examine these references or allusions in the light of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*.

[1] I shall have occasion later to discuss this work more fully.

Murāri-Gupta in his *Śrī-śrīkṛṣṇacaitanya-caritāmṛta*[1] (popularly known as Murāri-Gupta's *Kaṛacā*), when narrating the Great Master's pilgrimage in the Vraja area, says that the *Dāna* and *Naukā* sports happened in the vicinity of the Govarddhana hill (the Boating Sport taking place in the stream or lake Mānasa-gaṅgā which flowed by that hill).

> vṛndāvana-paścime ca govarddhana-gires taṭe |
> śrīkṛṣṇaḥ krīḍati yatra naukākhaṇḍādi līlayā ‖ [iv. 3.12].
> nau-krīḍāṃ kṛtavān kṛṣṇo gaṅgāyāṃ rasa-kautukī |
> kurvanti mathurāṃ goṣṭhe lokā gamana-nirgame ‖
> atra dāna-nimittaṃ hi prastarāṃśaṃ viśan hariḥ |
> gopikā ramayan reme bhaktānugraha-kāmyayā ‖ [iv. 8.4,5.]

According to the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* the Boating Sport (Naukā-līlā) happened in the Yamunā, and the Toll-collecting Sport (Dāna-līlā) somewhere else. Now, logically, the Boating Sport could not have happened in the Yamunā, as Vṛndāvana and Mathurā are on the same bank of the river, and in the Boating episode the *Gopīs* had to cross a river in order to go over to Mathurā. So the river could not have been the Yamunā.

Rūpa-Gosvāmin wrote a *Bhāṇikā* on the *Dāna* episode, entitled the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* [A. C. 1549].[2] There he mentions that the *Dāna* incident happened at the foot of the hill Govarddhana. If the famous Caṇḍīdāsa, mentioned by Sanātana-Gosvāmin, were the author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*, Rūpa-Gosvāmin would certainly have not made this departure. As a matter of fact the treatment of the story by the Gosvāmin is almost entirely different.

All the biographers of the Great Master mention that in his home life Caitanya-deva had held a dramatic performance at the house of his uncle-in-law Candraśekhara-Ācāryaratna. Kavi-Karṇapūra in his drama, *Caitanya-candrodaya*,[3] mentions that the subject-matter of the play was

[1] Published from the Amrita Bazar Patrika Office, Calcutta, second edition, Caitanya Era 426.

[2] gate manuśate śāke candra-svara-samanvite |
nandīśvare nivasatā bhāṇikeyaṃ vinirmitā ‖ [colophon.]

As this *Bhāṇikā* has been referred to in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (1541 A. C.) it may be presumed that the work was began prior to 1541 A. C. and completed in 1549 A.C., or that it was revised in 1549 A. C.

This dramatic work has been published from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore.

[3] This work was first published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. It has subsequenty been published from several places. The *Caitanya-candrodaya* was completed in A. C. 1576.

the *Dāna* episode. The third act of the *Caitanya-candrodaya*, entitled 'Dāna-vinoda,' gives a version of the play performed by the Great Master and his prominent followers. Karṇapūra's version of the episode is, however, entirely different from the version in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*.

Vṛndāvana-dāsa, in the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* [iii. 5] mentions that Nityānanda-prabhu held a mock Dāna sport at the house of Gadādhara-dāsa and that Mādhava-Ghoṣa had sung songs on that occasion. But from the scanty reference made by Vṛndāvana-dāsa this much can be gathered that the particular version of the episode was not the same as the version in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*. Let me quote here the pertinent portions from the *Caitanya-bhagāvata* [iii. 5]:

> huṅkāra kariyā nityānanda-candra rāya |
> karite lāgilā nṛtya gopāla-līlāya ||
> dāna-khaṇḍa gāyena mādhavānanda-ghoṣa |
> śuni avadhūta-siṃha parama santoṣa ||

Again—

> dāna-khaṇḍa līlā śuni nityānanda rāy |
> ye nṛtya karena tāhā varṇanā nā yāy ||

Mādhavācārya, the poet of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*, was a contemporary and follower of Caitanya-deva. The *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*,[1] which must have been composed some time before A.C. 1550, contains the two episodes, *Dāna* and *Naukā*. But this treatment, in spite of some amount of similarity, abundantly shows that the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* was unknown to the poet.

To sum up, no work of the sixteenth century (or earlier [2]) betrays any acquaintance with Caṇḍīdāsa's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*.[3] The 'songs of Caṇḍīdāsa' as mentioned in the *Prema-vilāsa* (see *supra*, p. 389) were, in all probability, the composition of that 'Caṇḍīdāsa' who, according to the *Narottama-vilāsa* was a disciple of Narottama.

[1] Published from the Bangabasi Press, Calcutta, second edition, B.E. 1333.

[2] Only one such work is known. It is Mālādhara-Vasu's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-vijaya*. But this work does not contain the two episodes.

[3] One thing should be mentioned here. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has cited four lines of a Bengali song in CC. ii. 3 [see *infra*]. An apparently complete version of this poem, with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Caṇḍīdāsa' has been discovered by Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna, in a stray manuscript leaf, which contains the date B.E. 1112 [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 34, p. 47]. The additional lines are evidently a later interpolation.

The language of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* is no doubt archaic. In fact it is, with the exception of the *Caryā-padas*, the oldest known specimen of Bengali. Still there is nothing in it that can preclude its dating in the latter half of the sixteenth century or the first half of the next. It must be remembered that the earliest known MSS. of any Bengali work do not date earlier than the seventeenth century. It must also be remembered that a border dialect—and the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* was undoubtedly written in such a dialect, the dialect of the extreme south-west Bengal—was (and is) invariably more archaic than its contemporary central dialect or dialects.

There is, besides, quite a number of Brajabuli forms in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*, and one or two late forms (*viz.*, *muṛa* for *mūṛha*; *sāda* for *sādha*; *ātata* for *ātatha*; *duṭi* 'two'; etc.). This of course does not support a very early date of the work.

The general tone of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* is certainly vulgar. But this vulgarity has been more than redeemed in the last section of the book, 'Rādhā-viraha.' Its poetry, if not particularly vigorous, has a rather refreshing tinge of primitiveness in it. The metre is mostly *payāra*, otherwise *tripadī*. The following poem, which is cited as a specimen, is by far the best piece in the work:—

ke nā bāśī bāe baṛāyi kālinī nai kūle |
ke nā bāśī bāe baṛāyi e goṭha gokule ||
ākula śarīra mora beyākula mana |
bāśīra śabadē mo āūlāilē rāndhana ||
ke nā bāśī bāe baṛāyi se nā kona janā |
dāsī haā tāra pāe niśibē āpanā ||
ke nā bāśī bāe baṛāyi cittera haṛiṣe |
tāra pāe baṛāyi mē kailē kona doṣe ||
ājhara jharae mora nayanera pāṇi |
bāśīra śabadē baṛāyi hārāyilē parāṇī ||
ākula karitē kibā āmhāra mana |
bājāe susara bāśī nāndera nandana ||
pākhi nahē tāra ṭhāi ūṛī paṛi jāē |
medanī vidāra deu pasiā lukāē ||
vana poṛe āga baṛāyi jaga-jane jāṇī |
mora mana poṛe yenha kumbhārera paṇī ||
āntara sukhāe mora kānha-ābhilāse |
bāsalī śire bandī gāila caṇḍīdāse ||

« [Rādhā, on hearing the notes from Kṛṣṇa's flute, is extremely distressed, and she thus addresses her friend and chaperon, an old lady :] 'Who is he, O grandmother ! that is playing on a flute on the bank of the river Kālindī ? Who is he, O grandmother ! that is playing on a flute at the pasture field ? My body is paralysed, and my mind runs mad ; and I have made a mess of my cooking, at the notes of the flute. Who is he, O grandmother ! that sounds the flute ? What sort of a man is he ? I shall become his slave and shall offer myself at his feet. Who is he, O grandmother ! that is playing on the flute, with joyfulness of heart ? What offence, O grandmother ! have I done at his feet ? Tears of my eyes flow down in torrents : I have, O grandmother ! lost my soul at the notes of the flute. Or is it that the Son of Nanda is playing on the flute so sweetly in order only to destroy the tranquillity of my mind ? I am not a bird, so that I may fly over to him : let the earth yawn a chasm so that I may enter it and hide (myself). When a (whole) forest is on fire it is obvious, O grandmother ! to the people of the world ; but my heart is burning like the potter's oven. My inner self is drying up with a desire for Kṛṣṇa !' So sings Caṇḍīdāsa, bowing to (the deity) Bāsalī with his head. »

Fragments of Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics.

Before passing on to the next poet I should mention that some of the sixteenth century Vaiṣṇava biographical works have quoted a few fragments from Bengali and Brajabuli (or Maithil) songs.

None of these fragments, with the exception of one, have been obtained in their complete form. These fragments are certainly as old as the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and possibly earlier. I cite these fragments below. The *Caitanya-bhāgavata* [ii. 23] quotes the following Brajabuli fragment only :

tuyā caraṇe mana lāgu-hũ re |
śāraṅga-dhara tuyā caraṇe mana lāgu-hũ re ||

« May my mind attach (itself) to thy feet ! O ! Wielder of (the bow) Śāraṅga ! may my mind attach (itself) to thee ! »

The *Advaita-prakāśa* [1] [A. C. 1568] of Īśāna-Nāgara contains the two following fragments of Bengali songs :

kāhā kānu kāhā kānu kāhā tāre pāõ |
viccheda-anale poṛā parāṇa juṛāõ || [xvi.]

[1] Published from the Amrita Bazar Patrika Office, Calcutta.

« Where is Kṛṣṇa ? Where is Kṛṣṇa ? Where may I catch him, and soothe my heart smouldering in the fire of separation ? »

bahu-kāle tore kālā lāga pāïlāõ |
antare rākhimu bhari nāhi chāṛibāõ ‖ [xviii]

« After a long, long time I have caught you up, O Black One ! I will lock you up in my heart and will not let you go away. »

The *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* cites the three following fragments, one in Maithil (or Brajabuli) and two in Bengali. The former occurs in a complete form—with the *bh.* of Vidyāpati—in Prema-dāsa's *Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī* [A. C. 1712], and the second Bengali fragment I have already discussed [*vide* p. 392, *footnote* 3] :

ki kahaba re sakhi āju-ka ānanda-ora |
cira-dine mādhava mandire mora ‖ [ii. 3.]

« How shall I describe, O my friend ! the extreme joyfulness of this day ? After an age Mādhava has come to my house ! »

seï-ta parāṇa-nātha pāinu |
yāhā lāgi madana-dahane jhuri genu ‖ [ii. 1, 13.]

« After all I have got the lord of my soul, for whom I have suffered from the tortures of Love ! »

hā hā prāṇa-priya sakhi ki nā haila more |
kānu-prema-viṣe mora tanu mana jare ‖
rātri-dine poṛe mana soyāsti nā pāõ |
yāhā gele kānu paõ tāhā uṛi yāõ ‖ [ii. 3.]

« Alas, alas, my friend, dearer than my heart ! What has indeed happened to me ? My body and soul is being consumed with the poison, *viz.*, love for Kṛṣṇa. My heart is burning day and night, and I do not obtain (the slightest) respite. Would I fly over to where I can find Kṛṣṇa ! »

Candra-śekhara (i) [*c.* 1500 A.C.].

Three Bengali poems with the *bh.* of 'Candra-śekhara (-dāsa)' occur in PKT. [1854, 2184, 3030]. These poems (two of which are on Caitanya-

deva) cannot be the work of the two later Candra-śekharas, as a study of these poems shows that the poet must have come in direct touch with Caitanya-deva. Now there were three persons with the name of Candra-śekhara among the immediate followers of the Master. These were—(*i*) Candraśekhara-Ācārya, better known as Ācārya-ratna, uncle-in-law to Caitanya-deva, (*ii*) Candra-śekhara, a Vaidya, (*iii*) Candra-śekhara, also a Vaidya, living at Benares [CC. i. 10]. Besides these three there was a fourth, Ācārya Candra, whose full name may have been Candra-śekhara. The only poem that can be attributed to Ācārya Candra bears the *bh.* 'Ācārya-Candra' [*vide* pp. 211 f.] He, therefore, does not seem to be the poet of these three lyrics. Any of the above three may have been the poet in question, but, I think, probability lies with the second Candra-śekhara. Was he the person who was a disciple of Narahari-Sarkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa and of whom Rāmagopāla-dāsa [*c.* 1695 A. C.] says in his *Śākhā-nirṇaya* [1] as follows?

candraśekhar̥ nāme vaidya āchila khaṇḍete |
yāra basat̥ bāṭī khaṇḍa kṣetrera talāte ||
rasik̥-rāy̥ vigraha tāra sevā atiśaya |
svarṇa thākur̥ bali mogal beṛhila ālaya ||
bakṣe rākhilā ṭhākur̥ tabu nā chāṛilā |
candraśekharer̥ muṇḍa mogale kāṭilā || [pp. 6-7.]

«There was at (Śrī)khaṇḍa a Vaidya named Candra-śekhara: his residence was at 'Kṣetra-talā' in Śrīkhaṇḍa. He had installed an image (named) Rasika-rāya, worshipped with great pomp. Taking the image to be made of gold, the Moghals surrounded his house. He kept the image in close embrace and would not part with it. The Moghals chopped his head off.»

The following poem breathes in the poet's sincerity and devotion:

kapaṭa-cāturī-cite jana-mana bhulāïte
laïye tomāra nāma-khāni |
dāṛāïyā satya-pathe asatya yajiba tāthe
pariṇāme ki habe nā jāni ||

1. 'Śākhā-nirṇaya,' by Rāmagopāla-dāsa, published from the Madhumatī-Samiti, Śrīkhanda, Caitanya Era 424.

ohe nāthā, mo baṛa adhama durācāra |
sādhu-śāstra-guru-vākya nā mānilũ muñi dhika
ataye se nā dekhi uddhāra ||
loke kare satya buddhi mora nāhi nija-śuddhi
udāra haïyā loke bhāṛi |
prema-bhāva more kare nija-guṇe tārā tare
āpani hailũ chōca-hāṛi ||
candraśekhara-dāsa ei mane abhilāṣa
āra ki emana daśā haba |
gorā-pāriṣada saṅge saṅkīrttana rasa-raṅge
ānande divasa goṅāïba ||

«(My) heart (is full of) guile. And I take your precious Name to impose upon the mind of men. I have taken my stand on the path of truth, but then I practise deception. I do not know what will happen (to me) at the end. O Lord! I am a very despicable sinner. I, the unfortunate fellow, have not paid heed to the teachings of the *guru*, of the scriptures, and of the saints. Therefore I do not find (my) salvation. People believe me to be honest, but I do not possess purity of self. Showing off as a pious man I cheat people. They have love for me, and that virtue saves them. I am just like the rejected earthen pot (for boiling rice). This is the desire at the heart of Candraśekhara-dāsa: 'Will such a state come again that I may joyfully pass the day in the bliss of *Saṅkīrttana* in the company of the followers of Gorā (*i.e.*, Caitanya-deva)?'»

Vijayānanda-dāsa [*c.* 1509 A.C.].

In PKT. there is a Bengali poem with the above *bh.* [2242]. The poet is generally believed to be Vijaya-dāsa, who had copied several manuscripts for the Great Master. The poem is a description of Caitanya-deva, and from the *bhaṇitā* portion it appears that the poet had actually seen him. The identification is probably correct.

Gaurī-dāsa [*c.* 1509 A.C.].

In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* there are two poems with the *bh.* of Gaurī-dāsa [161, 2313]. The first poem has the *bh.* of 'Gaura-dāsa' in one MS. of PKT. But in the *Kīrttanānanda* [p. 87] and in the

Pada-ratnākara it occurs without a *bh*. The second poem undoubtedly comes from the pen of an immediate follower of Nityānanda-prabhu. There were two such Gaurī-dāsas: (*i*) Gaurī-dāsa Paṇḍita of Ambikā (now Kalna), and (*ii*) Gaurī-dāsa *Kīrttanīyā* (the *Kīrttana*-singer). Between these two probability lies with the former.

Gaurī-dāsa, who was younger than Caitanya-deva, was one of his earlier followers. He was deeply attracted by the Master, when the latter was enamoured of *Kīrttana* at Navadvīpa.

mahāprabhuraṭ antaraṅga-bhakta gaurī-dāsa |
yabe gaura-saṅge kailā kīrttana-vilāsa ||
gauraṭ-nitāi-saṅga binu ghare nāhi ray |
tāra bandhu-gaṇa mahāprabhure kahay ||
ei-bālakere ājñā kara dāra-grahe |
sabhāra ānanda yadi thāke nija-gṛhe ||

[Advaita-prakāśa, xx.]

« Gaurī-dāsa was an intimate follower of the Great Master. While he was enamoured of the joys of *kīrttana* by the Master's side he would not leave the company of Gaura and Nitāi and would not live at home. His relatives said to the Great Master: 'Please command this boy to marry. Everybody is delighted if he only stays at home.' »

The Master acquiesced. He called Gaurī-dāsa in private and asked him to marry and stay at home. Gaurī-dāsa replied that he of course could not violate the command of the Master, but it also was certain he would not be able to remain at home bereaved of the Master's company. Nityānanda-prabhu then advised him to install an image of the Master. Gaurī-dāsa joyfully accepted this idea and he subsequently installed two wooden images side by side, one of the Master and the other of Nityānanda-prabhu.

Gaurī-dāsa was, according to Īśāna-Nāgara, a skilled wood-carver. He himself carved the two images which were vivid likenesses of the Master and Nityānanda-prabhu.

śrīmān gaurī-dāsaṭ śilpa-kārye paṭutara |
aïche śilpa nāhi jāne deva-śilpi-vara ||
sākṣāte rākhiyā tīha gaura nityānande |
dāru-brahme dui-mūrti gaṛilā ānande ||

gaura-nityānanderd̄ seī avikala mūrti |
dṛṣṭimātre jīve hay premānanda-sphūrti ||
[Advaita-prakāśa, xx.]

« Śrīmān Gaurī-dāsa was very skilled in artisanship: such skill even the divine artisan (Viśvakarman) did not possess. Having placed before him Gaura and Nityānanda he joyfully carved the two images in holy wood. They were the exact images of Gaura and Nityānanda: if anybody looks at them he is filled with devotional exhilaration. »

Lakṣmīkānta-dāsa [*c.* ? 1509 A. C.].

One Bengali poem by Lakṣmī-kānta occurs in PKT. [117]. This poem as well as another occurs in GPT. [pp. 147, 173 f.]. Both the poems describe the poet's admiration for Caitanya-deva, and they bear the impress of one who had the privilege of seeing the Master.

The poet, Lakṣmīkānta-dāsa, seems to be the person mentioned by Rāmagopāla-dāsa in his *Śākhā-nirṇaya* as follows:

lakṣmī-kānta nāma śākhā ṭhākura-pūjārī |
tāhāra vikhyāta kathā āche dui-cāri || [p. 7.]

« (One of Narahari-Sarkār's) branch (*i.e.*, disciple) was the priest named Lakṣmī-kānta, who daily worshipped the deity. A few famous poems (*literally*, words) by him are (still) current. »

There is some internal evidence to show that the poet was this priest Lakṣmī-kānta. Both the poems are of the 'Nadīyā-Nāgarī' type,[1] and this aspect of the Caitanya theme was the special province of the Śrīkhaṇḍa school headed by Narahari-Sarkār.

The following poem will show that Lakṣmī-kānta was no mean poet:

ki khene dekhilū gorā navīna kāmera kōrā
sei haite raite nāri ghare |
kata nā kariba chala kata nā bhariba jala
kata yāba suradhunī-tīre ||

[1] 'Nadīyā-Nāgarī' literally means the young women or *belles* of Nadiyā. Such a poem describes the Master as a gallant lover from the view-point of a young woman or young women who has or have fallen in love with him. This is, in fact, an imagined parellelism of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme. Narahari-Sarkār brought in this note in literature.

vidhi, to binu balite keha nāï |
yata guru-garabita- vacana-racana śata
phukari kāḍite nāhi ṭhāï ||
aruṇa-nayāner꣺ kone cāñāchila āmā pāne
parāṇe bāṛaśī diyā ṭāne |
kulera dharama mora rākhite nārilū go
ki jāni ki habe pariṇāme ||
āpanā āpani khāilū gharera bāhira hailū
śuni khola-karatāler꣺ nāda |
lakṣmīkānta-dāsa kay marame yāra lāgay
ki karibe kula-parivāda ||

[PKT. 117 ; GPT., pp. 173 f.[1]]

« At what a moment I had seen Gorā the image of the young god of love! Thenceforth I cannot remain at home. How much longer shall I have to make pleas? How long shall I have to fetch water? How many times shall I have to go to the Ganges? O Creator! there is nobody except you to talk to. All my relations and seniors (torture me) with hundred types of deliberate (cruel) words: I have no place to cry (and pour out my grief). With the corners of his rosy eyes he had eyed me: (his glance) drew me out like a fishing angle pierced at my heart. Alas! I cannot any longer retain the good name of my family: I do not know what may happen at the end. I am the cause of my own undoing (as) I have come out of home (to see Gorā) on hearing the sound of *khol* (drum) and *karatāla* (cymbals).' Lakṣmīkānta-dāsa says: 'What does she care for the bad name of her family, when it has gone home to her heart?' »

Gopīkānta-Vasu.

In the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* [p. 12] there is a Bengali poem with the above *bh.* There was another Gopīkānta, whom we have dealt with as a Brajabuli poet. I am not in a position to say which other song or songs with the *bh.* 'Gopīkānta' should belong to the poet under discussion. The poet seems to have belonged to the earliest period of Neo-Vaiṣṇava literature as the author has used the full name as *bhaṇitā*. Was he a

[1] In the *Pada-rasa-sāra* and in the *Pada-ratnākara* it occurs with the *bh.* of Locana.

scion of the Vasu family of Kulīna-grāma, and therefore a relation of Rāmānanda-Vasu? There is mention of one Gopīkānta among the followers of Caitanya-deva [CC. i. 10].

As the poet is little known and as only one poem is extant I cite it here:

bihāne yaśodā rāṇī kole laiyā nīla-maṇi
āṅginā̇te basila kautuke |
gopālera mukha aṅga kara padatala-raṅga
nirīkṣaṇa kare animikhe ||
dhvaja vajrāṅkuśa yava mṛgāṅkuśa kuśa lava
śaṅkha cakra śuddha sakala |
tri-koṇa goṣpada dhanu ūrddhva-rekhā śaṅkha janu
matsya janu [janu] jambu-phala ||
e-saba dekhiyā rāṇī adabhuta mane gaṇi
viśva-rūpa karaye bhāvana |
śunechi purāṇa vede ei cihna yāra pade
tīha hayena brahma sanātana ||
vidhi bhava yogī yāra caraṇa kariyā sāra
bhāvana karaye cira-kāla |
eka mukhe guṇa sattva tathā-ca nā pāy tattva
tīha kene āmāra chāoyala ||
hena kāle viśva-māyā āchchanna nandera jāyā
mohita haïyā bale śiśu |
tuliyā āpana buke cumbana karaye mukhe
nibedaye gopīkānta-vasu || [KPS., p. 12.]

«In the morning the consort of Nanda took the Blue Jewel (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) on her lap and joyfully sat down in the courtyard. She gazed minutely at the Child's face, limbs, palms, and soles and noted their complexion. (On his soles she found signs of) the banner, the thunder-bolt, the driving pin, barley, deer (?), *kuśa*, *lava*, conch-shell, wheel, all these clear—as well as the triangle, the hoof-print of cattle, the bow, upward lines marked like the conch-shell, or like the fish, or like the blackberry fruit. Finding these marks the lady was amazed at heart, and she (thus) thought of the *Viśva-rūpa* (the form of the Supreme Deity containing the universe in it, which Kṛṣṇa showed to Arjuna on the eve of the battle at Kurukṣetra): "I have heard in the Purāṇas and in the Vedas that the person who bears

these signs in his feet is the Eternal *Brahman*. The Creator, Śiva, and the *yogins* accept His feet as the sole object (of adoration) and meditate on them through all eternity. With a single tongue one cannot recount His greatness nor can have any idea of Him. How then can He be my child?" The wife of Nanda was then overcome with the Universal Delusion (*viśva-māyā*). Thus stupefied, she called him, 'My child!' and holding him tight in her arms she kissed him on the face. So says Gopīkānta-Vasu.

Gupta-dāsa.

There is a Bengali poem with the *bh.* of 'Gupta-dāsa' in the *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi* [24]. The same poem occurs also in PKT. [2319]. The poet 'Gupta-dāsa' is generally accepted to be Murāri-Gupta[1] [PKT., Vol. V, p. 44]. But the poem quoted below shows that the poet was a disciple of Rāma-dāsa or Abhirāma-dāsa, a prominent follower of Nityānanda-prabhu. Thus 'Gupta-dāsa' was a person quite distinct from Murāri-Gupta. The poem in the *Kṣaṇadā* and PKT. is an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu. The *bh.* line of the two poems is the same.

ṭhākura śrī-abhirāma kevala premera dhāma
avani bihare nijānande |
gaurāṅga-cādera raṅgī nitāï-cādera saṅgī
akhila-jīvera mana bāndhe ||
śrī-rādhikāṛ agraja śrī-kṛṣṇera sakhā-varya
purube śrī-dāma yāra nāma |
ebe seï-bhāve matta nāhi jāne divā rātra
teñi nāma ṭhākuṛ abhirāma ||
gaurāṅgera prema-rase sadā premānande bhāse
divā niśi kichuï nā jāne |
sakala bhakata saṅge bihare parāma-raṅge
gāna nṛtya kare harṣa-mane ||
dīna hīna akiñcane tāre kaila premu-dāne
purāïla mana[2] abhilāṣṛ |
patitera avaśeṣe paṛi raila gupta-dāse[3]
kene prabhu nā kaila talāṣṛ || [VSP. MS. 982.]

[1] I have, quite inadvertently, previously accepted this *bh.* as that of Murāri-Gupta (*supra*, p. 29).

[2] 'mama' MS. [3] 'gopta-dāse' MS.

« Śrī Abhirāma-Ṭhākura, full of divine love, wanders about on th earth, in his own blissfulness. A chum of Gaurāṅga the moon and a companion of the moon-like Nitāi, he has won of the heart of all people. He who was in yore the elder brother of Śrī-Rādhikā and an esteemed friend of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, and was called Śrī-dāma, is now named Abhirāma-Ṭhākura, who is ever intoxicated with divine love and who has lost all sense of time (and space). He is ever swimming joyfully in the flood of devotion to Gaurāṅga and has no sense for day or night. He moves about ecstatically in the company of the devotees and sings and dances with a delighted heart. He bestows divine grace to them that are lowly, depressed or hapless: he has fulfilled their desires. The lowliest of the lowly, Gupta-dāsa, remains neglected: why does not the master take notice of him ? »

CHAPTER XVII

POETS IN BENGALI: LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Balarāma-dāsa (ii).

When discussing the poet Balarāma-dāsa [*supra*, pp. 74ff.] I have mentioned that it is quite likely that there were more than one such poet. But the major poet Balarāma was undoubtedly the disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu. The following poem, an ode to Jīva-Gosvāmin, must have been written by a younger Balarāma as it mentions the *Gopāla-campū* which was written in *Śaka* 1510-14 (=A.C. 1588-92) :—

rūpa sanātana saṅge śrī-jīva gosāñi |
kata bhakti-grantha lekhe lekhā jokā nāi ||
manera vāsanā ātma-śuddhira kāraṇa |
katipaya grantha-nāma kariba kīrttana ||
gopāla-virudāvalī kṛṣṇa-pada-cihna |
śrī-mādhava-mahotsava rādhā-pada-cihna ||
śrī-gopāla-campū āra rasāmṛta śeṣa |
kṛpāmbudhi-stava sapta sandarbha viśeṣa ||
sūtra-mālā dhātu-saṅgraha kṛṣṇārcana |
saṅkalpa-kalpa-vṛkṣa harināma-vyākaraṇa ||
nikhila likhilā grantha kata kaiba [1] nāma |
khulilā bhaktira dvāra kahe balarāma || [GPT., p. 468.]

«'In company of Rūpa and Sanātana Śrī Jīva-Gosvāmin wrote so many devotional books that cannot be enumerated. I shall, however, mention here a few works only to accomplish my desire and to purify myself: *Gopāla-virudāvalī*, *Kṛṣṇa-pada-cihna*, *Śrī-Mādhava-mahotsava*, *Rādhā-pada-cihna*, *Śrī-Gopāla-campū*, the supplementary *Rasāmṛta*, *Kṛpāmbudhi-stava*, the seven *Sandarbhas*, *Sūtra-mālā*, *Dhātu-saṃgraha*, *Kṛṣṇārcana*

[1] 'kaiba' Text.

(*-dīpika*), *Saṅkalpa-kalpa-vṛkṣa*, and *Harināma* (*Harināmāmṛta*) *Vyākaraṇa*. He has written innumerable treatises; how can I enumerate them all? (In fact) he has thrown open the gate of *Bhakti* (devotion).' So says Balarāma.»

A Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of Balarāma (? ii) mentions 'Kanaka-mañjarī' and 'Rati-mañjarī' [PKT. 2500; APR. 192]. 'Rati-mañjarī' was the esoteric name of Raghunātha-dāsa, or according to some, of Sanātana-Gosvāmin [*cf.* Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā 181, 182, 186], and 'Kanaka-mañjarī' was the esoteric name of Rāmacandra-Kavirāja.

This younger Balarāma, or Balarāma-dāsa (ii), seems to have been no other person than Balarāma Kavipati, a disciple of Rāmacandra Kavirāja [*vide* Karṇānanda ii]. Balarāma was a native of the village Budharī [*cf.* Prema-vilāsa, xx].

Balarāma-dāsa (iii).

There was a third Balarāma-dāsa who used the epithet 'dīna' to his *bhaṇitā*. This Balarāma's *guru* was one Gadādhara.

gadādhara-pade āśa dīna balarāma-dāsa
śloka bhāṅgi racila pāyara ||[1]

The poet seems to have written a narrative poem on the Kṛṣṇa theme, probably based on the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.

kṛṣṇera kiṅkara dīna balarāma-dāsa |
uddhava-sandeśa pada karila prakāśa ||

«Kṛṣṇa's servant Balarāma-dāsa the humble thus narrates the poems on Uddhava's Message.»

Vīra-hāmbīra [*c.* 1583 A.C.].

Vīra-hāmbīra was an independent ruler of Malla-bhūma, of which the capital town was Viṣṇupura. He was converted to Vaiṣṇavism by Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya some time about 1580 A.C. The details of this incident

[1] For these fragments I am indebted to Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna.

are to be found in the *Prema-vilāsa*, *Karṇānanda*, and *Bhakti-ratnākara*. Vīra-hāmbīra, after his initiation, became a devout Vaiṣṇava. Jīva-Gosvāmin gave him his devotional name 'Śrī-Caitanya-dāsa' [Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 580].

Two poems only by Vīra-hāmbīra are extant [*vide* Karṇānanda, pp. 19 f.; Bhakti-ratnākara, pp. 581 f.]. One is an ode to his *guru* Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, and the other describes Rādhā's love for Kṛṣṇa. The former has been cited in PKT. [2378]. The king seems to have written songs also with the *bh.* of 'Śrī-Caitanya-dāsa.'

śrī-caitanya-dāsa nāme ye gīta barṇila |
vistārera ḍare tāhā nāhi jānāïla ||
[Bhakti-ratnākara, pp. 582 f.]

The two poems by Vīra-hāmbīra are quite good. If they are really his own composition it must be admitted that the king was a man of culture. One of the two poems is quoted below:

śuna go marama sakhi kāliyā kamala-ākhi
kibā kaila kichuï nā jāni |
kemana karaye mana saba lāge ucāṭana
prema kari khoyānu parāṇi ||
śuniyā dekhinu kālā dekhiyā pāïnu jvālā
nibhāïte nāhi pāi pāni |
aguru candana āni dehete lepinu chāni
nā nibhāy hiyāra āguni ||
basiyā thākiye yabe āsiyā uṭhāy tabe
laiyā yāy yamunāra tīre |
ki karite ki nā kari sadāï jhuriyā mari
tileka nāhika rahi thīre ||
śāśuṛī nanadī mora sadāï bāsayecora
gṛha-pati phiriyā nā cāy |
e vīra-hāmbīra-cita śrīnivāsa-anugata
maji gelā kālācāderā pāy ||
[Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 582; Karṇānanda, pp. 19 f.]

'Listen, O friend, to my secret. I do not know what the lotus-eyed Dark One (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) has done to me. My heart feels queer, and everything seems out of gear. (It seems) I have lost my life in falling in

love (with Kṛṣṇa). I sighted the Dark One (only) after I had heard of him: since I have seen him I am in anguish, and I do not find salve (*literally*, water) to soothe (*literally*, to quench) it. I have procured *aguru* and sandal, and after (pounding them fine and) straining I have painted my body with it; but it cannot quench the flame at my heart. When I sit tight (at home), (my love for him) pounces upon me, moves me away and takes me to the bank of the Yamunā. I do not know what I do; I shed tears perpetually; and I cannot remain calm even for a moment. My mother-in-law and sister-in-law look down upon me as a thief: the master of the house does not (even) turn to look at me.' This the heart of Vīra-hāmbīra, obedient to Śrīnivāsa, has fallen deep in love with the feet of Kālācāda.» [1]

Vīra-hāmbīra's son was Dhāṛi-hāmbīra whose religious name was Gopāla-dāsa' [Bhakti-ratnakara, *loc. cit.*]. One poem in mixed Sanskrit, an ode to Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, by Dhāṛi-hāmbīra occurs in VSP. MS. 200 (dated 1223 B.E.).

Harirāma-dāsa [*c.* 1583 A.C.].

Two poems by Harirāma—odes to Caitanya-deva and Nityānanda-prabhu respectively—occur in PKT. [586, 2303]. The last poem occurs in the *Kṣaṇadā* also [174]. The poet seems to have been Harirāma-Ācārya, a disciple of Rāmacandra Kavirāja. His native village was Goyāsa. The incident leading to his conversion has been given in detail in the *Narottama-vilāsa* [x].

Gopī-ramaṇa.

A poem by Gopī-ramaṇa occurs in PKT. [1608]. The poem is not bad. Two persons with the name Gopī-ramaṇa are known in Vaiṣṇava history. One, a Vaidya, was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [*cf.* Karṇānanda i; Prema-vilāsa xx]. The other, a Brahmin, was a disciple of Hṛdaya-caitanya of Ambikā [*cf.* Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 1041]. Either of the two may have been the poet in question.

[1] 'Kālācānda' was the name of the image of Kṛṣṇa installed by Vīra-hāmbīra at Viṣṇupura. Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya presided at the installation ceremony.

Vaiṣṇava-caraṇa.

A poem by Vaiṣṇava-caraṇa has been incorporated in PKT. [3077]. It is a prayer. From the poet's reference to 'Guṇa-mañjarī' (the esoteric name of Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa) it seems that he was a follower of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. One such Vaiṣṇava-caraṇa has been mentioned in the *Prema-vilāsa* [xx].

Rāghavendra-Rāya [*c.* 1583 A.C.].

I have discovered the following poem by Rāghavendra-Rāya in a bundle of stray leaves of MSS. [VSP. MS. 2416]. One of the folia, apparently from the same MS. to which the folium containing the poem in question belonged, bears the date B. E. 1090 (=1683 A.C.). The script is certainly old enough. The poem is quoted below. The poem strongly reminds us of a similar poem by 'Caṇḍīdāsa.'

tomā [1] nā chāṛiba bandhu tomā nā chāṛiba |
virale pāñāchi hiyā mājhāre rākhiba ||
rāti kailāṅ dina bandhu dina kailāṅ rāti |
bhuvana bhariyā rahila tomāra [2] kheāti ||
ghara kailāṅ vana bandhu vana kailāṅ ghara |
para kailāṅ āpuni āpuni hailāṅ [3] para ||
sakala tejiyā dūre lailāṅ śaraṇa |
rāya rāghavendra kahe o [4] rāṅgā-caraṇa ||

[VSP. MS. 2416.]

«'I will not let you go, my friend, I will not. I have found you in a quiet place: I shall detain you at my heart. The night I have made a day, O my friend, and the day I have made a night; and throughout the world, my friend, your glory shall persist! My home I have made a forest, and the forest I have made my home: the others I have made my own, and my own I have made outsiders. Every thing I have discarded at a distance, and I have taken refuge at your rosy feet.' So says Rāya Rāghavendra.»

[1] 'tumā' MS.
[2] 'tumāra' MS.
[3] 'halāṅ' MS.
[4] 'u' MS.

According to the *Prema-vilāsa* [xx] Rāghavendra-Rāya, his wife Viṣṇupriyā, their sons the notorious Cāda-Rāya and Santoṣa-Rāya and their wives Kanaka-priyā and Nalinī became all disciples of Narottama-Ṭhākura. It also records how a notorious tyrant and bully like Cāda-Rāya came under the influence of Vaiṣṇavism.

Kāmadeva-dāsa.

One poem by Kāmadeva-dāsa occurs in PKL. and in KPS. [pp. 14f.]. The poem is on the child Kṛṣṇa. Advaita-prabhu had a follower named Kāmadeva [CC. i. 12] who accompanied Acyutānanda, the eldest son of Advaita-prabhu to Khetarī [Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 635]. There was another Kāmadeva who was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karṇānanda i]. The style of the poem shows that the poet cannot be a very late one.

Kumudānanda.

A poem on the child Kṛṣṇa by Kumudānanda occurs in the *Saṅkīrtta-nāmṛta* [70]. Was he the disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, Kumudānanda-Ṭhākura ? [Karṇānanda i.].

Gosvāmi-dāsa.

One poem by Gosvāmi-dāsa occurs in the later portion of the Das MS. The poem is quoted below. A Gosvāmi-dāsa is mentioned among the disciples of Narottama-Ṭhākura [Prema-vilāsa xx; Narottama-vilāsa xii]. Was he the poet ?

kānāi gāera garaba nahe bhāla |
apanā bhālāi cāo bharame caliyā yāo
pāche nanda-ghoṣera gāri ṭāla ||
kemana vā rūpa dhara kisera garaba kara
rākhāla haïyā eta veśa |
mathurā-nagara mājhe cala dekhi ai-sāje
kapāle ṭālani ādha-keśa ||

calite nā jāna pathe mohana-muralī hāthe
bājana-nūpura diyā pāy |
āmarā parera nārī teñi se bharama kari
hātha dite cāo[1] pārā gāy ||
āsi hātha deha hāre [2] ki āra baliba tore
mukhe bala kāñcalī utāra |
gosvāmi-dāsera vāṇī hāse priya-cuṛāmaṇi
baṛa-kopa dekhiyā rādhāra || [Das MS.]

« 'O Kānāï (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa)! it is never good, bragging of one's looks. If thou seekest thy own good, go away with thy prestige (intact): do not bring down shame on Nanda-ghoṣa.[3] How goes thy looks? What art thou proud of? Being a mere cowboy, why (hast thou put on) this dress? Come, let me see thee go into the interior of the city of Mathurā in this garb: thy forelocks are tied into a top-knot! Thou dost not know how to walk (properly) in the street: a charmer's flute (is) on thy hand, and jingling anklets (are) tied round on thy feet! We are married women (*literally* we belong to others), and so we safeguard our honour; and thou really wantest to put thy hand on our persons! You to come up and catch hold of my necklace! What shall I say to you? And you say with your tongue, "Put off your bodice"!' Gosvāmi-dāsa says: that Crest-jewel of lovers smiled at this great anger of Rādhā. »

Vihāri-dāsa [*ante* 1654 A.C.].

One poem by Vihāri-dāsa occurs in the earlier portions [1653-55 A.C.] of the Das MS. The poem is quoted below. Was the poet the same Vihāri-dāsa who was a disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura? [Prema-vilāsa, xx; Narottama-vilāsa xii].

muralī tarala karala parāṇa
rahite nā dila ghare |
abalā-parāṇe nā yāe sahane
niti niti ākhi jhare ||

[1] 'cāy' MS. [2] 'hātha āsi deha hāre' MS.
[3] Kṛṣṇa's foster-father.

yathā tathā yāī bāje saba-ṭhāī
nāma se kemane jāne |
[1] śravaṇe praveśi hṛdaye lāge si
bājila yekhāne prāṇī ||
śyāmera muralī ḍāke rādhā bal
nā māne niṣedha-bola |
gṛhera karama dharama ācāra
saba haña gela bhola ||
ramaṇī-gaṇera manera garimā
sakali bhāgila bāśī |
bhulāïyā mana vraja-nārī-gaṇa
caraṇe karilā dāsī ||
hede sahacari rahite nā pāri
bāśī-curi kaila mana |
veśa banāïte nā pāilāṅ turite
cala yāba vṛndāvana ||
sājāïche gopī śrī-aṅga ni[rakhi]
yekhāne yemana sāje |
abharaṇa-gaṇa ulasita-mana
malina haïla lāje ||
sonāra nūpura kiṅkiṇī kaṅkaṇa
nā calite bāje tārā |
dāsa vihāri sevā aṅgīkari
nayāne bahiche dhārā || [Das MS.]

« 'The flute (of Kṛṣṇa) has rendered my life unstable: it does not let me remain at home. A woman's heart cannot endure as much: my eyes are perpetually shedding tears. Wherever I go, it sounds everywhere: somehow he knows my name. Entering through the ears it comes to the heart and strikes at my soul. Śyāma's flute calls (me) by (my name) Rādhā: he does not pay heed to my words in protest. My duties at home, religious and social, all are in a pretty mess. The pride (that lies) at the heart of women the flute has smashed entirely: seducing the heart of the women of the Vraja he has made them handmaids at his feet. O my friend! I cannot remain (inactive) any more: I have determined to steal the flute. I have no time to dress (properly); let us go quick to

[1] 'śravane parasi ridae lāge gāsi bājila jekhāne parāni' MS. 'ridae lāge gāsi' may be emended also to 'hṛde lāge phāsi.'

Vṛndāvana. (Rādhā's companion) the *Gopī* dressed her lovely body with scrupulous care (*literally* scrutinizing) with ornaments in their proper places (*literally* at which place and manner it fitted). The ornaments were glad at heart: they became lustreless out of shame (at her superior complexion). Gold anklets and the girdle with tiny bells and bangles—they all jingle without movement. Dāsa (the servant) Vihāri has accepted her (menial) service: tears (of devotional appreciation) stream down his eyes.»

Mathurā-dāsa [? *c.* 1583 A.C.].

One poem by Mathurā-dāsa has been cited in PKT. [789] and in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 37f.]. The poem is rather good. Two Mathurā-dāsas have been mentioned among the followers of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Prema-vilāsa xx; Karṇānanda i] and one among those of Narottama-Ṭhākura [Prema-vilāsa xx; Narottama-vilāsa xii]. One of them was, in all probability, the poet.

'Dukhinī.'

Two poems with the *bh.* of 'Dukhinī' occur in the first issue (1849 A.C.) of the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* [pp. 69f.], one of which is cited in KGR. [369]. The poet was very probably Śyāmānanda, the colleague of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya and Narottama-Ṭhākura. Śyāmānanda had the sobriquet 'Duḥkhī' or 'Duḥkhinī.'

Vīra-candra.

One Bengali poem by Vīra-candra occurs in the first issue of the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* (1849 A.C.). The poem occurs also in KGR. [289]. Was the poet the son of Nityānanda-prabhu? Vīra-candra (also known as Vīra-bhadra), the son of Nityānanda-prabhu, was born in *circa* 1447 *Śaka* (=1525 A.C.). As the poem is rather little known it is quoted below.

(rāi) tyaji kāla-baraṇa kariba dhāraṇa
tomāra aṅgera kānti |
tuyā nāma laiyā beṛāiba kāṅdiyā
aśru-jale haiba śānti ||

mili bhakta-gaṇa kariba kīrttana
rādhā rādhā dhvani kari |
kṣaṇe kṣaṇe mūrchā haibe yakhana
acetane raiba paṛi ||
bhābi tava bhāva haibe prema-bhāva
svabhāva chāṛiyā deha |
tyaji vaṃśī-dhara haiba daṇḍa-dhara
rākhite nāribe keha ||
amūlya-ratana tava prema-dhana
ayācake diba āni |
vīra-candra kahe tabe se khālāsa
pāibe premera ṛṇī || [KGR. 289.] [1]

Kṛṣṇa speaks to Rādhā, foreshadowing his subsequent birth as Gaurāṅga (*i.e.* Caitanya-deva). « 'O Rādhā, giving up my dark complexion I shall adopt the (fair) complexion of your person. Taking your name I shall wander about weeping and shall have peace only in tears. In company of my followers I shall sing in *Kīrttana* the name Rādhā. (In my ecstatic dances) I shall swoon away again and again and shall lie on the ground senseless. Pondering over your (profound) sentiments, I shall feel surging love, having lost my natural sentiments. Giving up the flute I shall wield the (religious mendicant's) staff. Nobody shall restrain me (from adopting *sannyāsa*). That priceless treasure, your love, I shall give away unasked.' Vīra-candra says, 'Then and then only you will be released from love's debt.' »

[1] I have adopted the superior reading of the poem in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* [pp. 160f.] by Nṛsiṃha-prasāda Ṭhakkura [Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Baharampur, B.E. 1316].

CHAPTER XVIII

POETS IN BENGALI: SEVENTEENTH CENTURY OR EARLIER.

Rāmacandra-Mallika [*ante* 1653 A.C.].

In the earlier portion of the Das MS. [*San* 1060] there occurs a Bengali poem by Rāmacandra-Mallika. The poem is unique in this respect that it mentions Rādhā as Candrāvalī also. This identification of Rādhā with Candrāvalī occurs nowhere in mediaeval Bengali literature except in the songs of Varu Caṇḍīdāsa (*Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*) and in the *Govinda-maṅgala* of Śyāmadāsa (Bangabasi Press, second edition, pp. 94, 99). The poem is quoted below. I preserve the original orthography intact (except in the *tatsama* words).

rādhe tumi more nā bāsiya bhina |
rabhase virasa-vāṇī nā baliya candrāvali
āmi tumārṅ premera adhīna ||
binati kariyā kaï āmi āra kāra naï
tumāra tumāra vinodini |
asodhala tuyā dhāra sudhite nārila āra
rahilāṅ hayiyā tumārṅ ṛṇī ||
a mukha pañkaja tora mana madhukara mora
nā baliha virasa vacana |
prāṇa-sañjīvanī tumi tṛṣita-cātaka āmi
tumī priyā mora nava-ghana ||
svarūpe kahilāṅ rāï bikāïlāṅ tuyā ṭhāñi
abhinava-yauvanī nāri |
rāmacandra-mallike[1] kay ati-prema atiśaya
virasa sahae nā pāri || [Das MS.]

[1] '—marllike' MS.

« 'O Rādhā, do not thou look upon me as an outsider. In anger do please never speak harsh words, O Candrāvalī, (as) I am a slave of thy love. With humble submission I say that I belong to no other, but thine, thine only, O my love! The unpaid debt (that I owe) to thee I cannot repay: I remain thy debtor. Thy face here is a lotus, and my heart is a bee; do thou speak hard words no more. Thou art the water of life, while I am a thirsty *cātaka*; O my darling! thou art my fresh cloud. O Rāï, I tell thee in truth (that) I am sold to thee, O thou Woman in early youth!' Rāmacandra-Mallika says: 'Excessive love cannot bear too much estrangement (or harshfulness).' »

I suspect that this Rāmacandra-Mallika was one of the heretics that cropped up in the late sixteenth century, and of whom Vṛndāvana-dāsa makes this remark in the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* [i. 12; also quoted in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, pp. 1045f.]:

udara-bharaṇa lāgi pāpiṣṭha sakale |
raghunātha kari āpanāre keha bole ||
kona pāpi-gaṇa chāṛi kṛṣṇa-saṅkīrttaṇa |
āpanāre gāoyāy baliyā nārāyaṇa ||
dekhitechi dine tina avasthā yāhāra |
kona lāje āpanāke gāoyāy se chāra ||
rāṛhe āra eka mahābrahmadaitya ache |
antare rākṣasa vipra-kāca mātra kāce ||
se pāpiṣṭha āpanāre bolāy gopāla |
ataeva tāre sabe bolaye śiyāla ||

« For filling up their own stomachs so many worst sinners profess as (incarnations of) 'Raghu-nātha'..... There is another, a big *Brahma-daitya* (demoniac Brahmin) in Rāḍha: a *rākṣasa*—within, he takes the appearance only of a Brahmin. That devil makes himself out as 'Gopāla' (Kṛṣṇa): so everybody calls him a jackal (*i.e.* a contemptible creature). »

The *Bhakti-ratnākara* [p. 1045] makes the above statement more explicit. Thus:

keha kahe ahe bhāi bahirmukha-gaṇa |
haïyā svatantra dharma karaye laṅghana ||
bahirmukha-gaṇa madhye ye pradhāna tāre
raghunātha sājāïyā bhāṛāy lokere ||

sva-mata raciyā se pāpiṣṭha durācāra |
kahaye kavīndra vaṅga-deśete pracāra ||
keha kahe dekhilām mahāpapi-gaṇa |
āpanāke gāoyāy chāri śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana ||
keha kahe rāṛha-deśe eka viprādhama |
mallika kheyāti duṣṭa nāhi tāra sama ||
se pāpiṣṭha āpanāre gopāla kahāy |
prakāśi rākṣasa-māyā lokere bhāṛāy ||

« Some said: 'Look here, brother, the infidels, becoming independent, transgress *dharma*. They proclaim him, who is their head, as (an incarnation of) "Raghunātha" and thus delude people. That evil-doing sinner makes his own doctrines and professes himself as a "master poet" (*kavīndra*) in Vaṅga.' Others said: 'We have seen some worst sinners who, instead of singing the name of Kṛṣṇa, sing of themselves.' Some again said: 'In Rāḍha there is a most degraded Brahmin entitled Mallika," who is worse than the worst villain. That villain proclaims himself as "Gopāla," and showing his devilish wiles he cheats people.' »

Śyāma-Mallika [*ante* 1653 A. C.].

In the earlier portion (*San* 1060) of the Das MS. there is a Bengali poem by Śyāma-Mallika. Was he a relative of Rāmacandra-Mallika? The poem is quoted below.

o vaṃśī bāje bāje |
nava-nava madhura śrī-vṛndāvana mājhe ||
bisarilāṅ dhana-jana guru-garabite |
prāṇa hariyā nila muralīra gīte ||
ki karite ki nā kari ei nā gṛha-kāja |
āra ki rākhite hay kula-bhaya lāja ||
dūre kara gaurava māna abhimāna |
(cala) bheṭiba śrī-vṛndāvane rasamaya kāna ||
ki kariba lāsa-veśa aṅga abharaṇa |
pulake pūrala tanu kāpe ghane ghana ||
nayāne galaye nīra gada-gada bola |
uthale premera sindhu ānanda-hilola ||

śyāma-mallike kahe anubhava-sāra |
eta-dine manoratha pūrila sabhāra ‖ [Das MS.]

« 'There | the flute sings ; it sings ! (It sings) ever-fresh and sweet (melodies) from the midst of the woodland at Vṛndāvana. I have lost care for my good things and my relatives : the song from the flute has stolen my heart away. I have made a mess of these my household duties ; shall I then fear any more for the good name of the family and for my decorum as well ? Cast off (thy) decorum, prestige or self-importance. Come, let us meet the dearest Kṛṣṇa at Śrī Vṛndāvana. What shall I do with coquettish dress and jewelry ? My body, all horripilated, is trembling violently.' Tears flow from her (*i.e.* Rādhā's) eyes : her voice is choked. (Within her) surged up the sea of love with the waves of joy. Śyāma-Mallika says : 'The secret of their (Rādhā's and her companions') joyfulness (is that) now their desire is going to be fulfilled.' »

Vraja-kiśora [*ante* 1653 A.C.].

The following poem by Vraja-kiśora occurs in the earlier portion (*San* 1069) of the Das MS. Another poem by Vraja-kiśora occurs in VSP. MS. 200 (dated 1223 B.E.).

raï sāje vaṃśī bāje nā paṛila ora |
ki karite ki kare āveśe mana bhora ‖
ācaṛae cācara-cikura keśa-bhāra |
pāy bādhe phulerā mālā nā kare vicāra ‖
kājara caraṇa-tale nayāne ālatā |
śravaṇa-kuhare lañā gūñje nāga-latā ‖
gale pare kiṅkiṇī kaṭite pare hāra |
kare pare nūpura jaṅgherā āge ṭāṛa ‖
gada-gada haṅā rāï jhāṭa cali yāy |
kene re dāruṇa patha jhāṭa nā phurāy ‖
vraja-kiśore kay patha phurāilā |
nidhuvane yāṅā rāï jaya-dhvani dilā ‖ [Das MS.]

« Rādhā was dressing herself (for going out) when the flute sounded, and it did not stop. (Rādhā's heart was overwhelmed with love : she lost control over her actions. Her heavy tresses, already

done, she combs (again): she ties the wreath of flowers round her leg; she has lost all consideration. Her feet she paints with collyrium, and her eyes with red-dye. She pushes *nāga-latā* into the cavities of her ears. The girdle she puts on her neck, the necklace round her waist: the anklets she fastens round her wrists and wristlets round her anklets. Being thus intoxicated (as it were), Rāï walks quickly away. Why indeed does not the cruel way end soon? Vraja-kiśora says: the path ended (at last) and reaching Nidhuvana Rāï raised a cry of joy. »

'Kṛṣṇa-dāsa.'

Poems (Bengali and Brajabuli) with the *bh.* of 'Kṛṣṇadāsa' are found in many of the anthologies and MSS. containing some collection of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. At the earliest such poems (numbering three only—all in Bengali) occur in the earlier portion (1653 A.C.) of the Das MS. Next in the *Kṣaṇadā* there occurs one Bengali poem with the *bh.* of 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇadāsa' [195]. In PKT. songs with the *bh.* of 'Kṛṣṇadāsa' number twenty-two. No such poem, however, occurs in the *Padāmṛta-samudra*, in the *Kīrttanānanda* and in the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta*.

Now these poems do not come from a single pen. There were several Kṛṣṇadāsas, each of whom might have contributed a few. The poems with the *bh.* of 'Duḥkhī Kṛṣṇadāsa' we can safely ascribe to Śyāmānanda. The probable claimants other than Śyāmānanda are the following persons.

(*i*) Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, the great author of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. I am not in a sure position to ascribe any of the poems to this great poet (though I have hazarded so previously). There is some likelihood that the poems written partially in Brajbhākhā came from him. I have already tentatively ascribed one such poem to him. (See *supra* p. 103). But there was a contemporary Brajbhākhā poet with the same name [*vide* Grierson, the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān, p. 21]. Some of the later poets also tried to foist their clumsy attempts on the Kavirāja. One such poem I quote below.

caitanya kalpa-taru navadvīpe sañcaru
prema-jale tanu pulakita |
eke prabhu nityānanda saṅge yārṣ advaita-candra
dui-śākhā haila upanīta ||

dvādaśa gopāla yāra upaśākhā haila tāra
cauṣaṭṭi mahānta phula phale |
pākile se prema-phala bhakta laiñā se-sakala
bilāola nadīyā-dukūle ||
tāra eka phala bhāsi e-deśe lāgala āsi
yei pāila sei bhāgyavān |
se-phala amṛta-dhana khāñā kaila āsvādana
jīve khāñā harala geyāṅ ||
tāra kichu śeṣa chila dukhī bhukhi jīve dila
dila prema āpanāra sukhe |
kṛṣṇadāsa-kavirājera āśā śukhāna-nadīra daśā
bindu nā paṛala mora mukhe || [CU. MS. 2577.]

« Caitanya the Wishing Tree moved about in Navadvīpa: his body was horripilated with the water of love (*or* its trunk grew sprouts, sprinkled with the water of love). The master Nityānanda along with Advaita the moon became its two branches. The twelve *Gopālas* became its secondary branches, and the sixty-four *mahāntas* (saints) were the flowers and the fruits (?). When the fruits of (divine) Love were ripe the devotees took them and distributed them everywhere (*literally* on the two banks) in Nadīyā. One of these fruits came as flotsom to this country: whoever had got it was surely the luckiest person. He ate and enjoyed that fruit, a treasure of ambrosia; and on eating of it the mortal lost his consciousness. Some portion of it was left over: he distributed it to the poor and hungry folk. He bestowed love out of his free will. The hope of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja is like that of a dry river (-bed): not a drop (of it) fell to my mouth. »

(*ii*) Kṛṣṇadāsa (Miśra), a brother of Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita of Ambikā. According to the compiler of GPT. [*vide* Introduction, p. 54] the poems with the *bh.* of 'Dīna Kṛṣṇadāsa' should be ascribed to him. This Kṛṣṇadāsa was a follower of Nityānanda-prabhu, and one poem [GPT., p. 433] may be ascribed to him.

(*iii*) The great Vaiṣṇava preacher Śyāmānanda was also known as 'Duḥkhī Kṛṣṇadāsa.' He has been already discussed [*supra*, pp. 101f.].

(*iv*) One 'Dīna-hīna' Kṛṣṇadāsa flourished in the early eighteenth century. He was the translator in Bengali verse of Viśvanātha-Cakravartin's *Camatkārā-candrikā*. Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Camatkāra-candrikā* has been edited by Atula-kṛṣṇa Gosvāmī and has been published from the

Bangabasi Office, Calcutta, Caitanya Era 418. The poet was evidently a disciple of Viśvanātha. So he says—

viśvanātha-cakravarttī tāra kṛpā-bale sphūrti
e-līlā varṇane haila āśa ।
kānudāsa-saṅga pāñā sāhase pūrila hiyā
kahe dīna-hīna kṛṣṇadāsa ॥ [p. 11.]

(*v*) Kṛṣṇadāsa, the author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-vilāsa*,[1] may have composed few lyrics in Bengali.

Very many other Kṛṣṇadāsas are known in Vaiṣṇava history, none of whom are known to have been vernacular poets. These are—

Kṛṣṇadāsa of Rāḍha; 'Kāliyā' Kṛṣṇadāsa; and Kṛṣṇadāsa, the brother of Nārāyaṇa and Dāmodara. All these three were followers of Nityānanda-prabhu [CC. i. 11].

'Kṛṣṇadāsa' of Lāuṛa in Sylhet. He was in his early life a ruling chief whose minister was Kubera-Paṇḍita, the father of Advaita-prabhu. He was the author of the *Bālya-līlā-sūtra*, a biography in Sanskrit of Advaita-prabhu in his younger days [*vide* Advaita-prakāśa xxii].

Kṛṣṇadāsa-Caṭṭa, a disciple of Śrīnivāsa Ācārya; and Kṛṣṇadāsa Vairāgī, and Kṛṣṇadāsa-Ṭhākura, disciples of Narottama-Ṭhākura [Prema-vilāsa xx].

Kṛṣṇadāsa the Brajbhākhā poet [*c.* 1550 A.C.; *vide* Grierson, the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān, p. 21]. This Kṛṣṇadāsa may have been the author of the Brajbhākhā poems in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*.

Madana.

Two poems by Madana have been incorporated in the *Kṣaṇadā* [57, 180]. One of these has been quoted in PKT. [2304=1322 (without the first couplet)]. Both poems are odes to Nityānanda-prabhu, and they end in the same line, *viz.*,

madana madete andha viṣaye rahala bandha
hena nitāi bhajite nā pāila

I have discovered a poem with the *bh.* of 'Madana,' which is an ode to Narahari-Sarkār. The poem is quoted below.

[1] Published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta.

hā-hā prabhu narahari dayā kara more |
dagadha haïnu pari dāruṇa saṃsāre ||
adhama ayogya hitāhita nāhi jāni |
[[1] śamana] damana bhaye kāpaye parāṇi ||
se saba(?) ajñāna yauvane matta hainu |
ibe jarā [[2] maraṇa] sevane goñāinu ||
janani-jaṭhare yata ḍara nā pāïnu |
janamiye [3] māyā-mohe saba pāsarinu ||
tomārā anugata haye tomā nā bhajinu |
loka pratāraṇā kari udara pūrinu ||
sādhu-mukhe siddhānta śuni trāsā upajila |
amiyā [4] tejiye kiye garala bhakhila [5] ||
nāmābhāsa dāsa muñi nā dekhiye gati |
madana tarāye prabhu rākhaha khiyāti ||

[CU. MS. 2524.]

« Alas ! alas ! O master Narahari ! take pity on me. Fallen to this cruel world I am burnt (with sufferings). I am an undeserving, lowly being. I do not know what is good or bad for me. My soul trembles in fear of the punishment of the god of Death. Being a fool I had been engaged in the futile pleasures of the young age: I have passed my days in courting old age and death. All the fright I had felt in my mother's womb I have forgotten after my birth, through the illusion of *māyā*. Your follower as I am, I have not worshipped you; (on the other hand) I have filled my stomach by cheating people. On learning the (spiritual) truth from holy men fear has sprung upon me. I have indeed rejected ambrosia and have drunk of poison ! I am a servant only in name and I do not find a way out. By saving Madana, O my master, do please act up to your reputation. »

Narahari-Sarkār had no disciple or immediate follower by the name of Madana, at least we do not know any such. But there was such a person in his family. Narahari's elder brother Mukunda had a great-grandson named Madana. He seems to have been the poet of this song. The two poems on Nityānanda-prabhu also belong, in all probability, to him.

1 Lacking in the original.
2 Four letters illegible in MS.
3 'janani ye' MS.
4 'amṛā' MS.
5 'bhukila' MS.

Madana-dāsa.

One poem with the *bh.* of 'Madana-dāsa' I have found in a stray folium of a MS. The poem, which is quoted below, is interesting as it shews that the poet was fully alive to the degradation of the Vaiṣṇava doctrines in the hand of ill-equipped and irreligious persons.

sādhana bhajana bahu doṣa guṇa
bujhite viṣama bhāra |
mahājana-mata hañā anugata
bhakati karibe sāra ||
gosvāmi-vacana nā māne ye-jana
nija-mata kare sāra |
tāhāra vacane nā pātibe kāne
bahu ki kahiba āra ||
rādhā-kṛṣṇa dhyāna .....[1]
mahājane ihā kay |
ihā nā māniñā anya ārādhiyā
rāgānugā nāhi hay ||
rāgānugā hay kī |
kāma-gandha-hīna premete adhīna
śunaha rājāra jhī ||
rāgānugā-sāra nā kare vicāra
āpanāke guru-buddhi |
nija-dehe rati karaye pirīti
tāhāte nā hae siddhi ||
rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rati cittera ārati
śrī-rūpa-caraṇa āśa |
kintu bahu deśe[2] dūṣita idānī
haïla madana-dāsa || [VSP. MS. 2416.]

Religious and devotional practices and acts have merits and demerits in plenty; it is exceedingly difficult to understand (their proper significance). (What you should do is this:) following the doctrines (and instructions) of holy men (*literally* great men) you should adopt *bhakti* (pure

[1] This cæsura has been omitted by the scribe through oversight.

[2] Should 'deśe' be emended to 'doṣe?' In that case the translation would be this: 'but now Madana-dāsa has been defiled with many blemishes.'

রাগমঞ্জরী ॥ রাসমাঙ্গলমধ্যে কৃষ্ণকেলি সার। দুইআঙ্গ
অঙ্গদিয়া দুহাঁতসাজার ॥ রাধাআঙ্গে অঙ্গদিয়া বাম
করিছায়। বাহিয়াতলিহে ভ্রমিমৃগাক্ষিকায় ॥ বাদ
ন্নিমর্ছরিসব নাচেফিরি ২। জয়রাধাকৃষ্ণ বলিজাহে
সুকসারি ॥ শ্যামঅধর বাজেমধুরমুরলি। জমুনা গ
কিতাবন মোহিত মহলি ॥ ফুলভারমতাসব নম্রিতহয়া।
চরণপরস আনেপদিহে নাচায়া ॥ বৃন্দাবনেআনাদ
হিরোলবহিছায়। বিসম্ভরদেকাহাদন্নিবারেপায়
॥১॥:ঃ॥ হেমতমিনিসাঙ্গে নবঘনশ্যাম। বিহুরিল
হারেতন্নিজাতি অনুপাম ॥ বান ২ ভ্রমিভ্রমি দুহাঁরকা
ন্ধেবাহু। মদঠিত্রমাঁহিহে ভাগারনবাহু ॥ একটিমুক
পিরদ্রেদ্ধ নবাজান। কানুস্তুতিবারেন রাইপথামগা
ন ॥ অধির অধিরদিয়া মৃদুমৃদুহাস। বাকুনিউপরাজ
কমল প্রকাস ॥ কহপরামেশ্বর ইহরসগান। কোরলি
বিসিরছিন বলিরাধাস্যাম ॥ ২॥:ঃ॥ কৃষ্ণমাঙ্গমদ্দ
গ অঙ্গগদগদ। রাইআঙ্গ ঘনঘনপাতস্যামচাঁদ ॥ ঠ
মাক কলিকাসখি ডম্ফুর পররাহে। বাসিঁকি সলি
সুন্দি কিরে কাহেকাহে ॥ জয়রাধাচন্দ্রাবলি জয়শ্যামরা
য়। লোলিবাস্যামরা দাইচামর ঢুলায় ॥ মাধবিনত্য
বৃত্তান বিসেসারিসুক। রাধাকৃষ্ণ বলিজাহে ভুরকরিমু
খ ॥ জয়ার ২ জয়: ঃ ভাবু হকা। কোকিলের কলরাবাস্ত

Das Manuscript

devotion) as the essential thing. You should never lend your ears to the words of the person that does not accept the doctrines of the Gosvāmins and that follows his own opinion (as the truth). What more should I say? Meditation of Rādha and Kṛṣṇa.....: so say holy men. Without accepting this (doctrine) and by following another (*i.e.* erroneous) doctrine the way of 'rāga' or love (*rāgānugā paddhati*) never succeeds. What is then the path of 'rāga?' (It is) the submission (of one's soul) to love, bereft of the slightest tinge of desire in any form: listen to this, O daughter of a king! They never try to find out the essence of the doctrine of love (*rāgānugā*): but they think themselves superior. They are full of desire in respect of their bodies and they make (physical) love: success, therefore, does not come (to them). Love for Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (should be) the heart's yearning: hope must lie at the feet of Śrī-Rūpa (-Gosvāmin). But (the real doctrine of 'rāga' or pure love) has now-a-days been considerably defiled in many places: (so says) Madana-dāsa.»

Who was this Madana-dāsa I do not know. There were two Madana-Rāyas (besides the Madana discussed *supra*): one was a disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura [*cf.* Prema-vilāsa xx; Narottama-vilāsa ii] and the other was the elder brother of Rāmagopāla-dāsa, the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 101]. If any of these two Madanas was the poet of the piece it must have been the former.

Viśvambhara-deva [*ante* 1653 A. C.].

In the earlier portion (*San* 1060) of the Das MS. there occurs a poem by Viśvambhara-deva. The poem is quoted below.

rāsa-maṇḍala mājhe yugala-kiśora |
duhū-aṅge aṅga diyā duhū bhela bhora ||
rādhā-aṅge aṅga diyā nāgarī cali yāy |
nāciyā caliche bhāli manda-gati [1] tāy ||
tā dekhi maürī-saba nāce phiri phiri |
jaya rādhā kṛṣṇa bali ḍāke śuka sārī ||
śyāma-adhare bāje madhura muralī |
yamunā thakita bhela mohita sakali ||
phula-bhare latā-saba lambita haïyā [2] |
caraṇa-paraśa-āśe paṛiche naṭāiyā [3] ||

[1] 'mantha-' MS. [2] 'hayā' MS. [3] 'naṭāyyā' MS.

vṛndāvane ānande hilola bahi yāy |
viśvambhara-deva tāhā dekhibāre pāy ‖ [Das MS.]

« Within the *Rāsa* arena the Young Couple, reclining each against the other's person, were full of joy. Throwing (the weight of his person) against that of Rādhā the *Beau* walked on. He was walking in dancing steps, and his gait was slow. At this the peahen danced about turning (on all sides): the *śuka* and *sārikā* cried out the names of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. At the lips of Śyāma the sweet flute sang: (at this) the Yamunā became still and all around were charmed. With their burdens of flowers the creepers, being elongated, bent low in order to touch their feet. A wave of joyousness passed through Vṛndāvana. (May) Viśvambhara-deva have a sight of it! »

Viśvambhara-dāsa (?).

One poem on Caitanya-deva with the *bh.* of 'Viśvambhara' and another on the Kṛṣṇa theme with the *bh.* of 'Viśvambhara-dāsa' occur in PKT. [743, 1199]. The first poem may be a composition of Viśvambhara-deva [see above], but the other one probably came from another pen.

(Nṛpa) Udayāditya [*ante* 1643 or 1673 A. C.].

One MS. of Rāmagopāla-dāsa's *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* quotes the following couplet from a poem by 'Nṛpa Udayāditya' [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 114].

emana bandhure mora ye jana bhāṅgāy |
ehena abalārṅ vadha lāgibeka tāy ‖

« To him shall attach the (sin of) murder of such a woman (as I am), who will seduce away (from me) this my Lover. »

A fuller version of this poem occurs in another MS. of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* [*vide* Vaṅga-sāhitya-paricaya,[1] Part II, p. 1325]. It is as follows.

śyāma bandhure mora je jana bhāṅgāy |
ehena dukhinī rādhārṅ vadha lāge tāy ‖
kulera kāminī kari sirajile vidhi |
dekhite nā pāï rūpa śyāma guṇa-nidhi ‖

[1] Compiled by Rai Sahib Dinesh Chandra Sen, B.A., and published by the Calcutta University, 1914.

bāhira nā hai āmi guru janārṣ ḍare |
dāruṇa nanadī vāṇī kāṛe nānā chale ||
nā marie[1] nanadinī khāo[2] duṭī ākhi |
e bhara-dupure yena śyāma-rūpa dekhi ||

« To her shall attach the sin of killing this poor creature Rādhā, who seduces away my lover Śyāma. The Creator has made me a lady of a noble family, and (so) I cannot (always) have a sight of Śyāma, the Treasure of Virtue. I do not go out of my home for fear of my seniors; still my cruel sister-in-law speaks (harsh) words on any pretext. My sister-in-law does not die! May she eat up both her eyes, and may I be blessed with a sight of the Dark-complexioned One at this noon-tide! »

The *Pada-kalpa-latikā* [first edition (A. C. 1849), pp. 131f.] contains a poem by Udayāditya. This poet must have been the same person as Nṛpa Udayāditya. Was this Prince (*nṛpa*) Udayāditya any way connected with Pratāpa-āditya who has been referred to by Govindadāsa Kavirāja? The poem which is quoted below shows that the Prince (*nṛpa*) was no mean poet.

ki balite jāno[3] muñi ki balite pāri |
eke guṇa-hīna āra paravaśa nārī ||
tomāra lāgiyā mora yata guru-jana |
sakala haïla vairī keha nay āpana ||
bāghera mājhe yena harinīra vāsa |
tāra mājhe dīghala chāṛite nāri śvāsa ||
udaya-āditye kahe (mane) oi bhaya uṭhe |
tomāra pirīti-khāni tilekṣ pāche ṭuṭe ||

« What shall I say? and what can I say? For one I am without any accomplishments or virtues, and for the other I am a woman dependent on others. For your sake all my seniors have become enemies: none can I claim as my friend. (It is), as it were a doe living among tigers: in their company I cannot release a long sigh. Udaya-āditya says: this fear only springs upon my heart that your (treasured) love may be diminished by even the slightest. »

Govindadāsa Kavirāja has mentioned one Pratāpāditya [see *supra*, p. 107]. Was Udayāditya any relation of his? It is suggested

[1] maraye. [2] =khāu. [3] 'jānu' Text.

that this Pratāpāditya was the ruler of Jessore, who was overthrown by Mānsingh, the general of Akbar and that Udayāditya was his son. (Rabindranath in his novel *Bauṭhākurāṇīr Hāṭ* has done so.) But it is more than what can be proved historically.

Śyāma-priyā.

The following poem with the *bh.* of 'Śyāma-priyā' occurs in VSP. MS. 982. The poem laments the demise of Murāri and Rasikānanda, the two most prominent disciples of Śyāmānanda. Rasikānanda and Murāri were brothers, and their wives were named Mālatī and Śacī-rānī respectively [*cf.* Prema-vilāsa]. Who Śyāmapriyā was I do not know. The language of the poem precludes the supposition that the poet was a sister of Rasikānanda and Murāri. I suppose that the poet was a male follower of the two and that 'Śyāma-priyā' was his esoteric name or pen-name.

The poem runs as follows:

prāṇa dhariba kemane prāṇa dhariba kemane |
divase āndhāra haila śrī-murāri bine ||
hari-guru-vaiṣṇabera sevā haila vāda |
āra ki rasikānanda pūrāibe sādha ||
eke se rasikānanda rasera taraṅga |
basilā rasikānanda kṣīracorā-saṅga ||
kāndite kāndite hiyā bidare ullāse |
daśa-diga śūnya haila śyāma-priyā bhāṣe || [VSP. MS. 982.]

« How shall I hold on to my life? How shall I do it? Bereft of Śrī-Murāri it has become dark in daytime. The service to Hari, to the *guru* and to the *Vaiṣṇavas* has been interrupted. Would Rasikānanda again fulfil (our) desire? Rasikānanda is for one a wave of joy; (above that) he is (now) in the company of 'Kṣīracorā'[1] (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa). While weeping my heart is bursting out in joy (as he has attained that coveted state). The ten quarters are all empty: so says Śyāma-priyā. »

[1] *Literally* the cream-lifter. It is the name of the deity at Remunā in Orissa. The details of the cream-lifting incident is to be found in CC. [ii. 4]. Rasikānanda probably died at Remunā or near about.

Kṛṣṇaprasāda.

One poem by Śrī-Kṛṣṇaprasāda has been incorporated in the *Padāmṛta-samudra* [p. 413]. This poem (which occurs in the *Pada-ratnākara* with the *bh.* of Śivānanda) occurs with some variations also in PKT. [243].

This poet Kṛṣṇa-prasāda was undoubtedly a son of Gati-govinda and a grandson of Śrīnivāsa-Acārya. Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura, the compiler of the *Padāmṛta-samudra*, was a grandson of Kṛṣṇa-prasāda.

Rājavallabha.

There are two poems by Rāja-vallabha in GPT. [p. 459 ff.]. Both poems describe the joyful ceremony at the poet Vaṃśī-vadana's birth. The poet seems to have been the great grandson of Vaṃśī-vadana.

CHAPTER XIX

POETS IN BENGALI: EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY OR EARLIER

Vipradāsa-Ghoṣa.

In PKT. and in the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* occurs a single poem by the above poet [PKT. 1175, Saṅkīrttanāmṛta 80]. Vipradāsa-Ghoṣa lived at Devīpuṛ near Rānī-hāṭī, and he was the inventor of the Rānīhāṭī style of *Kīrttana* [Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. iii, p. 167]. The poem describes Child Kṛsna's yearning for driving the cattle to the woods in company with the cowherd boys and his mother's unwillingness to let him do so. The poem is written in simple style, and is one of the best poems of the *Vātsalya* type. I quote this poem below :

āgo mā āji āmi carāba bāchuṛ |
parāiā deha dhaṛā mantra paṛi bāndha cūṛā
caraṇete parāha nūpuṛ ||
alaka tilakā bhāle vana-mālā deha gale
śiṅgā vetra veṇu deha hāthe |
śrī-dāma su-dāma dāma subalādi balarāma
sabhāi dāṛāiyā rāja-pathe ||
viśāla arjuna jāṅṛ kiṅkiṇī aṃśumān
sājiyā sabhāi goṭhe yāy |
gopālera kathā śuni sajala-nayane rāṇī
acetane dharaṇī loṭāy ||
cañcala bāchuri sane kemane dhāibā vane
komala du-khāni rāṅgā pāy |
ghoṣa vipra-dāse bale e vayase goṭhe gele
prāṇa ki dharite pāre māy ||

"O mother! may I herd calves to-day? Clothe me up, tie me a top-knot and mutter incantations over it, and put anklets at my heels.

On my forehead paint decorations, fasten a wreath around my neck and let me have in my hand a horn, a cane, and a flute. Śrīdāma, Sudāma, Dāma, Subala, Balarāma and others are all waiting on the road. Viśāla, Arjuna, Jāna, Kiṅkiṇī, Aṃśumān,—they are all dressed and are starting for the pasture fields." On hearing this from the Child (Kṛṣṇa) the lady, her eyes filled with tears, fell down stunned on the ground. "How can you run up with the fleet-footed calves, with your tender ruddy feet?" asks Vipradāsa-Ghoṣa, "Can mother be at her ease if you go herding cattle at such an age?"

Dvija Bhīma.

There is only one extant poem by Bhīma [PKT. 34]. The poem is really a nice one. It is quoted below :

ki rūpa dekhilū madhura-mūrati
pirīti-rasera sāra |
hena lay mane e tina bhuvane
tulanā nāhika āra ||
baṛa binodiyā cūṛāra ṭālani
kapāle candana cānda |
jini vidhu-vara vadana sundara
bhuvana-mohana phānda ||
nava jaladhara rase ḍhara-ḍhara
varaṇa cikaṇa kālā |
aṅgera bhūṣaṇa rajata kāñcana
maṇi mukutāra mālā ||
joṛā bhurū yena kāmera kāmāna
ke nā kaila niramāṇa |
tarala nayane teracha cāhani
viṣama kusuma-bāṇa ||
sundara adhare madhura muralī
hāsiyā kathāṭi kay |
dvija bhīme kahe o rūpa nagara
dekhile parāṇa ray || [PKT. 34.]

"What a beauty, what a lovely person I have seen! It (is, indeed, made of) the essence of the spirit of Love. It seems as if there is nothing in these three worlds that can bear a comparison. Very

charming is the knot of his forelocks. The sandal-paste mark on his forehead (is like) a moon. His lovely face, defying the moon, is a trap for the heart of the universe. His complexion is shining black, like that of a fresh cloud laden with water. Gold and silver as well as chaplets of pearls and diamonds are his ornaments. The continuous curve of the eyebrows is really the bow of Cupid. Who has built it, pray? The corner glances of his liquid eyes are the keen shafts of the flower (-bowed god of love). Between his exquisite lips (he holds) the sweet flute. He speaks words prefaced by smiles. Dvija Bhīma says: 'When one eyes that lovely hero, can one's heart remain (in peace)?'»

Mādhurī(-dāsa).

Four MSS. of the *Pada-kalpa-taru* have the *bh.* of 'Mādhurī' in the poem [140]. The variant *bh.* is 'Mādhavī' [*vide* PKT., Vol. I, p. 99]. The *bh.* of 'Mādhurī' occurs in KPS. [p. 50] too. The editor of the VSP. edition of PKT. rejects the *bh.* of 'Mādhurī.' But this is hardly justifiable as the reading 'Mādhurī' is supported by a greater number of MSS. than the alternate reading 'Mādhavī.' Another poem in PKT. [776] has the alternate *bh.* of 'Mādhurī.' The existence of a distinct poet by the name of Mādhurī or Mādhurī-dāsa is supported by the *bh.* of the following poem of mystic import. The poem is rather corrupt at places, and as such the translation is but tentative.

marame marame paśiñā du-jane
peye sadā mana-madhu |
cakora hariṣe sudhāra āveśe
paraśiñā rahe vidhu ||
yakhana janame du-ṭhāñi du-janā
ācare ye yāra rīta [1] |
kālākāla [2] pāñā haṭhāt-kāre āsiñā
yogāyoga paratīta ||
e sātha [3] milana pāila yei-jana
tulanā [4] nāhika tāra |
ghṛta dugdha cini tāhāra bāchani
chāniñā nikase sāra ||

[1] 'ācareye jā rita' MS. [2] 'kālākala' MS. [3] 'sāta' MS. [4] 'tolanā' MS

dāsa mādhurī [1] ānanda-laharī
karaṇe kautuka pāi |
paraśe miśāñā bhiñāna karaha
manake māthaye [2] bhāi ॥ [CU. MS. 288.]

« Having both of them penetrated the inner hearts and having obtained the perpetual satisfaction, the *cakora*, in joy and in intoxication of the ambrosia, remains in contact with the moon. When they were born the two were at different places, and they behaved according to their individual proclivities (?). But on the opportune moment they were forcibly brought in (mutual) contact, and their union was complete (?). The person who has come in contact with these has nothing to be compared to. *Ghee*, milk and sugar—their pick—(are mixed together and) passed through a strainer, and the essence is the outcome. Mādhurī-dāsa (says), 'It is a stream of bliss, and when practised great pleasure is obtained : mixing with touch cook it and churn the mind, O (my) brother !'

Mānasiṃha-dāsa.

One poem by Mānasiṃha-dāsa has been quoted in the *Rasa-niryāsa*. The poet is otherwise unknown. It is quoted below :

ohe śyāma-rāya kathā śuna mana diyā |
ki karite ki nā kare gumari gumari jhure
ki dekhāy kapāle hāthā diyā ॥
ati sukumāra tanu śirīṣa-kusuma janu
bhāla manda kichuï nā jāne |
rāja-kumārī ghare rahite nāhika pāre
tomāre se dekhiyā svapane ॥
vasana nā rākhe gāy kātara-nayane cāy
sonārā tanu dhulāye pariyā |
tomāra kaṭhina mana tiri-vadha nā ganaṇa [3]
kulavatī dilā cālāïyā [4] ॥
śuniyā sakhīra vāṇī hariṣe rasika-maṇi
kahe jhāṭa milāha yatane ॥
mānasiṃha-dāse bhaṇe haiyā ulasita-mane
dhanī kāche punarāgamane ॥

[1] 'mādhūri' MS.
[2] mathiyā?
[3] MS. 'nā gana.'
[4] MS. 'kulabati kula dilā cālāiyā.'

« 'O Prince Śyāma, just listen to (my) words with attention. (Rādhā) does one thing to do another; she weeps in secret, and she indicates we do not know what by placing her hand on her forehead. She is as fragile as a *śirīṣa* flower, and she knows nothing, good or evil. She, the princess, having dreamt of you, can hardly keep herself at home. She cannot keep the *sari* on her person (out of love-sickness), she looks about with pained eyes; her superb body (she) throws down on the ground. Your heart is cruel indeed, (as) it does not care for woman-slaughter; it has (dared to) move (even) a lady of a good family!' On hearing these words of the female friend, the Prince of lovers joyfully retorted, 'Do please manage to make (us) meet quickly.' Mānasiṃha-dāsa says (that the female friend) was delighted at heart and returned to the precious girl (*i.e.* Rādhā). »

Rasamaya-dāsa.

There are three poems with the *bh.* 'Rasamaya' and 'Rasamaya-dāsa' in PKT [1700, 1864, 1865]. The poems are all on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend and are written in simple language.

'Rasamayī-dāsī.'

There is only one poem with the above *bh.* in PKT. [757]. In some MSS. of the *Pada-kalpa-taru* it contains the *bh.* of Locana-dāsa, and in the *Pada-rasa-sāra* it occurs with the *bh.* 'Rasamaya-dāsa' [PKT., Vol. III, p. 99]. The reading of the *Pada-rasa-sāra* is distinctly superior to that of the accepted PKT. reading. The poem, therefore, must have come from the pen of Rasamaya-dāsa.

Yādavendra(-dāsa).

Three poems by Yādavendra are incorporated in PKT. [1189, 1192, 1225]. Three more occur in KPS. [pp. 45, 48, 51]. Three additional poems are contained in the *Saṅkīrtanāmṛta* [77, 79, 86]. Yādavendra was a Brahmin, and was an inhabitant of the village Hariśśpurś near Suri, Birbhum. He flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century. Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna's researches have discovered these and other details of the life of the poet Yādavendra [*vide* Birbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. iii, pp. 226 f.].

All the poems of Yādavendra deal with the 'Goṣṭha' theme. His poems are generally not devoid of merit. The following poem is one of the best of the type :—

āmāra śapati lāge nā dhāiba dhenurā āge
parāṇera parāṇa nīla-maṇi ।
nikaṭe rākhiha dhenu pūriha mohana veṇu
ghare basi āmi yena śuni ॥
balāï dhāibe āge āra śiśu vāma-bhāge
śrīdāma sudāma saba-pāche ।
tumi tāra mājhe dhāiha saṅga-chāṛā nā haïya
māṭhe baṛa ripu-bhaya āche ॥
kṣudhā haile laiyā khāiha patha pāne cāhi yāiha
atiśaya tṛṇāṅkura pathe ।
kāru bole baṛa dhenu phirāite nā yāiha kānu
hāta tuli deha mora māthe ॥
thākibe tarura chāya minati kariche māya
ravi yena nā lāgaye gāy ।
yādavendre saṅge laiha bādhā pānai hāthe thuiha
bujhiyā yogābe rāṅgā pāy ॥ [PKT. 1189.]

Yaśodā gives instruction to the child Kṛṣṇa when he is about to start for the pasture fields in company with the cowherd boys : « O Dark-Jewel, the heart of my heart ! do not run before the cattle, swear by me. Keep the cattle near (home), and play on your enchanting flute so that I may hear it at home. Balāi shall take the lead, and other boys shall be on your right and left. Śrīdāma and Sudāma shall walk in the rear. You must remain in the centre. Do not stray away from their company as there is a great scare of the enemy in the fields. When you feel hungry, do take some food (which you shall take along). Do look along the way when you walk on as there are profuse prickly thorns (strewn) all over it. You should never offer to bring back a (straying) big cow at anybody's request : you just place your hand over my head (and swear by it). Remain seated under the shade of trees so that the sun may not oppress you : this is your mother's urgent request. Take (the servant) Yādavendra with you, and leave your shoes with him. He shall supply them when needful. »

Svarṇalālī.[1]

Svarṇalālī was the wife of the poet Yādavendra. She was a gifted lady. Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa has published three poems by her [Bhāratavarṣa, Śrāvaṇa, 1336 B.E.] The following poem is quoted as a specimen of her composition:—

asakāle gelām yamunāra kūle | bādhure herilām nīpa-taru-mūle ||
dalitāñjana cikana-rūpa | ā mari mari rasera bhūpa ||
kene se rūpe sakhi dilām ākhi | nayana mana morā haïla pākhi ||
uṛiyā basilām se rasa-kūpe | ākhi prāṇa mora hārāila rūpe ||
navīna-meghete vidyut-chaṭā | haste pade dekhi cādera ghaṭā ||
mu-khāni dekhilām pūrṇimārā cāda | taruṇīra mana-nayana-phāda ||
tribhaṅga haïyā dāṛāye āche | pājara kāṭiyā hṛdaye nāce ||
mana muruchi mariyāchila | kākhera kalasī khasiñā gela ||
asthira gharete āsite nāri | ādhuyā haïyā pathete phiri ||
keha saṅge nāi mātra ekākinī | asakāla hāila kariba ki (?) ||
anusāre yadi āilām ghare | kalasī nā dekhi bhartsana kare ||
geha haila morā durgama vana | ki kari sakhi ghare nā rahe mana ||
durgama-banete sabā jantu ray | geha-vane mora guru-janāy bhayā ||
se kālā bine morā prāṇa nā ray | phukure kahite antare bhayā ||
svarṇalālī kahe śona he dhanī | kānurā preme tumi hao śiromaṇi ||
cala abhisāre rājārā-i bālā | yatane āniyā milāiba kālā ||

« 'In the evening I went to the bank of the Yamunā: I saw the Beloved One (standing) at the root of the *nīpa* tree. His glossy complexion is like pressed collyrium; alas! alas! he is a king of loveliness. Why did I, O friend, eye that loveliness? My eyes and my heart became a bird, as it were. I flew away and perched on that well of beauty: my eyes and my heart were lost in that gracefulness. (His garment was like) a flash of lightning on a dark cloud: in his fingers and toes I found a series of moons. His face, I saw, was a full moon: it was the trap for the eyes and hearts of young women. He was standing in a reclining posture: (it seemed as if) he pierced through my ribs and danced in my heart. My mind swooned away and was dead, as it were: the pitcher at my waist dropped down. Restless, I could not return home, and like one blinded I wandered along the path. No one was with me, and I was alone; it was

[1] The discovery and identification of this poetess is entirely due to the researches of Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna [*vide* Bhāratavarṣa, Śrāvaṇa, 1336 B.E.]

evening. What was I to do? Though I returned home somehow (my people), not finding the pitcher, chastised me. My home has become an impassable forest to me: What can I do, my friend? My heart does not rest in peace (here). In deep forests all kinds of beasts dwell: but in the forest of my home my fear (is) from my superiors. Without the Dark One (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) my life is at stake: and to speak aloud I am afraid at heart.' Svarṇalālī says, 'Listen, O precious girl! you are the crest-jewel in (the estimation of) Kṛṣṇa's love. Come on *abhisāra*,[1] you daughter of a prince! I will do my utmost and make the Dark One meet you.'»

Navacandra-dāsa.

Three poems by Navacandra are incorporated in PKT. [1193, 1239, 1240]. All the three poems are on the *Goṣṭha* (pasturing the cattle) episode of the Kṛṣṇa legend.

Navadvīpacandra-dāsa.

One poem only by Navadvīpacandra-dāsa occurs in PKT. [2961]. The poem is a prayer.

Rāmakānta.

One poem only by Rāmakānta occurs in PKT. [1572]. This poem as well as another is cited in GPT. [pp. 242 ff.]. The two poems are connected. They describe the *abhiṣeka* (anointing ceremony) of Caitanya-deva by his followers. One poem with the *bh.* 'Rāma' is cited in PKT. [2309]. 'Rāma' may be a short from of 'Rāma-kānta' or of 'Rāma-candra.'

Rupa-caraṇa [*ante* 1795 A.C.].

One poem on the Kṛṣṇa legend by Rūpa-caraṇa is cited in KPS. [pp. 111 f.]. A MS. in the Calcutta University Library [MS. 353, dated 1202 B.E.] contains a few poems by Rūpa-caraṇa. Two of these poems—both on the *sannyāsa* of Caitanya-deva—have been cited in the Catalogue of Bengali MSS. in the Calcutta University Library [Vol. ii, pp. 303 f.].

[1] A woman's clandestine visit to her lover waiting on tryst.

Svarupa-caraṇa.

One poem, describing the beauty of Kṛṣṇa, by Svarūpa-caraṇa is cited in APR. [580].

Svarupa (Svarupa-dāsa).

Two poems on the *abhiṣeka* ceremony of Caitanya-deva at the house of Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita, with the *bh.* of 'Svarūpa' occur in PKT. [1574, 1575]. These two as well as a third on the same topic are cited in GPT. also. [pp. 245 f.]. Another poem with the *bh.* of 'Svarūpa-dāsa,' occurs in the same work [pp. 416 f.]. This poem written in *Dhāmālī* style describes the joyousness at the birth of Nityānanda-prabhu. 'Svarūpa' may be a short form of 'Svarūpa-caraṇa.'

Rāmakṛṣṇa-Ācārya, a disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura, had a disciple named Svarūpa-Cakravarttī who lived at Husenpur[illegible] [Narottama-vilāsa, xii]. Was he the poet ?

Sadānanda-dāsa.

One poem, an ode to Caitanya-deva, by Sadānanda-dāsa is cited in PKT. [2194]. The same poem however occurs with the *bh.* of 'Śivānanda-dāsa' in GPT. [p. 35].

Hare-(Hari-) kṛṣṇa-dāsa.

One poem by Harekṛṣṇa-dāsa is cited in PKT. [1370]. Another poem, presumably by the same poet, occurs there with the *bh.* 'Harikṛṣṇa-dāsa' [60]. The same poem however occurs in GPT. [p. 297] with the proper *bh.* 'Harekṛṣṇa-dāsa.'

'Haridāsa.'

Two poems with the *bh.* of 'Haridāsa' are cited in PKT. [2342, [1] 3014]. Both poems are on Caitanya-deva. Besides there are four poems (all in Brajabuli) with the *bh.* of 'Dvija Haridāsa.' 'Dvija Haridāsa' has

[1] This poem occurs with the *bh.* of 'Balarāma-dāsa' in the *Pada-ratnākara.* But in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 209] and other works it occurs with the *bh.* of 'Haridāsa' or 'Haridāsa-dāsa.' In VSP. MS. 982 the *bh.* of this poem runs thus: 'kahe haridāsa hāṛa' *etc.* Is 'hāṛa' an error for 'hoṛa'? In that case we should ascribe it to Haridāsa (v).

been already dealt with [see *supra*, pp. 56 f.]. The poet (or poets ?) Haridāsa may have been a different person from 'Dvija Haridāsa.' It is however evident that the poet (or poets ?) was either a younger contemporary of Caitanya-deva or belonged to the latter half of the sixteenth century at the latest. Let us now enumerate all the Haridāsas that have some chance of being our poet (or poets).

(*i*) Haridāsa-Ṭhākura, (*ii*) Choṭa (junior) Haridāsa, (*iii*) Dvija Haridāsa, (*iv*) Hari-Ācārya, (*v*) Haridāsa-Hoṛa: all these were followers of the Master. (*vi*) Haridāsa, (*vii*) Haridāsa-Ṭhākura, and (*viii*) Haridāsa Siromaṇi, these were followers of Narottama-Ṭhākura [Prema-vilāsa, xx; Narottama-vilāsa, xii].

Haridāsa (*vi*) may have been the poet of the second poem in PKT. [3014] as the *Narottama-vilāsa* [xii] makes the following remark:

jaya jaya haridāsa harṣa gaura-rase |
nirantara abhilāṣa navadvīpa-vāse ||

Pāvana-dāsa.

One poem by Pāvana-dāsa on the birth of Kṛṣṇa occurs in the *Kīrttanānanda* [p. 6]. The name is very peculiar.

Vaiṣṇava-dāsa (ii).

I have already discussed Vaiṣṇava-dāsa (i), the compiler of the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. The encyclopædic character of this anthology enables us to presume that it must have contained *all* the poems that were written by Vaiṣṇava-dāsa. It may be argued that he may have written poems after he had made the compilation. To this it may be said in reply that the anthology took many years to be completed and that it was undoubtedly a work of the compiler's mature age. It is therefore exceedingly unlikely that he should have written poems afterwards in any considerable number. Or in any case he might have added them to the anthology.

The *Kīrttanānanda* [p. 5] contains one and only one poem with the *bh.* of 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa.' It deals with the newly-born Kṛṣṇa. It is quite likely that the *Kīrttanānanda* was earlier to the *Pada-kalpa-taru* and probably also to the *Padāmṛta-samudra*. At least the poet Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura was unknown to Gaurasundara-dāsa, the compiler of the *Kīrttanānanda*. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to conclude that

Vaiṣṇava-dāsa also was unknown to him. The poem with the *bh.* of 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa' in the *Kīrttanānanda* therefore belongs to an earlier Vaiṣṇava-dāsa.

One poem by 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa' on the Kṛṣṇa legend occurs in VSP. MS. 2416. This poem also does not occur in PKT. The last couplet of this poem runs as follows:

dukhiā vaiṣṇava-dāsa[1] pūrala manera āśa
dekhi kuñje yugala-kiśora |
kokila bhamarā saba gāna kare ucca-rava
ānandeta haïye bibhora ||

« The desire of the heart of the poor Vaiṣṇava-dāsa has been realised on seeing the Young Couple at the pavilion. Cuckoos and bees, mad in joy, sang in loud notes. »

Another poem on the same topic and presumably by the same poet occurs in CU. MS. 330. The last line of this poem, which also does not occur in PKT., runs as follows:

nivedana mora śuna he nāgara
rāï dekhibāre cala |
vaiṣṇava-dāse kay kahite lāgaye bhay
rāï se nidāna bhela ||

« Listen to my submission, O gallant lover! come and meet Rādhā. Vaiṣṇava-dāsa says, 'I feel terrified to say: Rādhā is in a crisis.' »

There is one poem, and one only, by Vaiṣṇava-dāsa on the Kṛṣṇa legend occurring in PKT. [1568]. I suspect that this poem really belongs to this earlier Vaiṣṇava-dāsa. Was this earlier Vaiṣṇava-dāsa the same person as Vaiṣṇava-caraṇa?

'Kānāi-Khuṭiyā.'

One poem with the *bh.* of 'Kānāi-Khuṭiyā' is quoted in APR. [434] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra.* Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna seeks to identify this poet with Caitanya-deva's Oriyā follower of the same name [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 34, pp. 51 f.]. It is quite unlikely that an Oriyā could have

1 'boṣṭaba-dāsa.' MS.

written such a poem in chaste Bengali. As a matter of fact this poem occurs with the *bh.* of Locana-dāsa in KPS. [p. 207]. The elegant style of the poem certainly points to such a distinguished poet as Locana.

Kubera-ānanda.

One poem by Kubera-ānanda is quoted in APR. [484] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. The poem describes the physical charms of Caitanya-deva.

Dhanañjaya.

Three poems by Dhanañjaya are cited in APR. [512-514] from the *Pada-ratnākara* and the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. Two poems by the same poet occur in VSP. MS. 2416. Dhanañjaya's language is simple and his diction quite good.

Rāghava.

One poem by Rāghava is cited in APR. [560] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. The poem describes Kṛṣṇa's gracefulness.

Paraśurāma (? i, ii).

Paraśurāma 'the Brahmin' (*vipra, dvija*) was the author of a *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*. This work is known in several MSS. all of which, except one, are fragmentary. One complete copy of this work has been secured by Mr. Nalinīnāth Dasgupta [*vide* Vicitrā, Agrahāyaṇa, B.E. 1339, p. 688]. According to Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna this Paraśurāma was the author of *Mādhava-saṅgīta*, another lyrical work on the Kṛṣṇa legend [*vide* Birbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. III, p. 163]. The *Mādhava-saṅgīta* was written at the instance of Kumāra Śyāma-śekhara, a scion of the 'Kṣetrī' race [*loc. cit.*].[1] In the introductory portion of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* Paraśurāma pays his homage to Caitanya-deva, Nityānanda-prabhu, Advaita-prabhu, Sanātana-Gosvāmin, Dāmodara, Haridāsa and Naraharī-Sarkār. Abhirāma-dāsa has also been mentioned [*vide* Vicitrā, p. 689]. As no Vaiṣṇava of the seventeenth century has been mentioned the presumption is that the poet flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century. The

[1] kṣetrī-avataṃsa mahārāja-vaṃśa kumāra śikhara-śyāma ।
yāra deśe vasi saṅgīta-vilāsī racita paraśurāma ॥

poet of the *Mādhava-saṅgīta* mentions that his *guru* was *Manohara-dāsa*[1] [Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa, *loc. cit.*]. But the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* does not mention this Manohara-dāsa.

Paraśurāma's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* contains the 'Dāna' and 'Naukā' episodes of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend [*vide* Vicitra, p. 688]. The 'Dāna' episode closely resembles the corresponding narrative in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana*. As in the latter work 'Candrāvalī' is another name of Rādhā [*op. cit.*, p. 690].

Manohara-dāsa, the *guru* of Paraśurāma (the poet of the *Mādhava-saṅgīta*), was, according to Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna, a disciple of Jalmabā-devī [Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. iii, pp. 162f.]. If it be so, this Paraśurāma too must have flourished in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

From this it cannot of course be concluded that the poet of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* and that of the *Mādhava-saṅgīta* were different persons. I shall try to show subsequently that the two poets (supposing they were different persons) were very possibly contemporaneous. It is quite possible that the poet, subsequent to his writing the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*, became a disciple of Manohara-dāsa.

The following lyric by Paraśurāma has been cited in the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa* [Vol. iii, pp. 163 f.]. Locana's influence is apparent.

kālindī-kināre go nāgara kāliyā |
jalere yāïte ekā se aṅge lāgila ṭhekā
mane chila tamāla baliyā ||
kānāñī kariñā āge āveśa āchila go
dhādhase bāndhila duï pāy |
rūpera bātāse tanu ke jāne ki haila go
kathā kahite pulakē pare gāy ||
nava-kuvalaya-dala- tanu niramala go
ratana-mukura vara hiyā |
kemana vidhātā tāy rasāla karila go
sudhuï sudhāra sāra diyā ||
rūpera mādhurī kata bhuvana bhulāy go
paraśe amiyā sukha-rāśi |
paraśurāmera mane smaori smaori rūpa
basiñā kāndiye divā-niśi ||

[1] paraśurāmera rahu guru-pade āśa
deha pada-tala-chāyā manohara-dāsa |

«'O! the gallant, Dark-complexioned One (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) on the bank of the Kālindī! As I was going to (fetch) water, I pushed against his person: I had thought it to be (the trunk of) a *tamāla* tree. I had, previously, some attachment for Kṛṣṇa: (now) both my feet were paralysed with fright. With the breeze of his beauty my limbs behave I do not know how, and when I talk, hairs on my body stand on their ends. His person is as lovely as the petals of a fresh blue-lotus: his fine chest is a veritable mirror of emerald. Who is the creator that has made his loveliness out of the pure essence of ambrosia? The charms of his gracefulness captivate so many worlds: his touch is a feast of nectar.' At the heart of Paraśurāma (this desire arises), 'Contemplating repeatedly on (his) loveliness, may I sit (alone) and weep day and night.'»

Jagadānanda-Ghoṣa.

The following poem[1] by Jagadānanda-Ghoṣa occurs in the *Mukundānanda*. There are some Brajabuli forms in it. Was the poet a follower of Sundarānanda-Ṭhākura (a follower of Nityānanda-prabhu)?

āy bhāi khelāïte yābi gorācāda |
śiśu-gaṇa ḍāki bale āy bhāi gaṅgārṣ kūle
nāciba gāïba hari-nāma ||
śire avataṃsa kanaka-jhuri lambita
dolata lalāṭa-sumājha |
tad-upari candana citra-vicitraka
dekhi mukha candra virāja ||
ratana-hārāvalī bakṣe vilambita
ṭāṛa balayā dona kare |
gaura kalevara nīla-pāṭera dhaṭī
beṛiyāche ghāghara ghuṅghure ||
hede re bālaka-gaṇa lañā yāicha prāṇa-dhana
sakāla āniha gorā-cāde |
ṭhākura sundarānanda gorā-līlā bijānata
gāyata ghoṣa-jagadānande ||

«'Come, brother! Would you come and play (with us), you moon-like Gorā!' (Thus) the boys call him and say: 'Come on, brother!

1. Obtained through the courtesy of Babu Śivaratana Mitra.

On the bank of the Ganges we shall dance about and sing the name of Hari.' On (Gorā's) head there is a crest wherefrom dangle golden tassels that play against his fair forehead. On it are lovely decorations of sandal-paste: his face (thus) looks like a shining moon. Strands of a precious necklace are suspended against his chest: armlets and bangles (beautify) both his arms. A blue coloured silken cloth is draped about his fair limbs: a girdle with tiny bells encircles his waist. 'Look here, you boys, you are taking away the treasure of my life; but do bring back early Gorā the moon.' Ṭhākura Sundarānanda knows the sports of Gorā. So sings Ghoṣa Jagadānanda.»

Bhavānanda.

Bhavānanda's *Hari-vaṃśa*,[1] a Bengali narrative poem on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, contains about one hundred and twenty-four lyrics in Bengali. A few of these lyrics occur in some MSS. from East Bengal. Nothing is known about Bhavānanda except that his father's name was Śivānanda and that he was an East Bengal man. One MS. of the *Hari-vaṃśa* bears the date 'San 1096 Sāl' [*vide* Hari-vaṃśa, Preface, p. iv]. If the date is correct Bhavānanda must have flourished, at the latest, in the second half of the seventeenth century. Bhavānanda was not a bad poet, as the following poem will testify :—

tora lāgi beṛāi nātha tora lāgi beṛāi |
tumi bine anya jāni tomāra dohāi ||
dekhile se rahe prāṇa nā dekhi marimu |
tumi bine nā lay mane ki buddhi karimu ||
tumi bahi prāṇanātha nāhi keha āra |
tomāke tomāra dite ki yābe āmāra ||
tora bāṇe mana hāle virale kahichi |
tomāra tomāre diyā tomāra haichi ||
sakala tejiyā hailu tomāra adhīna |
rāṅgā-pade chāyā māge bhavānanda dīna ||

[Hari-vaṃśa, p. 97.]

[Rādhā soliloquises to Kṛṣṇa:] 'O my lord, I wander about in search of thee. I swear by thee that I do not know anybody but thee.

[1] Edited by Satīśacandra Rāy and published by the Dacca University, B.E. 1339.

My life can subsist only on seeing thee ; if not, I shall die. Nothing appeals to me except thee (*i.e.* thy thought) : what am I to do ? O lord of my life ! I have none other than thee. What shall it cost me if I give away to thee what is thy own ? I tell you confidentially that my heart is reeling, being smitten by the arrow (of) thy (love) ; but I have returned to thee what really belongs to thee, and I am now thine ! I have spurned away everything, and I am at thy command.' The humble Bhavānanda seeks the shade of (those) rosy feet. »

CHAPTER XX

POETS FROM UNDATED OR LATE MANUSCRIPTS AND FROM MODERN ANTHOLOGIES

Rājīva-locana.

The following poem by Rājīva-locana occurs in VSP. MS. 201. It has the ring of a poem by so-called 'Caṇḍīdāsa.' There are some corruptions and *lacunæ* in the poem.

tamu ta dāruṇa-loke bole more kālā-parivāda |
tāhāra bharame jalada śyāma go
tejinu kājarera sādha ||
kālā kusuma kare paraśa nā kari ḍare
e baṛi marame lāge bethā | [1]
yekhāne sekhāne āmi bāśīṭī śunile go
duṭi hātha diyā thāki kāne ||
rājīva-locane kay e vāda ghucibārṇ nay
kene ma[ne abhimāna kara] [2] |
kājarera kālī kasi emati manete bāśī
dhuile ki ghucāite pāra ||

« 'And yet the cruel people talk scandals about me with Kṛṣṇa! Out of deference to this I have given up (painting my eyes with) collyrium as dark as fresh cloud. Through fear I do not touch with my hand dark-coloured flowers: this is a great sorrow at my heart. ... ... Whenever I hear the flute I shut my ears with the hands.' Rājīva-locana says: 'This scandal is not to be removed. Why do you then feel ill at heart? Like the dark stain of collyrium is (the note of) the flute on your heart: can you erase it by mere washing?' »

[1] At least two lines have been omitted here.

[2] The portion in the brackets does not occur in the MS.

'Gopī-rāma.'

In the same MS. occurs a poem by 'Gopī-rāma.' This poem also has the so-called 'Caṇḍīdāsa' ring. It is quoted below. There is much irregularity in the metre.

ki khene bāṛhānu prema niṭhuraṅ kālā sane |
hiyāra mājhāre śyāma āguni
kata nibāriba mane ||
cañcala kāliyāre cañcala carita
cañcala bāśīra gīta |
cañcala kāliyā sane bhāva bāṛhāïyā
cañcala haïla cita ||
ghare nija pati sadāï nā ruce mati
ajhora jharaye duṭi ākhi |
manera marama-kathā kāhāre kahiba
parāṇa-putali yāra sākhī ||
ānera sahite ūna-caracāy
āna kariyā parasaṅga |
netera vasana diyā jhāpiyā rākhiba kata
sadāï pulakita aṅga ||
sakala-aṅga avaśa haïla
calite caraṇa [ṭale] |
śyāma-cānda mora ākula karile
sahabirya(?) gopī-rāma bole ||

[VSP. MS. 201.]

«At what (an inauspicious) moment I had made love to the cruel Kālā (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa)! He as fire, (is burning) in my heart: how long can I suppress it? The Dark One is fickle-hearted, fickle is his character, and disturbing are the notes of his flute. I have made love to the fickle-minded Kāliyā (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa): my heart has become restless. There is my own husband at home, whom my heart does not like; and my two eyes are shedding ceaseless tears. To whom shall I speak out the secret of my heart? The idol of my heart only is cognisant of it. While talking with others idle talks on indifferent topics how long can I cover up with fine linen my ever horripilating limbs? All my limbs have become numb: my legs are unsteady while walking. Śyāma the moon has destroyed my peace. So says ... ... Gopī-rāma.»

Āśānanda.

A rather long poem by Āśānanda occurs in VSP. MS. 982. The poem is an ode to Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa. The last two couplets run as follows:

śrī-gopālabhaṭṭa-padē tāra[1] dhana-sampad
gaṇa saha ācārya-ṭhākura |
pūjārī śrī-gopīnāthē more kara ātmasāt
tabe se hṛdayerē duḥkha dūra ||
tomāra śrī-[2]śrī-caraṇe dāsa kari rākha sane
mūrḥa-mati ki baliba āra |
kahe dīna āśānande[3] paṛiāchi bhava-bandhe
eï-vāra karaha uddhāra ||

Navacaitanya-dāsa.

A poem, an ode to Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita, by Navacaitanya-dāsa occurs in VSP. MS. 982. The poem is quoted below.

paṇḍita śrī-gaurīdāsa ambikāte yāra vāsa
deha yāra premera svarūpa |
caitanyera ājñā pāñā nityānanda saṅge lañā
prema-dāne ati-aparupa ||
prabhu kahe nityānanda rāmāï sundarānanda
gaurīdāsa paṇḍita laïyā |
suradhunī-tīra yāñā jībere sadaya hañā
prema deha jagata bhariyā ||
prema-dhana vitaraṇe divā-niśi nāhi jāne
dīna hīna nā kaila vicāra |
gaurīdāsa baṛa raṅgī prema-dānerē pāñā saṅgī
khuli dila premera bhāṇḍāra ||
pūrve vraja-vihāre kṛṣṇera ye sahacare
subala baliyā nāma dhare |
kṛṣṇe sukha dei sadā āpane haïyā rādhā
dekhi kṛṣṇe viraha pāsare ||
rādhāra svarūpa dekhi kṛṣṇa hailā mahāsukhī
tāra rūpe ānandita mana
tabe-ta subala-rūpa gaurīdāsa svarūpa
mahāprabhurē sukhera kāraṇa ||

[1] 'yāra,' ? [2] 'sva,' MS. [3] 'āśānande,' MS.

gaurīdāsa prema-dāne caitanya nā dekhi mane
ki kariba ki habe upāyā |
tabe-ta caitanya-hari mane mane bicāri
nityānanda saṅga lañā yāy ||
sākṣāt svarūpa hañā duī-prabhu sukha pāñā
sevā-rase tāhāra adhīna |
koṭi kāma jini rūpa sva-mādhurī-svarūpa
dekhi yena nitya-navīna ||
gauṛa-deśe gaurīdāsa sevā pāñā sukhollāsa
ānanda-samudre sadā bhāse |
tāhāra asīma-guṇa kaila kichu varṇana
kahe navacaitanya-dāse ||

Paṇḍita Śrī-Gaurīdāsa, whose residence was at Ambikā and whose person was a storehouse of divine love, on receiving the command of Caitanya, joined the company of Nityānanda and (was) wonderful in bestowing divine love (on people). The Master said: 'Nityānanda, taking Rāmāī, Sundarānanda and Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita with you, do you go along the banks of the Ganges, and taking pity on creatures, do you bestow divine grace throughout the world.' While dispensing divine grace (Nityānanda-prabhu) had no sense of fatigue (*literally* had no sense of day or night), and he made no discrimination between the poor, or the wretched (and the deserving). Gaurīdāsa was a very sportive person, and on finding a companion in the work of distributing the wealth of divine love, he opened wide (the gates of) the store-house. In yore during the sports at the Vraja a companion of Kṛṣṇa was named Subala. He always ministered to Kṛṣṇa's pleasures, himself masquerading as Rādhā, and thereat Kṛṣṇa (temporarily) forgot his separation (from his Beloved). Finding him to be an exact dual of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa became immensely delighted: his (*i.e.* Subala's) beauty gladdened his heart. But now Gaurīdāsa was an incarnation of Subala and was a source of delight to the Great Master. When dispensing divine love Gaurīdāsa, on not finding Caitanya (near him), thought: 'What am I to do? What should be done?' Then Caitanya, (the incarnation of) Hari, thought something and came along with Nityānanda. The two Masters became exact images, and being delighted with his service, they became indebted to him. (The two images) are their replica: (their beauty) defeats that of millions of gods of love. They look ever-fresh. On finding this service in the country of Gauḍa, Gaurīdāsa was overjoyed: he swan in the sea of joy.

Infinite (are) his virtues of which a few are described here. Thus says Navacaitanya-dāsa. »

Dvija Ghanaśyāma [Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (iii)].

There are seven connected poems on the 'Naukā' episode by Ghanaśyāma in KPS. [pp. 86 ff.]. These are longish poems and of the narrative type. Four of these poems contain the *bh.* '*dvija* Ghanaśyāma' and the rest 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa.' The poet seems to have written a narrative work of 'Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala' type. The last poem is cited here as a specimen.

pāra haiyā yata gopī gela saba ghare |
godhana laïyā kṛṣṇa yamunāra tīre ||
velā avasāna dekhe ānandita haiyā |
vṛndāvana prati dhāy godhana laïyā ||
ucca-puccha kari dhenu cale hāmbā-rave |
ābā ābā rava diye cale śiśu sabe ||
nija nija gṛhe sabe karila praveśa |
dina-maṇi asta gelā velā avaśeṣa ||
eï ta kahilām kṛṣṇera naukā-khaṇḍa yata |
ghanaśyāma-dāsa kahe āra kaba kata || [KPS., p. 91.]

« Having crossed (the river) all the *Gopīs* went home. Kṛṣṇa, with the cattle on the bank of the Yamunā, joyfully contemplated the sunset, and then he departed for Vṛndāvana, driving forward the cattle. The cattle, with tails uplifted and lowing 'Hām-bā' trudged on, and the (cowherd) boys followed, crying 'Ābā, ābā.' They entered their respective places and the Jewel of the day (*i.e.* the sun) went down, terminating the day. Thus far I have delineated the Ferry Episode ('Naukā-khaṇḍa') of Kṛṣṇa. What more, says Ghanaśyāma-dāsa, can I add ? »

This poet Ghanaśyāma was a Brahmin as he mentions himself as *dvija*. We have already seen that the poet Narahari-Cakravarttī, who was a Brahmin, sometimes signed his poems 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa.' But as he never subscribed himself as *dvija* he does not seem to be the poet in question. The other Ghanaśyāma, the grandson of Govindadāsa Kavirāja, was a Vaidya. The poet in question must have been a third Ghanaśyāma.

'Pratāpa-rudra.'

In VSP. MS. 192 there occurs a Bengali poem with the *bh.* 'Pratāpa-rudra' [Cat. MS. Vol. III. 2, p. 160 f.]. It cannot be the composition of that celebrated king of Orissa, but may have been composed by one of his courtiers. Or it might be the composition of a poet who took the pen-name 'Pratāpa-rudra.' The poem is a rather nice one. It is quoted below.

tomāra lāgiyā rādhe tomā ārādhinu |
manera mānasa yata sakala sādhinu ||
aṅga mājhe haba tomāra aṅga paripūra |
ābharaṇa mājhe haba du-khāni nūpura ||
nakha-candra cakora pada-kamale bhramara |
o rūpe mukura haba nirāge cāmara ||
āra eka sādha āmi kariyāchi mane |
ati kṣīṇa reṇu haiyā thākiba caraṇe ||
reṇu haite nā pāi yadi mane anumāni |
pratāpa-rudre kṛpā karaha āpani ||.

« For your sake, O Rādhā, I have worshipped you. I have accomplished all that I had desired. Among your limbs may I become the full limbs (*i.e.*, the two breasts). Among your ornaments may I become the pair of anklets, (which are but) the *cakora* to moons of (your) toe-nails and the bee to the lotus of (your) feet. May I be a mirror to that beauty (of yours) and a chowrie fan for (your) ceremonial toilet (?). Another desire I do entertain in my heart: I may remain on your feet as a tiny speck of dust. But if I am not allowed to remain as a speck of dust, then I guess, you do be gracious to Pratāpa-rudra out of your own accord. »

Rasika-cānda.

One Bengali poem of esoteric character by Rasika-cāda occurs in VSP. MS. 180 along with a similar poem by 'Caṇḍīdāsa.' The poem has been quoted in the Catalogue of Manuscripts [Vol. III. 2, p. 145 f.].

Keśava the Brahmin.

Three poems by 'Keśava *brāhmaṇa* (or *bāmana*)' occur in VSP. MS. 2416. The following poem is quoted as a specimen. A few initial couplets seem to be lacking in it.

phula kari yadi pari seha nahe bhāli |
viṣama brajera vairī bhramarā bhramarī ||
hiyāra kāculī sane rākhiye bāndhiyā |
meghera cātaka ḍare marie ḍarāiyā ||
keśava bāmana kay śuna vinodinī |
jagate sabhāi kay śyāma-sohāginī ||

«'If I wear it as a flower it will not be judicious: male and female bees are terrible enemies at the Vraja. If I keep it fastened to my bodice against the heart I die out of terror of the *cātaka* (that is always on the look out) for cloud.' Keśava the Brahmin says: 'Listen, O lovely lady! Every one in the world speaks (of you) as the dearest of Śyāma.'»

The *bhaṇitā* couplets of the other two poems are as follows:

keśava bāmana kay āmi baṛa hīna |
hari nā bhajiñā michā gaṛāila dina ||

kesava brāhmaṇa [1] bale śunaha brāhmaṇi [2] |
randhana karile yena pāi eka kaṇi ||

***Dvija* Jita-rāma.**

Two poems by *dvija* (Brahmin) Jita-rāma occur in VSP. MS. 2416. One of the two poems is quoted below. There are a few *lacunæ* in it. I therefore do not append a translation.

ahe nanda tanaya-ucchabe |
yadi vidhi dile nidhi vinā ya[tne] .....
emana ānanda habe kabe ||
yateka dadhira malā mohite karaha mālā (? mānā)
śiśura kalyāṇe kara [3] dāna |
hera āsyā dekha bālā yemana [4] candrera kalā
kāmadeva sama adhiṣṭhāna ||

[1] 'bāhmana' MS. [2] 'bāhmaṇi' MS. [3] 'kare' MS. [4] 'jimana' MS.

hāthe padma pāye padma kīrttana caraṇe sadma
śrībaccha lakṣaṇa āche aṅge |
sajala-jalada-ābhā galāy kaustubha-śobhā
..... kata raṅge ||
dekhiyā bālaka-cānde ghucila ākhera āndhe
nanda ananda bāse mane |
dvija jitarāma bhāṣe se pada-paṅkaja-āśe
dadhi-kheli kare sarva-jane ||

The *bhaṇitā* couplet of the other poem runs as follows :

antare ānanda baṛa dekhi śiromaṇi |
dvija jitarāma bale o-pade [1] nichani ||

Prāṇa-vallabha.

One poem by Prāṇa-vallabha occurs in CU. MS. 4011. It describes the sorrows of the people at the Vraja on Kṛṣṇa's departure for Mathura. The *bhaṇitā* couplet runs as follows :

hema-kānti jini gāy bhūme paṛi gaṛi yāy
dharaṇī dharite nāre hiyā |
e prāṇa-vallabhe kay yogya karma [kabhu] nay
yāy vraja anātha kariñā ||

Vāṇī-kaṇṭha.

Two poems by Vāṇī-kaṇṭha occur in CU. MS. 3228. The *bhaṇitā* couplet of one of them is as follows :

manete gumāni (jale) cale vinodinī
haïyā suveśa-sāje |
vāṇī-kaṇṭhe kay rādhāre dekhiyā
kāṇu pālāïla lāje ||

A poem on the Hara-Gaurī legend by 'Vāṇī-kaṇṭha' occurs in VSP. MS. 979. For aught we know this 'Vāṇī-kaṇṭha' was a different poet altogether.

1 'u pade' MS.

Dvija Goloka.

One poem by *dvija* (Brahmin) Goloka occurs in CU. MS. 344 [dated 9th Māgha, B.E. 1277 (1871 A.C.)]. The poem has been quoted in the Catalogue of Manuscripts [Vol. II, p. 296].

Śiśu-rāma.

A few poems by Śiśu-rāma occur in VSP. MS. 2049. The poet was a Brahmin as he has used the term *dvija* (Brahmin) once with his name. The *bhaṇitā* couplet of one of the poems runs as follows :

śiśurāmeṛ vāṇī kātarṛ haïyāche prāṇī |
jala nā dekhiyā [yena] kānde cātakinī ||

The poet was, in all probability, the same Śiśu-rāma as was noted for his *Yātrā* performances in the late eighteenth century.

Dvija Durgā-prasāda.

One poem by Durgā-prasāda the Brahmin occurs in Ratan Library MS. 17. It occurs also in CU. MS. 3436. The *bhaṇitā* couplet runs as follows :

dvija durgā-prasāda baliche pada-tale |
mana yena rahe guru-caraṇakamale ||

Vaikuṇṭha-dāsa.

One poem by Vaikuṇṭha-dāsa occurs in Ratana Library MS. 144 [dated 1224 B.E. (1817 A.C.)].

Dvija Hari-nātha.

One poem by Hari-nātha the Brahmin occurs in Ratan Library MS. 145. The poem has been published in VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. II. 1 [p. 69]. The last couplet runs as follows :

yekhāne dekhilāmṛ sei-khāne prāṇa dilāmṛ
akalaṅka kule dile kāli |
dvija harināthe bhaṇe pirīti śyāmera sane
eta kene mohana murulī ||

Śrīdāma-dāsa.

One poem by Śrīdāma-dāsa occurs in VSP. MS. 2051 [dated B.E. 1236 (1829 A.C.)]. It describes Śacī-devī's sorrow on the eve of Caitanya-deva's *sannyāsa*. The poem is quoted below:

śuna viśvambhara āmāra uttara
tumi yābe deśāntare |
tomā nā dekhiyā mariba jhuriyā
śuniyā thākiba ghare ||
lañā bhakta-gaṇa karaha kīrttana
śunite śravaṇa-sukha |
āra nā śuniba parāṇe mariba
uṭhiche mana dukha ||
mukunda murāri e-sabhāre chāṛi
ki lāge [vi]deśe yābe |
viṣṇupriyā teji haïbe sannyāsī
nadīyā āndhāra habe ||
e-saba jāniyā sthira kara hiyā
sannyāsīte nāhi(ka) dāyā |
taruṇa-vasaye yābe dūra-deśe
dāsa śrīdāme gāy ||

« 'Listen, O Viśvambhara, to these my words. You will be going away to a far off country; but not seeing you I shall die of weeping. Am I to remain at home and only to hear of you? Do you (remain at home and) sing *kīrttana* in company with your followers: on listening to it (I shall have) pleasure of the ear. If I shall not hear it again I shall indeed die: (this is) the sorrow that surges up in my heart. Leaving Mukunda, Murāri and others (here), why should you go away? You will forsake Viṣṇupriyā and become a *sannyāsin*: Nadīyā will then become dark. Considering these do you make up your mind: (you have) no obligation (to become) a *sannyāsin*. Would you go to a distant land in (such) tender age?' (Thus) sings the *dāsa* (servant) Śrīdāma. »

Another poem, on the Kṛṣṇa legend, by Śrīdāma-dāsa is cited in the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [485].

Dvija Devī-dāsa.

Five poems by *dvija* (Brahmin) Devī-dāsa occur in VSP. MS. 2433 [dated 1273 B.E. (1866 A.C)]. The following is the *bhaṇitā* couplet of one of them :

calilā goālinī-gaṇe vrajarāṇī-niketane
sajala-nayane vinodinī ।
dvija devīdāse kahe kāndite kāndite mohe
bāhirṣ haye ela nanda-rāṇī ॥

Two poems with the *bh.* of 'Devīdāsa' were published by Munshi Abdul Karim in the *Sāhitya-saṁhitā*, Vol. IV [pp. 198-200].

Dvija Pañcānana.

One poem by '*dvija* (Brahmin)' Pañcānana occurs in VSP. MS. 2433. The *bhaṇitā* couplet of the poem runs as follows :

bāndhila loṭana veśa vicitra kavarī ।
dvija pañcānana dīna yāṅa balihāri ॥

Balabhadra-dāsa.

In the above MS. also occurs a poem by Balabhadra-dāsa. The *bhaṇitā* couplet of the poem runs as follows :

balabhadra-dāse kay cāri-cāderṣ-udayṣ
rūpe guṇe sabhāī bibhola ।
yata bhakta-gaṇa meli sabhe kare kolākuli
bhuvane sadā[ī] hari-bola ॥

'Kṛṣṇa-vihārī.'

One poem on Caitanya-deva with the *bh.* of 'Kṛṣṇa-vihārī' occurs in a MS. in possession of Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna. The *bhaṇitā* couplet of the poem runs as follows :

bhaṇaye gosāñi kṛṣṇa-vihārī
rūpṣ dekhe hailām bholā[1] ।
e-kūla [2] o-kūla [3] du-kūla yamunā
rūpe kariyāche ālā ॥

[1] 'rūpe hailāma bholā' ? [2] 'ikula' MS. [3] 'ukula' MS.

A Vaiṣṇava, unless he belongs to the modern times, would never mention himself as 'gosāñi' (*gosvāmin*) even if it be his surname or title. This poem, therefore, may have belonged to another person who had used his *guru's* name in the *bhaṇitā*.

Gopīcaraṇa-dāsa.

Two Bengali poems by Gopīcaraṇa-dāsa occur in a MS.[1] [dated 1224 B.E. (1817 A.C.)]. The *bhaṇitā* couplet of one of them is as follows :

ārati pirīti bhaji tāhāre dekhiñā |
e gopīcaraṇa-dāsa rahila[2] bikāñā ||

Devānanda.

One rather long poem by Devānanda, copied from a MS., is in possession of Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityratna. There are some corruptions in the poem.

Dvija Bhagīratha.

One poem by *dvija* (Brahmin) Bhagīratha occurs in a copy made from a MS. by Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna. The *bhaṇitā* couplet of the poem runs as follows :

māyera karuṇā-mati dekhiñā se yadu-pati
āsiñā mililā kutūhale |
dvija bhagīrathe āsi yaśodāke dila ḍāki
bāhu pasāriyā laha kole ||

Māṇika-candra.

Six poems by Māṇika-candra occur in a copy made from a MS. by Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna. The poet mentions that he lived at Maṅgala-ḍihi. Was he connected with the poet Gokula-candra of the same place? The *bhaṇitā* couplet of one the poems runs as follows :

rasika murāri rasa-sindhu pyārī
rase bāṛe āśoyāsa |
kahe māṇikṣ-canda śuna he govinda
mangalṣ-ḍihi mora vāsa ||

[1] Information kindly offered by Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna. I presume that this MS. is no other than Ratan Library MS. 144.

[2] 'raila' MS.

Dvija Ratana.

One poem by *dvija* (Brahmin) Ratana occurs in a MS. leaf in possession of Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna. The *bhaṇitā* couplet of the poem is quoted below :

aśeṣa-vipada kāle tomāra caraṇa-bale
saṅkaṭa haïte teñi tari ।
teñi bhāï tomā binu carāïte nāri dhenu
(dvija) ratanṅ bale pāra kara hari ॥

Rāmā-nārāyaṇa.

Four poems by Rāma-nārāyaṇa occurs in a copy of a MS. made by Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna. The *bhaṇitā* couplet of one of them is quoted below :

śuna śuna vinodinī , rāma-nārāyaṇerṅ vāṇī
brahmā yāre dhiyāne nā pāy ।
se hari kadamba-tale basiyā dānera chale
bāśīte tomāra guṇa gāy ॥

Caitanya-nandana.

One poem—a prayer—by Caitanya-nandana [1] occurs in GPT. [p. 535]. In the *bhaṇitā* couplet the poet mentions Anaṅga-mañjarī (which was the esoteric name of Jāhnabā-devī). Was he a follower of her ?

Nandarāma-dāsa.

In GPT. [p. 36] there occurs a poem by Nandarāma-dāsa, and also a song (modern type) by apparently by the same poet [p. 273]. The poet seems to be quite a modern one.

Maṇi-rāma.

One poem by Maṇi-rāma occurs in the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* [p. 61 f.]. The poem is on the *Goṣṭha* (cattle-pasturing) topic of the Kṛṣṇa legend.

[1] It may be that the poet's name was not 'Caitanya-nandana,' but that his father's name was 'Caitanya.'

Dvija Kavi-candra.

One rather long poem by '*dvija* (Brahmin) Kavi-candra' occurs in the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* [pp. 4 f.]. The poet seems to be Kavi-candra-Cakravarttī who had written a work of the type of 'Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala.' The poem seems to be an extract from it.

Purṇānanda-dāsa.

Six poems by Pūrṇānanda-dāsa occurs in the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* [pp. 55 ff.]. Five of these poems occur in the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [496, 497, 500-502]. In the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* [1] by Mādhava-Ācārya there are two poems with the *bh.* of 'Pūrṇānanda' and 'Dvija Pūrṇānanda' respectively. These two poems, in all probability, come from the same poet as above. The poet seems to have written a 'Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala' in which all these poems originally occurred.

'Vaṭu-dāsa.'

There is a poem by 'Vaṭu-dāsa' in the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* [p. 77]. The metre of the poem is modernish. The poet may be a very late one. There is also another poem [pp. 80 f.] which contains the *bh.* of 'Vaṭu.' This poem, which is a rather fuller version of PKT. 1398, may be ascribed to Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa, the author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*, though not a single poem in this latter work does contain the simple *bh.* 'Vaṭu' or 'Baṛu'.

'Sura-dāsa.'

The following poem with the *bh.* of 'Sura-dāsa' occurs in the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* [p. 41]. The writer was undoubtedly a Bengali, but the name is rather unusual for such. Is it then really a corrupt version of a Brajbhākhā poem by the poet Sūr-dās ?

kānāi āmāra jaga-mana-mohana rākhāla |
sundara muralī karete śobhita
lambita pīṭhe vana-māla ||

[1] Bangabasi Press, Calcutta, second edition, pp. 133, 173.

dhabalī chādaï pācanī racita
jala(?) avalambana kariyā |
kamala-cāda cāda-mukhe dohata
vāma-kare bāchuri dhariyā ||
gorase pūrṇita o cāda-bayāna
vigalita paṛata duï-pāśe |
(yaiche) motima-hāra upara śobhita
herata sura-dāse ||

Kānta.

In the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [287] there is a poem with the *bh.* of 'Kānta.' The poem is quite popular with the modern *Kīrttana* singers. Was 'Kānta' the same person as 'Kamalākānta', the compiler of the *Pada-ratnākara* ?

Yaśodā-nandana.

The following lyric with the *bh.* of 'Yaśodā-nandana' occurs in CU. MS. 3436. A fuller or amplified version of this poem is attributed to 'Caṇḍīdāsa.'

pirīti-nagare vasati kariba
pirīte bāndhiba cāla [1] |
pirīti-kapāṭa duyāre basāba
pirīte gōyāba kāla ||
pirīti-upare śayana kariba
pirīta śithāna [2] māthe |
pirīta-bālise ālisa chāṛiba
thākiba pirīti sāthe ||
pirīti-beśara pariba nāsikā
dulāba nayāna-koṇe |
yaśodānandane bhaṇae pirīti
pirīti keha nā jāne ||

« In the City of Love I shall take up my residence: I shall thatch (my cottage) with Love. I shall fix up the door-planks of Love, and I shall pass my days in Love. I shall lay myself on (the bed of) Love,

[1] 'gharaṇ MS. [2] 'bālisa' MS.

Love will be the pillow at my head, and I shall relax myself, (supported) by the bolster of Love: I shall live with Love. At my nose I shall wear the nose-ring of Love, and I shall make it swing upto the corners of the eyes. Yaśodā-nandana thus speaks of Love: but nobody knows what Love is. »

Haricaraṇa-dāsa.

The following poem, which is generally ascribed to 'Caṇḍīdāsa,' occurs with the *bh.* of 'Haricaraṇa-dāsa' in CU. MS. 288. The difference between the two versions is very slight.

rasika-nāgarī rasera marā |
rasika bhamarā prema-piyārā ||
abalā-mūrati rasera bāṇa |
rase ḍubu-ḍubu karaye prāṇa ||
rasavatī sadā hṛdaye jāge |
daraśa bāṛāñā paraśa māge ||
daraśe paraśe rasa prakāśa |
āśā kare haricaraṇa-dāsa ||

« The young woman in love (*rasika-nāgarī*) is a receptacle (?) of love and the young man (*rasika*) is but a bee thirsty of love. The person of the lady is a veritable flood of love (*rasa*), and the heart (of the lover) floats half-immersed in it. The loving lady (*rasavatī*) is ever awake in his heart: he prolongs the sight (of her) and then hankers after a touch (of her person). By sight and by touch love is manifest: so has Haricaraṇa-dāsa his hopes. »

Rāmamohana-dāsa.

One MS. slip from Śrīkhaṇḍa contains one poem by Rāmamohana-dāsa, evidently a late poet. The poem, which is a very inferior one, is quoted below:

visamṣ haila baṛa sai visamṣ haila baṛa |
śyāmacāḍṣ āsibe ghare tomṣrā haïya daṛa ||
ki rūpṣ dekhi āïlāṅ kadambera tale |
cāda suraja rāhu [1] tine eka-mile ||

[1] MS. 'rāu'.

caraṇe nūpurẏ[1] cūṛāy bāje komare[2] bāśī rāe |
makarẏ kuṇḍalẏ hṛdaye dole tilaka rāṅgā-pāe ||
kāliyārẏ kapāle śobhe candanera rekhā |
āmā haite nā gela jāti[3] kula rākhā ||
sāgare magarā bhāse meghera hilole[4] |
hora[5] dekha aparupa cānde rāhu gile ||
cānderẏ kāche megherẏ phalẏ kañaniya (?) pātā |
aruṇa kalikā tāhe hiṅguli ālatā[6] ||
śrī rāmamohanẏ-dāse kay ānanda sai jāni |
yāciyā yauvana diba rūpera nichani[7] ||

As the poem is corrupt I do not append a translation.

Nīlānanda-dāsa.

There is a poem by Nīlānanda-dāsa in the *Kīrtana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [370]. The poet seems to refer to 'Locana' in the *bhaṇitā*. Was this 'Locana' the same as the poet and devotee Locana-dāsa? Was Nīlānanda his disciple?

Poets known from Extreme East Bengal MSS.

More than a quarter of a century ago Munshi Abdul Karim Sāhitya-viśārada published quite a number of Vaiṣṇava lyric poems written by poets who are otherwise unknown. He mentioned a few more in the Catalogue of Manuscripts prepared by him [VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. i. 1, 2]. These poets may not necessarily hail from Chittagong and the adjoining districts and they generally belong to the late eighteen century or to the early nineteenth century. A list of such poets is given below. Mohammedan poets are dealt with in a separate chapter. There are some familiar names in the list, which are possibly that of poets I have previously dealt with.

'Gaṅgādāsa': one poem on Caitanya-deva published in the *Sāhitya-saṃhitā*, Vol. iv, p. 290.

'Muktārāma-Sena'[8]: one poem published in the same Journal [Vol. iii, pp. 201 f.].

[1] MS. 'nspura'. [2] MS. 'kamare'. [3] MS. 'jaita'. [4] MS. 'hilale'.
[5] MS. 'hara'. [6] MS. 'heṅguliyālatā'. [7] MS. 'nicunī'.
[8] Was he the same as the poet of the *Sāradā-maṅgala*?

'Ratirāma-dāsa': two poems (of which one is on Caitanya-deva) published in the same volume [pp. 201, 210 f.].

'Rasika Raghunātha': one poem published in the same volume [p. 209].

'Rāmamohana (-Bhaṭṭa)': three poems published in the same volume [pp. 199 ff.].

'Śrīhari-govinda': one poem published in the same journal [Vol. iv, p. 292].

'Devīdāsa': see *supra*, p. 454.

'Gopī-vallabha,' 'Dvija Raghunātha,'[1] 'Śivarāma dāsa,' 'Śrī Cānda-Rāya,' 'Harihara-dāsa,' 'Hīrāmaṇi'[2]: [VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. i. 1; p. 60].

'Rādhā-vallabha': [*op. cit.*, p. 187].

'Kṛṣṇa-śaṅkara,' 'Dāsa Vaṃśīdāsa,' 'Dvija Śyāmānanda,' 'Dvija Rāmānanda,' 'Āmīn Dīnanātha-dāsa,' 'Govindadāsa,' 'Rāma-jīvana,' 'Dvija Mādhava,' 'Rāmacandra-dāsa,' 'Rājārāma-dāsa,' 'Mādhava-dāsa,' 'Amara-māṇikya,' 'Kāśī,' 'Rāmānanda,' 'Vaidya Yaśa-candra,' 'Jagadānanda' [*op cit.*, pp. 248f.].

'Dvija Gadādhara' [VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. i. 2, p. 67].

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[1] Also *vide* VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. i. 2, p. 67.

[2] Also *vide* VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. ii. 2, p. 67.

CHAPTER XXI

MOHAMMEDAN POETS

The *Pada-kalpa-taru* is the earliest anthology to record lyrics by poets with Mohammedan names. These poets, though Mohammedans, had probably adopted the Vaiṣṇava faith or were strongly attracted by Vaiṣṇava religion and literature. Poems of three such poets have been incorporated in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. They are as follows :

Nasir Māmud.

Only one Brajabuli poem [1] by Nasir Māmud occurs in PKT. [1329]. The poem is really a good one. It is quoted below.

calata rāma sundara śyāma
pācani kācani vetra veṇu
murali-khurali gāna ri |
priya śrīdāma sudāma meli
taraṇītanayā-tīre keli
dhabalī śāṅalī āo ri āo ri
phukari calata kāna ri ||
bayesa kiśora mohana bhāti
vadana indu jalada-kāti
cāru-candri guñjā-hāra
vadane madana-bhāna ri |
āgama-nigama-veda-sāra
līlāy karata goṭha-vihāra
nasira-māmuda karata āśa
caraṇe śaraṇa dāna ri ||

« On (they) go, Rāma and lovely Śyāma, with driving rods, ropes, canes and the flute from which issued (sweet) notes. 'O dear Śrīdāma ! O Sudāma ! (come let us) play together on the bank of the Daughter of

[1] It occurs also in the *Pada-rasa-sāra* [*vide* PKT., Vol. ii, p. 340].

Taraṇī (*i.e.*, the Yamunā). Dhabalī ! Śyāmali [1] ! come along !' Shouting (thus) Kṛṣṇa walks on. Young is his age : charming is his beauty. (His) face is a (veritable) moon, and his complexion is that of a (dark) cloud : (he is bedecked with a crest of) fine peacock's feather and a chaplet of *guñjā* seeds. With his face (he appears) like the god of love. (Though he is) the secret of (*i.e.*, the only Deity worshipped in) the *Āgamas*, the *Nigamas*, and the *Vedas* he is enjoying the pasturing sport out of pure sportiveness (*līlā*). Nasir Māmud holds on to the hope that He may give him the refuge at His feet. »

Munshi Abdul Karim quoted a poem by 'Nāchira Mahammad' in a Chittagong MS. in VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. i. 1, p. 3.

Sāla-beg.

Three poems by Sāla-beg are quoted in PKT. of which one is written in Oriyā [1542]. The second poem [2472] shows traces of Bengali and the third [2972] shows traces of Brajbhākhā. A fourth poem, written entirely in Brajabuli, is quoted in APR. [443] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*.

According to Oriyā tradition Sāla-beg was the son of a Pathan father and a Hindu mother. He became a devout Vaiṣṇava even in his early youth, and after his mother's demise he lived at the Vraja. The Brajbhākhā influence in one of his poems also shows that the poet must have retired to Brindaban.

Saiyad Martujā.

One poem only by Saiyad Martujā is cited in PKT. [2957]. The poem is written in very simple language. The poet's father Saiyad Husein Kāderī is reputed to have come from Bareilly and settled in Bengal. Martujā is said to have been born at Bāliyāghāṭā near Jangipur (Murshidabad). [2]

Shāh Ākbar.

One poem by Shāh Ākbar occurs in GPT. [p. 57]. The poem is on Caitanya-deva and is written in Brajabuli. The poet was probably a fakir.

[1] Pet names of cows, based on their colour.

[2] *Vide* the *Musalmān Vaiṣṇava Kavi*, Part i, by Vraja-sundara Sanyal, Rajshahi, 1311 B.E.

Other Poets.

Ramaṇīmohana Mallik had published a short treatise on the Mohammedan Vaiṣṇava poets. He cited the following poets: Sāla-beg (two poems), Phatana (or Potana), Sek (Sheikh) Bhikhan, Shāh Ākbar, Fakir Habib, Kabīr Mohammad, and Sekhlāl (all one poem each). These poems however have been republished in Vraja-sundara Sanyal's *Musalmān Vaiṣṇava Kavi*, Part iv, Calcutta, 1313 B.E.

Munshi Abdul Karim noticed several Mohammedan Vaiṣṇava poets hailing mainly from Chittagong, in the Catalogue of Manuscripts prepared by him [VSP. Cat. MS. Vol. i. 1, 2]. Some of these poems he had published in the pages of the *Sāhitya-saṃhitā* and of the *Pūrṇimā*. These poems have been collected, edited and published by Vraja-sundara Sanyal under the title *Musalmān Vaiṣṇava Kavi* [1311-1313 B.E.]. This work is in four parts: Part i on Saiyad Martujā, Part ii on Āli-rājā, Part iii on Ālāol and ten other poets, and Part iv on the remaining twenty-six poets.

The pamphlet on Saiyad Martujā contains twenty-three Bengali poems, none of which is the poem cited in PKT. [2957]. But from this alone it will be injudicious to posit the existence of two Saiyad Martujās.

The following are the poets noticed by Munshi Abdul Karim in his Catalogue of Manuscripts [VSP. Cat. MS. Vol. i. 1, 2]:

Nāchir Mahammad [i. 1, p. 3]; Āli-rājā, Chaiyad Ainaddin, Chaiyad Martujā, Nāchiraddin, Gaeāj, Ālāol, Āmān, Ser-cānd [pp. 59 f.]; Badiyuddin [p. 65]; Āpjhal Āli [pp. 117 f.]; Ābbās [pp. 185 f.]; Mahammad Hānif, Ābdul Mālī, Mohammad, Ebādollā, Mahammad Hāsim [p. 187]; Lāl-beg [p. 249]; Mīrjā Kāṅgāli, Mīrjā Phayajullā [i. 2, p. 57].

Poems by the following poets who had not been noticed in the Catalogue were published by the Munshi in the pages of the *Sāhitya-saṃhitā* [Vol. ii]:

Sarphatollā [p. 182], Shāh Keyāmaddin [p. 239], Kamar Ālī [p. 240], Mahammad Ālī [p. 243], Hāsmat Ālī [p. 243].

Poems by a few additional poets, *viz.*, Cāmpā-gājī, Baksā Āli, Āli Miñā, Fakir Ohāb, Dulā Miñā, Samsher, Pīr Mahammad, and Saiyad Sultān, he published in the pages of other journals.

CHAPTER XXII

SUPPLEMENTARY

Vāsudeva-Datta.

The following Brajabuli poem, occurring with the *bh.* of 'Govinda-dāsa' in PKT. [2925], contains the *bh.* of Vāsudeva-Datta in one edition of the *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi*,[1] another edition [2] containing the *bh.* of 'Vāsudeva' simply.

aparupa gorā naṭa-rāja |
prakaṭa prema- vinoda nava nāgara
bihare navadvīpa mājha ||
kuṭila kuntala gandha parimala
candana tilaka lalāṭa |
heri kulavatī lāja-mandira-
duyāre deoi kapāṭa ||
karivara-kara jini bāhura subalani
dosari gaja-moti-hārā |
sumeru-śikhare yaichana jhāpiyā
bahaï suradhunī-dhārā ||
rātula atula caraṇa-yugala
nakha-maṇi vidhu ujora |
bhakata bhramarā saurabhe ākula
vāsudeva-datta rahu bhora [3] || [Kṣaṇadā 217]

« Unequalled is Gorā, the Prince of dancers ! (He is) the veritable Young Gallant, the Sportive Lover (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) incarnate ! He is (now) disporting in Navadvīpa. The curly hair, the fragrance and the perfume, the sandal painting on the forehead, —on sighting these the young women of noble houses shut the door to the cellar of bashfulness (and decorum). The round of his arms vanquishes the trunk of the best elephant : (on his chest sits) a two-stringed necklace of the most precious

1 Edited by Rādhānāth Kābāsī, published from Dhānyakuṛiyā, Caitanya Era 439.
2 Edited and published by Nṛtyalāl Śīl, Calcutta, B.E. 1316.
3 'vāsudeva-mana rahu bhora,' Śīl's edition.

pearls, (and it seems) as if (two) streams of the celestial river are flowing down flooding the peak of Mount Sumeru. The two feet are (a pair of) unique red (lotuses): the dazzling toe-nails are but the resplendent moons; devotees are the bees thereat, blinded in deliciousness. May Vāsudeva-Datta remain intoxicated (thereat)! »

Vāsudeva-Datta was one of the most prominent followers of the Great Master.

Paramānanda-dāsa (ii).

Early in this work [pp. 61ff.] I had identified the poet Paramānanda-dāsa with Kavi-karṇapūra, the youngest son of Śivānanda-Sena. But this seems hardly likely. There is nothing to show that Kavi-karṇapūra had ever written anything in vernacular. It is however more than likely that Paramānanda-Gupta, a follower of the Great Master, was the poet in question. Kavi-karṇapūra mentions that Paramānanda-Gupta had written hymns on Kṛṣṇa.[1] Jayānanda in his *Caitanya-maṅgala* says that he was the author of a poem (or lyrics ?) on the Great Master. It may be that these hymns or poems were nothing but vernacular lyrics on the Vraja theme.

One Brajabuli poem [2] with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Paramānanda-dāsa' [PKT. 2906], however, mentions with respect 'Śrī Rūpa-mañjarī' (which was the esoteric name of Rūpa-Gosvāmin). It is therefore certain that the author of this poem at least was a disciple or admirer of the Gosvāmin. It may be that this Paramānanda-dāsa was Paramānanda-Bhaṭṭācārya who resided at Brindāban. Or he may have been Kavi-karṇapūra as we know that the latter in his advanced age settled at Brindāban.

Rāmānanda-dāsa.

There is a long poem in *payāra* metre, entitled the *Hāṭa-pattana*. It is of the nature of a prayer poem. This poem is generally ascribed to Narottama-dāsa. But as Narottama-dāsa has been mentioned with

[1] paramānanda-gupto yat-kṛtā kṛṣṇa-stavāvalī ॥ [Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā 199].

[2] The last couplet of this poem runs thus :

guru-jana jāgala sūra udaya kaila
saba-hu bhela parakāśa ।
śrī-rūpamañjarī- caraṇa hṛdaye dhari
kahe paramānanda-dāsa ॥

reverence in the body of the poem, it is not likely that Narottama-dāsa was the author of the piece. Now no second Narottama-dāsa is yet known in Bengali Vaiṣṇava literature. A very authentic edition of this poem ascribes it to 'Rāmānanda-dāsa,' [1] which seems to have been the real fact.

This Rāmānanda-dāsa—I do not know who he was—must have been posterior to Narottamadāsa-Ṭhākura. It may be that he was the author of the poems with the *bhs.* of 'Rāmānanda' and 'Rāmānanda-dāsa,' occurring in PKT. and elsewhere.

Bhāgavatācārya [*ante* 1576 A.C.].

In the Bangabasi edition of the *Kṛṣṇa-prema-taraṅgiṇī* [2] there is a mixed Brajabuli poem [x. 16]. The corresponding portion of the VSP. edition [3] of the same work is an entirely different poem, a Bengali poem in *tripadī* metre. Raghunātha Bhāgavatācarya was a follower of Caitanya-deva. He was a disciple of Gadādhara Paṇḍita, and lived at Barāhanagara (modern Baranagore, a northern suburb of Calcutta). On his way back to Nīlācala from Kānāi-nāṭaśālā the Great Master stopped for a night at the house of Raghunātha. He was so pleased with Raghunātha's recital of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* that he conferred on him the title 'Bhāgavatācārya' [*vide* Caitanya-bhāgavata, iii. 5]. Kavi-karṇapūra in his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (completed in *Śaka* 1498=1575 A.C.) mentions the *Kṛṣṇa-prema-taraṅgiṇī*.[4] So the work must have been completed some time before that date. The *Kṛṣṇa-prema-taraṅgiṇī* is a metrical, abridged translation of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.

In the absence of old and authentic MSS. it is hard to decide whether the Brajabuli poem is genuine or not. I quote the poem below. It is corrupt at places, and so I do not add a translation.

kṛta-aparādhī bhujaṅga deva-deva
nibārile mada paracaṇḍa |
ripu sute samadara- -śita tūhu bhagavān
samucita kara khala-daṇḍa ||

1 *Bhakti-ratna-mālā*, published from the Bangabasi Press, Calcutta.

2 Edited by Vasanta-rañjan Rāy Vidvadvallabha, Bangabasi Press, Calcutta, 1317 B.E. This is the better edition.

3 Edited by Nagendranāth Vasu, VSP., Calcutta, 1312 B.E.

4 nirmitā pustikā yena kṛṣṇapremataraṅgiṇī |
śrīmadbhāgavatācāryo gaurāṅgātyantavallabhaḥ || [203].

gosāñi, bāreka deha pati-dāna |
hāma nārī-jāti sahaje loka-garhita
pati-gata kevala parāṇa ||
kṛta-duṣkṛta-jana- durita-haraṇa dama
anugraha parama tomāra |
ku-yoni janama bhujaṅgama jāti pāpa
kevala karile saṃhāra ||
nija māna teji āna- gata jana kṛta māna
kona tapa karala bhujaṅga |
akhila-dayā-para dharama-karaṇe kibā
toṣaṇe jagajanānanda ||
nā bujhalu hāma phaṇīra kona adhikāra
śrī-caraṇera raja paraśane |
nija guṇa doṣa teji lachimī yo bānchaï
tapa yoga karaï dheyāne ||
yo caraṇāravinda- raja aja-bhava-mati
tachu bine āna nāhi jāne |
surapati-pada āra akhila kṣiti-pati
prajāpati-pada nāhi māne ||
akhila sampada-pada pādānu-sampada
sampada kari nāhi jāne |
aṣṭa-yoga-siddhi nirabāṇa mukati
sakala tarita samāne ||
tamo-guṇa-janita krodha-pura kalevara
phaṇa-dhara (so ho tuyā) pada-dhūli pāy |
kahe bhāgavatācārya yadu cintane e
bhava-bandhana dūre yāy ||

'Duḥkhī' Śyāma-dāsa (Śyāma-dāsa iii).

'Duḥkhī' Śyāma-dāsa was the author of the *Govinda-maṅgala*,[1] a poem of the type of Mādhava-Ācārya's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*. 'Duḥkhī' Śyāma-dāsa was Kāyastha by caste, and he lived at the village Hariharapura, a few miles to the east of Midnapore. Nothing is known about the time when the poet flourished, but from the genealogy of his discendants it can be gathered that he flourished about two hundred and fifty years ago [*vide* Govinda-maṅgala, Introduction, pp. 4 ff.].

[1] Edited by Īśānacandra Vasu, Bangabasi Press, Calcutta, second edition, B.E. 1317.

The poet has inserted one Brajabuli poem in his work [p. 118]. It is cited below. As the poem as printed is corrupt no translation is added.

vane vinoda vinodinī rāï |
kiśora kiśorī rūpe manohara
duhū [dohā] mukha cāï ||
cāḍa cakora jaï jaïse milana
kamala ali-kula saṅga |
kapana (?) koṭi koṭi yugala jātu (?)
kabahu [1] nahu diṭhe bhaṅga ||
sura-taru yuta prema pulakita
stoka pika rasa bora |
duḥkhī śyama kaohi .....
āratiyā kiśorī kiśora ||

Yadunātha-dāsa.

I have previously discussed the two or three Yadunandanas, all of whom had often used the short *bh.* 'Yadu' and sometimes, *metri causa*, the *bh.* 'Yadunātha.' But this does not preclude the existence of a poet 'Yadunātha.' On the other hand there is strong evidence for this presumption. One poet, who had written almost exclusively in Bengali and who had systematically treated the Vraja theme, invariably subscribed himself as 'Yadunātha.' His lyrics on the 'Subala-milana' episode [2] seems to have been rather popular.

In PKT. there are sixteen poems by 'Yadunātha,' of which a few undoubtedly goes to Yadunandana the translator of the *Vidagdha-mādhava.* Two poems celebrate Gaurāṅga and Gadādhara together, which, therefore may be ascribed either to Yadunandana-Cakravarttī of Katwa (a disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa) or to Yadu-Gāṅgulī who has been mentioned among the disciples of Gadādhara Paṇḍita [CC. i. 12]. Twelve poems by 'Yadunātha-dāsa' occur in the Das MS. (earlier portion). In *Kṣaṇadā* there are five poems by 'Yadunātha' (of which three are in Brajabuli), but no poem with the *bh.* of 'Yadunandana' occurs in it. No poem with the *bh.* of 'Yadunandana' occurs in the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta*, but there are five poems with the *bh.* of 'Yadunātha'; of these only one is in Brajabuli [210=244].

[1] 'karahu' text.

[2] *Cf.* subala-milana rasa yadunātha gāna [APR. 296].

Two poems of 'Yadunātha' are cited in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 260, 309] along with two with the *bh.* of 'Yadunandana' [pp. 91 f., 292] and one with the *bh.* of 'Yadu' [p. 156].

The poet Yadunātha is generally identified with Yadunātha Kavicandra who was a prominent follower of Nityānanda-prabhu [*vide* GPT., Introduction, pp. 154-55 ; PKT., Vol. v, p. 195]. This does not seem likely. Being a poet and a prominent follower of Nityānanda-prabhu it is expected that he must have written some poems on his master. But no such poem is known. Therefore Yadunātha Kavicandra's claim may be dismissed. The title 'Kavicandra' was not rare in those days. There is mention of one Vanamālī Kavicandra among the disciples of Advaita-prabhu [CC. i. 12].

Some of Yadunātha's poems on the Great Master bear the stamp of an early sixteenth century writer, that is, of one who had seen the Master. On the other hand a few poems show some palpably late forms [*cf.* APR. 290]. It may be that there were two Yadunāthas or even more.

Echoes from the so-called 'Caṇḍidāsa' are to be found in some of the poems by Yadunātha. One such poem is cited below.

gañje gañjuk꣺ guru-jana tāhe nā ḍarāi ।
chāṛe chāṛuk꣺ nija-pati āpada eṛāi ॥
bale baluk꣺ pāṛār꣺ loka tāhe nāhi ḍara ।
nā baluka nā ḍākuka nā yāba tāra ghara ॥
dharama-karama yāuk꣺ tāhe nā ḍarāi ।
manera bharame pāche bandhure hārāi ॥
kālā-māṇikera mālā gāthi niba gale ।
kānu-guṇa-yaśa āmi pariba kuṇḍale ॥
kānu-anurāga-rāṅgā vasana pariyā ।
deśe deśe bharamiba yoginī haïyā ॥
yadunātha-dāse kahe ehi mane sādha ।
hay hauk꣺ jaga bhari kālā-parivāda ॥

[APR. 286]

« 'Let my seniors chastise me, if they will ; let my husband divorce me, if he likes : that will be so much trouble avoided. If my neighbours speak ill (of me), let them do so : I am not afraid of it. They may not speak to or invite me, and I would not visit their houses. My religious duties may not be done : I do not care. (But my only concern is) that I may not lose my lover through the waywardness of my mind. I will make a chaplet of black precious stones and hang it round my neck ; I

will wear as earrings the virtues and glories of Kṛṣṇa, and, clothed in a garment dyed crimson with my love for Kṛṣṇa, I will become a mendicant (*yoginī*) and will wander about from land to land.' Yadunātha-dāsa (identifying himself with Rādhā) says, 'This is the desire of my heart. If there will be, throughout the world, scandalous talk in connection of (myself and) Kṛṣṇa, let that be so.'

Śyāmadāsa-Ācārya (Śyāma-dāsa i).

Śyāmadāsa-Ācārya, a follower of Advaita-prabhu,[1] was the author of the two odes to his master, cited in PKT. [2350, 2352 = GPT., pp. 440, 451]. He was, in all probability, the author of some at least of the poems with the *bh.* of '*Dvija* Śyāmadāsa.'

Gokulānanda.

There are three Bengali poems with the *bh.* of 'Gokulānanda' which, owing to their realistic nature, seem to be the work of a sixteenth century poet [GPT., p. 450 ; pp. 450 f. = PKT. 2351 ; p. 451]. The poet seems to have been a follower of Advaita-prabhu or of one of his sons.

Mohana-rāma (Mohana-dāsa ii).

In APR. there are two poems [426, 428] which, though bearing slightly different *bhs.* (*viz.*, 'Mohana-dāsa' and 'Mohana-rāma'), appear to be the work of a single poet, as the poet (or poets ?) pays his respect to 'Śrī Nanda-kumāra' apparently his *guru*, in both the poems. 'Mohana-rāma' seems to have been the name of the poet (or was it 'Rāma-mohana ?'). One Mohana-dāsa was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya.

[1] This fact has not been noted in CC. The *Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa*, however, mentions this—

śyāmadāsa advaitera śākhāra pradhāna |
sītāmātā yāre karāila stana-pāna ||
pūrve kārttikeya mahābala senāpati |
ebe śyāmadāsācārya sei mahāmati ||
acyutānandera mata avalamba kari |
yāra vāsa bhaiṭe śingārkoṇa ādi purī || [p. 322.]

CHAPTER XXIII

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE RĀDHĀ-KṚṢṆA LEGEND

The 'Kṛṣṇāyana' or the Kṛṣṇa legend falls into two distinct cycles: (*i*) the exploits of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva Devakīputra, the hero of the Yadus, and (*ii*) the miraculous deeds and amours of Kṛṣṇa the Cowherd Boy. The exploits of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva are not unknown in pre-Christian literature.[1] The most noted feat was the slaying of Kaṃsa. But the only possible reference to a feat of Kṛṣṇa the Cowherd Boy occurs in a verse in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[2]

Coming to the post-Christian period one of the earlist references to the feats of Kṛṣṇa the Cowherd Boy is made by Aśvaghoṣa in his *Buddha-carita* [i. 50]:

khyātāni karmāṇi ca yāni śaureḥ śūrādayas teṣv abalā babhūvuḥ ||

References to Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla*, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, became quite abundant in secular literature from the fourth century onwards. The name 'Viṣṇu-gopa' occurs in Hariṣeṇa's *Praśasti* of Samudra-gupta. Kālidāsa's reference to 'Gopa-veśa Viṣṇu' is well-known [Megha-dūta 15].

There is only one or two references to Kṛṣṇa's early life at the Vraja in the *Mahābhārata*. But it is hard to say whether they are interpolations or not. The most important passage is this:

> ākṛṣyamāṇe vasane draupadyā cintito hariḥ |
> govinda dvārakāvāsin kṛṣṇa gopījanapriya |
> kauravaiḥ paribhūtām māṃ kiṃ na jānāsi keśava ||
> he nātha he ramānātha vrajanāthārtināśana |
> kauravārṇavamagnām māṃ uddharasva janārddana ||
> [Bangabasi Edition, Sabhāparvan, 68. 41-42.]

[1] *Vide* History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect by H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.

[2] *Vide* Political History of Ancient India by H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., third edition, pp. 3 f. The verse runs as follows:

> parigṛhya giriṃ dorbhyāṃ vapur viṣṇor viḍambayan | [Laṅkā-kāṇḍa 69. 32].

Dr. Raychaudhuri seems to be right in finding here a reference to the lifting of the hill Govarddhana. The lifting of the earth by Viṣṇu is possibly referred to in the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* [1. 8. 2].

But the systematic treatment of the legend of Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla* occurs in the Paurāṇic literature. I shall now show how the *Purāṇas* successively treated the Vraja theme and how it grew up in successive periods.

The *Hari-vaṃśa* devotes twenty chapters (Viṣṇu-parvan 6-25) to the exploits of Kṛṣṇa at the Vraja. The incidents narrated are Śakaṭa-bhaṅga (breaking the cart), Pūtanā-vadha (slaying the bird demoness Pūtanā), Dāma-bandha (securing Kṛṣṇa with a rope by Yaśodā), Yamal-ārjjuna-bhaṅga (uprooting the two *Arjjuna* trees), Vṛka-darśana (setting wolves to terrify the cowherd folk so that they may leave Gokula and settle at Vṛndāvana), Vṛndāvana-praveśa (settling at Vṛndāvana), Kāliya-damana (vanquishing the serpent Kāliya), Dhenuka-vadha (slaying Dhenuka, the ass-demon), Pralamba-vadha (slaying the demon Pralamba), Govar-ddhanoddharaṇa (lifting up the hill Govarddhana), Govindābhiṣeka (anointing ceremony of Kṛṣṇa), Hallīsaka-krīḍā (the Hallīsaka dance) Vṛṣabhāsura-vadha (slaying the bull-demon), and Keśi-vadha (slaying Keśin, the horse demon).

All these incidents are depicted in the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*. In a few points these two *Purāṇas* disagree with the *Hari-vaṃśa*. Thus in the *Hari-vaṃśa* it is Kṛṣṇa who wanted to leave Go-vraja and settle at Vṛndāvana. So he, in consultation with Saṅkarṣaṇa, terrifies the cowherd folk with wolves which he created. But in the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* the cowherds themselves wanted to leave Gokula on account of the several attempts on the life of Kṛṣṇa. The name of the bull-demon does not occur in the *Hari-vaṃśa* ; in the other two *Purāṇas* he is called Ariṣṭa. Kṛṣṇa's nocturnal dance with the cowherd damsels is called 'Hallīsa,' elsewhere it is 'Rāsa.' There is no mention by name of the *Gopīs* loved by Kṛṣṇa. The only cowherd boy friend of Kṛṣṇa mentioned by name is Śrīdāman [ii. 14. 19]. The banian tree, Bhaṇḍīra, growing on Govarddhana, is mentioned [ii. 8. 26].

The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* almost faithfully follows the *Hari-vaṃśa*. The additional incidents mentioned here are the naming ceremony by Garga [v. 5] and the cowherd girls' love for Kṛṣṇa [v. 13]. Reference to a particular *Gopī* (though unnamed) occurs here for the first time [v. 13. 29-40]. There is a fair similarity in the descriptions of the Hallīsa or Rāsa dance in these two works. One verse [Hari-vaṃśa ii. 20. 24; Viṣṇu-Purāṇa v. 13. 57] is common in both. The lament of the *Gopīs* when Kṛṣṇa leaves for Mathurā is a new feature appearing for the first time in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*.

The following new topics are introduced in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* : Tṛṇāvartta-mokṣa (the release of the cyclone-demon), Vatsa-baka-vadha

(slaying the demons Vatsa and Baka), Brahman's theft of Kṛṣṇa's cattle, Dāvāgni-mocana (rescue from the forest fire), Dāvāgni-pāna (quenching the forest fire), *Gopa* maidens worshipping the goddess Kātyāyanī, Vastra-haraṇa (stealing away the clothes of the cowherd damsels), Yajñapatnyuddharaṇa (showing grace to the wives of the sacrificial priests), Sudarśana-mokṣa (release of Sudarśana), Śaṅkhacūḍa-vadha (slaying the demon Śaṅkha-cūḍa), and Vyomāsura-vadha (slaying the demon Vyoman).

Kṛṣṇa's amours with the cowherd girls have been elaborately treated in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* in five chapters (x. 29-33); these five chapters are known as *Rāsa-pañcādhyāya*. As a poetic work these chapters are really interesting. The sublimation of Kṛṣṇa's amours with the *Gopa* girls have been attempted but slightly in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* but quite considerably in the *Bhāgavata*. The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* for the first time mentions the love of the *Gopīs* for Kṛṣṇa, but in the *Bhāgavata* the *Gopa* maidens are made to worship the goddess Katyāyanī so that they may have Kṛṣṇa for their husband. There is also the reference of a *Gopī* who was the best beloved of Kṛṣṇa [x. 30. 28], but she is not mentioned by name. The *Gopa* boys mentioned by name are Śrīdāman, Vṛṣabha, Subala, Stoka-kṛṣṇa, Bhadra-sena, Aṃśu, Arjjuna, Viśāla, Ṛṣabha (same as Vṛṣabha ?), Tejasvin, and Varūthapa.

The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* simply mentions that Kṛṣṇa was reared in the cowherd settlement and that his foster-parents were Nanda and Yaśodā [*vide* Bangabasi Edition, 96. 6, 19]. The *Agni-Purāṇa* briefly mentions the feats of Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla*, but it dismisses the cowherd damsels with the following verse :

> rathastho mathurāṁ cāgāt kaṃsoktākrūrasaṃstutaḥ ॥
> gopībhir anuraktābhiḥ krīḍitābhir nirīkṣitaḥ ।
>
> [Bangabasi Edition, 12. 22-23.]

Of the very late *Purāṇas* only the *Padma* and the *Brahma-vaivarta* require some notice. The *Padma-Purāṇa* does not mention the Vraja legends as such. Instead it describes the transcendental sports (*nitya-līlā*) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. It elaborately describes the topography of Vṛndāvana [Pātala-khaṇḍa 38], but this is really the ethereal Vṛndāvana, Goloka. It also describes the plan of the 'Rāsa-maṇḍala' and seats therein occupied by Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and their friends, male and female [Pātala-khaṇḍa 38, 39]. The *Padma-Purāṇa*, at least the portion in question, is a very late work. The name Kāliya appearing here as Kālī [38. 32] shows

that it was written when the vowel combination *ia* has already been contracted to *ī*. It also appears that at the time of its composition the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult had already become an esoteric religion. Names of several *Gopas* and *Gopīs* appear in the *Padma*.[1]

The *Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa* (Bangabasi Edition) is a still later one. Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra Ray Vidyānidhi has shown that it was compiled in Western Bengal some time in the sixteenth century. The *Gīta-govinda* was undoubtedly known to its author or compiler. The treatment of the Vraja legend in the *Brahma-vaivarta* is haphazard, incomplete and peculiar. It gives elaborate history and genealogy of the principal *Gopas* and *Gopīs*. [Chapter 15.] The names of the female friends of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are almost all new.[2]

The name Rādhā or Rādhikā, the chief *Gopī*, occurs in secular literature as early as the seventh or the eighth century. It occurs in Hāla's *Gāthā-saptaśatī* [i. 89] and in Ānanda-vardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* [2. 6]. Later references are numerous.

Candrāvalī, Rādhā's rival and foil, has already come into prominence, when the *Padma-Purāṇa* was written [*vide* Pātāla-khaṇḍa 39. 9].

The elimination of the *Gopa* damsels and the substitution of Rādhā as the beloved of Kṛṣṇa was made in secular literature much earlier than in the late *Purāṇas*. The verses on the Kṛṣṇa topic quoted in the rhetorical works and in anthologies testify to this. In late works the *Gopa* damsels became mere associates.

Coming to the later non-Paurāṇic (vernacular and Sanskrit) literature, the most important additions to the amorous sports of Kṛṣṇa appear to be the boating (*Naukā*) and the toll-collecting (*Dāna*) episodes. In the boating episode Kṛṣṇa takes over the *Gopīs* to the other side of the river to Mathurā and in exchange of his services he demands love from Rādhā. Rādhā is unwilling, but Kṛṣṇa frightens her when they are in midstream. Rādhā has no alternative but to submit to him. One of the earliest

[1] Besides Rādhā (Rādhikā) the following *Gopa* damsels have been mentioned in the *Padma-Purāṇa* : Lalitā, Śyāmalā, Dhanyā, Hari-priyā, Viśākhā, Śaivyā, Padmā, Bhadrā, Candrāvatī, Candrāvalī, Citra-rekhā, Candrā, Madana-sundarī, Priyā, Madhumatī, and Candra-rekhā [39].

[2] The following names occur : Suśīlā, Śaśi-rekhā, Candra-mukhī, Mādhavī, Kadamba-mālā, Kuntī, Yamunā, Sarva-maṅgalā, Padma-mukhī, Sāvitrī, Pārijātā, Jāhnavī, Sudhā-mukhī, Śubhā, Padmā, Gaurī, Svayamprabhā, Kālikā, Kamalā, Durgā, Sarasvatī, Bhāratī, Aparṇā, Rati, Gaṅgā, Ambikā, Kṛṣṇa-priyā, Campā, Candana-nandinī, Śaśi-kalā, Maṅgalā, Satī, Nandinī, Sundarī, Kṛṣṇa-prāṇā, Madhumatī, and Candanā [Chapters 27, 28].

references to this episode occurs in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala*. The passage in question is this :

> are re bāhahi kāhna ṇāva choḍi ḍagamaga kugati ṇa dehi |
> tai itthi ṇaihi santāra dei jo cāhahi so lehi ‖ [1]

In the *Padyāvalī* Rūpa-Gosvāmin incorporates thirteen verses on the boating episode, five by himself, two anonymous, two by Manohara, and one each by Sañjaya-Kaviśekhara, Jagadānanda-Rāya, Sūryadāsa and Mukunda-Bhaṭṭācārya. I quote below the poem by Mukunda-Bhaṭṭācārya.

> idam uddiśya vayasyāḥ svam ihita-daivataṃ namata |
> yamunaiva jānudaghnī bhavatu na vā nāviko 'stv aparaḥ ‖ [2]

« With this prayer, O friends, do you bow down to your revered deities : ' May the Yamunā herself become knee-deep, or let another be the boatman ! ' »

This episode forms the subject-matter of some of the lyrics of the Hindi poet Sūrdās [*c.* 1550]. In Bengali it occurs in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, in Mādhavācārya's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*, in Śyāma-dāsa's *Govinda-maṅgala*, and in lyric poems of many sixteenth and seventeenth century Vaiṣṇava poets.

The subject-matter of the *Dāna* or toll-collecting episode is this. Kṛṣṇa is in desperate love with Rādhā who is either still unwilling or timid. Finding no other opportunity of meeting her he waits on the way that leads to Mathurā (or, according to another version, to the hill Govarddhana). Rādhā goes to Mathurā, in company with her friends, to sell milk-products there (or, according to the second version, to Govarddhana to offer milk-products on a ceremonial occasion). Kṛṣṇa stops her, impersonating the toll-man. An amorous altercation follows, and finally Rādhā submits to him with more or less willingness.

Rūpa-Gosvāmin wrote a *Bhāṇikā* on this episode, entitled the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*. Mādhava-Bhaṭṭa or Mādhava-kavi wrote a poem on the subject, named *Dānalīlā-kāvya*.[3] This work was completed in the year "vasu-kara-rasa-indu," which gives 1628. If the year is *Saṃvat* it is equivalent to A.C. 1571, if *Śaka*, to A.C. 1706.

[1] Bibliotheca Indica, p. 12.
[2] Published from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore, Verse 277.
[3] Published in the *Kāvya-mālā* series, Tṛtīya Gucchaka, pp. 152-60.

Originally the *Dāna* episode had no erotic motif. Kṛṣṇa and his cowboy friends simply wanted to eat the milk-commodities carried by the *Gopa* damsels. This version was probably known to Vṛndāvana-dāsa [see *supra* p. 392].[1] The chief note of Mādhava's *Dāna-līlā-kāvya* is not erotic.

The episode of Kṛṣṇa as a porter carrying the commodities for Rādhā occurs in Jīva-Gosvāmin's *Gopāla-campū* and in the *Premāmṛta* or *Gopāla-carita*. In Bengali it occurs in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* and in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* of Kṛṣṇadāsa. In this respect the *Premāmṛta* agrees to a remarkable extent with the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*. In the *Premāmṛta* the order of narration of the three episodes are *Bhāra*, *Naukā* and *Dāna*, but in the two Bengali works it is *Dāna*, *Naukā* and *Bhāra*. In the *Premāmṛta* there is continuity and sequence in the depiction of the three episodes, but not so in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*.

Some minor events, such as Kṛṣṇa buying fruits from hawkers, hinted at in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* [x. 11], are described more elaborately in the *Gopāla-campū* of Jīva-Gosvāmin.

Rūpa-Gosvāmin is responsible for the introduction of the following events or episodes: Kṛṣṇa, in the garb of a girl meets Rādhā;[2] Rādhā impersonating her cousin (or, according to some brother) Subala, goes out to meet Kṛṣṇa, while Subala remains at home impersonating Rādhā;[3] Rādhā steals flowers from Kṛṣṇa's garden.[4]

Such incidents as Kṛṣṇa meeting Rādhā, in various characters such as a doctor, a female mendicant, etc., were created in the late sixteenth or the early seventeenth century by the Vaiṣṇava poets. The 'Kalaṅka-bhañjana' (removal of calumny) incident[5] was introduced in the late

[1] In Caitanya Era 424 Ambikācaraṇa Brahmacārī published from Kalna what purports to be the three supplementary chapters (12-14) of the Antya-khāṇḍa of the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*. In editing this text two MSS. were consulted, one of a which was secured from the residence of Vṛndāvana-dāsa. In the last chapter (Chapter xiv) of this text there are passages which strongly reminds one of the *Dāna* episode in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*. It is very possible that the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* or some similar text was known to the author of this text. These chapters, however, are undoubtedly spurious.

[2] 'yuvati-veśa-gūḍhe harau' [Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu (fourth edition, Berhampore), p. 918]; Uddhava-sandeśa 64.

[3] 'praviśati subalo'yaṃ rādhikā-veśa-gūḍhaḥ [Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu, p. 914].

[4] Svayamutprekṣitalīlā, Stava-mālā, pp. 584 ff.

[5] The gist of the story is this. Rādhā's *liaison* with Kṛṣṇa was much talked about in Vṛndāvana. To free her from this calumny Kṛṣṇa feigned sore illness. Appearing as

eighteenth century ; so also the 'Kṛṣṇa-Kālī' (Kṛṣṇa becoming Kālī when Rādhā's husband Abhimanyu surprised the two lovers) episode. Viśvanātha-Cakravartin in his *Camatkāra-candrikā* gives some more incidents of Kṛṣṇa meeting Rādhā in secret.

The mention of Rādhā's husband 'Abhimanyu' occurs first in the sixteenth century. Rūpa-Gosvāmin mentions him in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* [pp. 831-840]. The name 'Abhimânyu' occurs in its proper *tadbhava* form 'Aihana' in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*. In Murāri-Gupta's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* it is 'Āyāna' and in the *Brahma-vaivarta* it occurs as 'Rāyāna,' an obviously late form. The names 'Jaṭilā' (Abhimanyu's mother), 'Kuṭilā' (his quarrelsome sister), 'Mukharā' (Rādhā's grandmother), 'Kīrttidā' or 'Kṛttikā' (Rādhā's mother), 'Jaratī' (an old lady), her son 'Govardhana-malla' (husband of Candrāvalī) first occur in the works of Rūpa-Gosvāmin. The name of Rādhā's mother appear as 'Kalāvatī' in the *Brahma-vaivarta*, and as 'Padumā' (< Padmā) or 'Kālinī' (< Kālindī) in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*.

Rūpa-Gosvāmin in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* gives a list of the names of Kṛṣṇa's cowherd friends and makes the following interesting observation :

eteṣu ke'pi śāstreṣu ke'pi lokeṣu viśrutāḥ ॥ [p. 729].

« Some of these are known from scriptures and some from popular tradition. »

As a matter of fact the names of the boy friends and girl companions of Kṛṣṇa, especially the latter, were in a floating condition even up to the end of the sixteenth century. Thus for instance the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-vijaya* [1480 A.C.] mentions the following *Gopīs* : Candrāvalī, Śaśi-rekhā, Citra-rekhā, Priyā, Vana-priyā, Ramā, Madana-mañjarī, Śrīmatī, Madhumatī, Mādhavī, Kādambinī, Nava-raṅgā, Rati-lekhā, Kuntinī, Sīmantinī, Lalitā, Śyāmalā, Dhavalā, Rati, Bhadrā, Padmā, Hari-priyā, Viśākhā, Indu-mukhī, Su-mukhī, Vallavī, Candrikā, Vilāsinī, Apsarā, Caturā, Madhurā, and Kamalā ; in the *Jagannātharallabha-nāṭaka* [*ante* 1510 A. C.] the following : Aśoka-mañjarī, Madana-mañjarī, Mādhavī, and Śaśi-mukhī; in Mādhavācārya's

a physician he told Yaśodā that her son will be all right, only if any woman can fetch some water from the Yamunā in a leaking pitcher. Nobody could do this except a woman who was perfectly loyal to her husband. Ultimately no woman could do this except Rādhā. She was at once hailed as a paragon of virtue.

[1] The germ of this incident is to be found in Rūpa-Gosvāmin's work.

Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala [*c.* 1530 A. C.] the following: Candrāvalī, Śāśi-kalā, Līlā, Ānandā, Līlāvatī, Śuci, Premavatī, Vilāsinī, Svarṇa-prabhā, and Hari-priyā.

The semi-divine character 'Paurṇamāsī' (also known by other names) who brings about the union of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa was introduced earlier to the sixteenth century. In the *Jagannātha-vallabha* she is called Madanikā; in Mathurādāsa's *Vṛṣabhānujā-nāṭikā* [1] she appears as Vṛndā, and so on. In Bengali works, especially in narrative poems such as the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*, the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*, and the *Govinda-maṅgala*, Baṛāyi (literary 'grandmother') is the substitute for Paurṇamāsī. Baṛāyi has two aspects, one serious and the other comic. The latter aspect has been emphasized in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* and in the *Govinda-maṅgala*.

The 'Dola-līlā' or 'Holī' or 'Horī' (spring festival) was introduced by Rūpa-Gosvāmin [*vide* Gītāvalī]. This as well as the 'Jhulana-līlā' (swing festival during the rainy season) was introduced in the sixteenth century. Songs relating to these festivals were quite abundant in contemporary Hindi literature also.

The domestic aspect of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa—when Rādhā virtually has become Kṛṣṇa's wife—was first dealt with by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, a Sanskrit poem in epic form. It describes the daily life of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (technically known as 'Aṣṭakālīna-līlā').

In the *Hari-vaṃśa* Kṛṣṇa's feats only are emphasized, and the treatment of the amours of Kṛṣṇa with the *Gopīs* is matter-of-fact and crude. The only poetic feature is the description of the rainy season ('Prāvṛḍ-varṇana,' ii. 10), which is repeated in the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*. The *Viraha* (separation from the beloved) aspect of the amorous element first appears in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* [v. 13.24 ff.; 18.14-31]. It is further developed in the *Bhāgavata* [x. 30, 31]. The *Vātsalya* (mother's love for child) aspect first appears in the *Bhāgavata*, and here also an attempt is first made to justify the amorous element.

In secular literature only two elements persisted, the *Vātsalya* and the amorous. Of the two the latter was more popular. So various subtleties were introduced. Mutual love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa was analysed into different stages and aspects, *viz.*, *Pūrva-rāga* (falling in love), *Anurāga* (love), *Abhisāra* (the girl going out at night to meet the lover), *Milana* (meeting), *Māna* (love-sulk), *Viraha* (separation), *Sambhoga* (union), etc. The heroic and other elements (as found in Kṛṣṇa's feats) which

[1] Published in the *Pandit* (Old Series), Vols. iii and iv.

were originally the main feature of the Vraja legend, were entirely ignored. The *Viraha* aspect, however, throughout remained the key-note.

In plastic art 'Kṛṣṇāyana' legends occur from the first or the second century A.C.[1] From the fourth century onwards such motifs became rather popular in sculpture. 'Govarddhana-dhāraṇa' (lifting up Govarddhana), 'Navanīta-caurya' (stealing butter), 'Śakaṭa-bhaṅga' (wrecking the cart), 'Dhenuka-vadha' (killing the demon Dhenuka), and 'Kāliya-damana' (suppressing the serpent Kāliya)—these scenes are depicted on the surface of two broken door-jambs found at Mandor. The date of this sculpture is accepted to be fourth or the fifth century A. C. A very beautiful piece of art is a sandstone relief from Mathurā depicting Kṛṣṇa lifting up Govarddhana. It probably dates in the fourth century A. C. In plastic art 'Govarddhana-dhāraṇa' seems to have been the most popular motif out of the Kṛṣṇa legends. Quite a magnificent representation occurs in a Mahabalipuram bas-relief. The most notable works of later times are to be found in the Vaiṣṇavite caves of Badami as well as the bas-reliefs in the hill fort of Badami [*vide*. R. D. Banerji's Bas-reliefs of Badami, Archæological Survey of India Memoir; G. C. Chandra's Note and plate in the Archæological Survey of India Annual Report for 1928-29]. The date of the sculpture is accepted to be the sixth or the seventh century A.C.

The earliest representation of the Kṛṣṇa legends in art in Bengal is to be found in the Paharpur bas-reliefs [*vide* Notes on the Paharpur Reliefs by K. N. Dikshit, Archæological Survey of India Annual Report for 1926-27]. These reliefs probably date in the seventh century A.C. In one relief Kṛṣṇa in his familiar pose is accompanied by a female apparently a beloved *Gopī*. Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji first pointed out the female figure to be that of Rādhā.

Scenes from the 'Kṛṣṇāyana' were represented in plastic or mural art in Bengal even as late as the sixteenth century. Some such representations Caitanya-deva saw at the village Kānāira-nāṭaśālā near Gauṛ.

> prāte cali āilā prabhu kānāiṛā-nāṭaśālā |
> dekhila sakala tāhā kṛṣṇa-caritra[2]-līla ‖ [CC. ii. 1.]

[1] The earliest known specimen is a fragment of a relief from Mathurā, depicting the Birth-ceremony of Kṛṣṇa. Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni dates it in the first or the second century A. C. [*cf.* Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1925-26]. For this and some other references I am indebted to Mr. Jitendranath Bannerji, Lecturer in the Department of Indian History and Culture in the University.

[2] -'citra-' *v.l.*

Though Kṛṣṇa worship dates from an early time, stone, clay or wooden images of Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla* (as a crawling infant or as a child playing on the flute) were made for the purpose of worship only from the sixteenth century. One of the finest specimens of such images is the image of Gopīnatha at Agra-dvīpa (near Kātwa). This image was made at the instance of Govinda-Ghoṣa, a follower of the Great Master, whom I have previously discussed as a poet.

At first the image of Rādhā was not placed by and worshipped along with the image of Kṛṣṇa. It was done from the second half of the sixteenth century. One of the initiators of this practice was Jāhnavā-devi, the junior wife of Nityānanda-prabhu. According to the *Prema-vilāsa* and the *Bhakti-ratnākara* Jāhnavā-devī, on her first visit to Vṛndāvana, was sorry not to find the images of Rādhā by the side of the images of Kṛṣṇa worshipped there. Coming home she ordered some images of Rādhā to be made, the sculptor being one Nayāna Bhaskar, and sent them to Vṛndāvana. At the instance of Jīva-Gosvāmin these images were placed by the side of the images of Kṛṣṇa. Since then a solitary image of Kṛṣṇa is not worshipped in Bengal, unless it is an ancient image of Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva or an image of Kṛṣṇa as a crawling infant.

CHAPTER XXIV

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE RĀDHĀ-KṚṢṆA LITERATURE PRIOR TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

To some extent Kṛṣṇa the Cowherd Boy was originally a pastoral deity. It is hard to determine the exact relationship between Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla* and the South Indian (Tamil) pastoral deity Mullai or Māyōn the Black God.[1] But it cannot be doubted that there was some connection between the two deities. Just as Kṛṣṇa can be equated to Māyōn the Black God, Bala or Bala-rāma (older name Saṅkarṣaṇa) can be equated to Vāliyōn or Vellaiyōn, the White God, whose implement was the plough and whose flag was the palmyra, just as in the case of the Aryan deity.[2] Just as Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla* was connected with music of the flute and the autumnal dance, so Māyōn was fond of the flute and delighted in dancing with milk-maids.

But there is a distinction; unlike Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla* Māyōn was never known to have done any astonishing feats or miracles. It cannot be doubted that the most important feature of the Aryan God was the miracles and feats done in his childhood, at least in the earlier versions of the legend. Can it be that the amorous element in the Kṛṣṇa legend did not occur originally but was brought from a different (South Indian ?) tradition ? On the other hand the ancient Tamil tradition does not go back further than *circa* fifth century A.C., and it is not unlikely that Māyōn is to a great extent the Tamil version of Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla*.

It cannot, however, be doubted that Kṛṣṇa worship found a congenial home in South India. It is held by some that the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* is a South Indian work. Some of the most important texts of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism (*viz.*, the *Brahma-saṃhitā* and the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Bilva-maṅgala) were written in the South. That the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story had some connection with the South cannot be denied. In this connection it is very

[1] *Vide* P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *The History of the Tamils* (Madras, 1929), p. 77; also *vide* P. T. Srinivas Aiyangar, *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, p. 25.

[2] *Vide* The History of the Tamils, p. 202.

interesting to note that Kṣemendra in his *Daśāvatāra-carita*[1] (middle of the eleventh century A.C.) mentions the South Indian river Godāvarī in this connection. The verse in question is quoted below.

> govindasya gatasya kaṃsa-nagarīṃ vyāptā viyogāgninā
> snigdha-śyāmala-kūla-līna-hariṇe godāvarī-gahvare |
> romantha-sthita-go-gaṇaiḥ paricayād utkarṇam ākarṇitam
> guptaṃ gokula-pallave guṇa-gaṇaṃ gopyaḥ sarāgā jaguḥ ‖ [8. 172].

The *Hari-vaṃśa* is perhaps the earliest work to treat systematically Kṛṣṇa's early life at the Vraja. In this work the amorous element consists of Kṛṣṇa's love for the cowherd damsels and their dances in moonlit nights in autumn.[2] It also records that the damsels sang songs on the feats of Kṛṣṇa.[3] These songs were not only on the feats of Kṛṣṇa but were popular songs that were sung in the autumnal (nocturnal) festival—songs on the beauties of the autumnal moon and night.

> tataḥ sa vavṛte rāsaś calad-valaya-nisvanaḥ |
> anuyāta-śarat-kāvya-geya-gītir anukramāt ‖
> kṛṣṇaḥ śarac-candramasaṃ kaumudīṃ kumudākaram |
> jagau gopī-janas tvekaṃ kṛṣṇa-nāma punaḥ punaḥ ‖
> rāsa-geyaṃ jagau kṛṣṇo yāvat tāratara-dhvaniḥ |
> [Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, v. 13. 50, 51, 55.]

> evaṃ śaśāṅkāṃśu-virājitā niśāḥ
> sa satya-kāmo' nuratābalā-gaṇaḥ |
> siṣeva ātmany avaruddha-sauratāḥ
> sarvāḥ śarat-kāvya-kathā-rasāśrayāḥ ‖
> [Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, x. 33. 25.]

No such song has come down to us. But the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* [x. 31] contains a very fine poem of lyrical nature on the lament of the *Gopīs*, when Kṛṣṇa vanishes from them to test their fidelity. To illustrate the high excellence of this poem I quote below two stanzas from it.

[1] Kāvyamālā 26, Bombay, 1891.

[2] evaṃ sa kṛṣṇo gopīnāṃ cakravālair alaṃkṛtaḥ |
śāradīṣu sa-candrāsu niśāsu mumude sukhī ‖ [ii. 20 35.]

[3] gāyantyaḥ kṛṣṇa-caritaṃ dvandvaśo gopa-kanyakāḥ ‖ [ii. 20. 25.]
Cf. gopyaḥ kṛṣṇe vanaṃ yāte tam anudruta-cetasaḥ |
kṛṣṇa-līlāḥ pragāyantyo niniyur duḥkhena vāsaram ‖ [Bhāgavata x. 35. 1.]

aṭati yad bhavān ahni kānanaṃ
truṭir yugāyate tvām apaśyatām
kuṭila-kuntalaṃ śrī-mukhaṃ ca te
jaḍa udīkṣatām pakṣmakṛd dṛśām ॥

pati-sutānvaya-bhrātṛ-bāndhavān
ativilaṅghya te 'nty acyutāgatāḥ ।
gatividas tavodgīta-mohitāḥ
kitava yoṣitaḥ kas tyajen niśi ॥ [x. 31. 15, 16.]

« Whilst you wander in woodlands in daytime a trice seems (as long as) an æon (to us,) not seeing you ; and (when we are blessed with a sight of your face, alas !) the stupid (creator) has given lashes to our eyes that feast on your glorious face with wavy locks !

Transgressing our husbands, children, kinsmen, brothers and relatives we have come to you, O Acyuta ! being ravished with the notes (played on the flute) by you who are aware of all our movements. Who else, O Cheat ! can spurn girls (in love) at night ? »

Kṛṣṇa's intrigue with Rādhā and other maidens became a favourite subject of *Udbhaṭa* poetry since the seventh century A. C. And to this date may be assigned the Trivendrum play entitled the *Bāla-carita* (generally ascribed to Bhāsa), which is perhaps one of the earliest secular poetical work on the Vraja legend that has come down to us. Such Sanskrit poems are partially preserved in rhetorical works [1] and in anthologies.[2] Such verses were not unknown in Prakrit also. The *Gāthā-saptaśatī* of Hāla contains five stanzas on the amours of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and other *Gopīs*.[3] In fact these Prakrit verses may be taken as some of the earliest known secular verses on the subject.

Sanskrit lyrics on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa topic, written in moraic metres and riming, are known from Jayadeva and his innumerable imitators. No such poem, earlier than the *Gīta-govinda*, are known. But Jayadeva was not the creator of the *genre*. Such poems, possibly originating from Prakrit sources, must have been common in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. Kṣemendra in his *Daśāvatāra-carita* (middle of the

[1] Such as the *Dhanyāloka*, *Kāvya-prakāśa*, etc. Short collections like the *Puṣpa-bāṇa-vilāsa* contain some such verses.

[2] The *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya* (twelfth century A. C.) contains five or six such poems, the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* (early thirteenth century A. C.) about ten.

[3] Kāvyamālā edition (Bombay, 1889), i. 89 ; ii. 12, 14, 47 ; vii. 55.

eleventh century) gives two couplets of such a lyric poem. This is perhaps the earliest known specimen of the *genre*. I quote them below.

lalita-vilāsa-kalā-sukha-khelana-
lalanā-lobhana-śobhana-yauvana-
mānita-nava-madane |
aliśkula-kokila-kuvalaya-kajjala-
kāla-kalinda-sutāv iva lajjala-
kāliya-kula-damane ||
keśi-kiśora-mahāsura-māraṇa-
dāruṇa-gokula-durita-vidāraṇa-
govarddhana-dharaṇe |
kasya na nayana-yugaṃ rati-sajje
majjati manasija-tarala-taraṅge
vara-ramaṇī-ramaṇe || [8. 173].[1]

From the eleventh or the twelfth century onward Sanskrit poems, epic or otherwise, and dramas on the early life of Kṛṣṇa became popular. Since the fifteenth century such works became quite abundant. To name a few: *Vraja-vihāra*[2] of Śrīdhara-Svāmin, *Yādavābhyudaya*[3] of Vedānta-Deśika (1268-1366 A. C.), *Gopāla-līlā* (*mahākāvya*)[4] of Rāmacandra-Bhaṭṭa (late fifteenth century), *Hari-vilāsa*[5] (in five cantos), *Kaṃsa-nidhana*[6] (*mahākāvya*) of Śrī-Rāma, *Hari-carita Kārya*[7] of Caturbhuja (completed at Rāmakelī in *Śaka* 1415=A.C. 1493), *Kṛṣṇa-vijaya*[8] of Śaṅkarācārya, *Hari-vilāsa Kāvya*[9] of Lolimba-rāja, *Gopāla-carita*[10] of Padmanābha (the author of the *Supadma* grammar, *c.* 1350),

1 This song was sung by the *Gopīs* when Kṛṣṇa had left Vṛndāvana for Mathurā.

2 Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. ii, p. 148.

3 First eight cantos published in two volumes from Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1907, 1909.

4 The *Pandit* (Old Series), Vol. vi.

5 Kāvyamālā 11; the *Pandit* (Old Series), Vol. ii.

6 Peterson, *A Third Report on Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, Bombay, 1887, pp. 355 ff.

7 Haraprasāda Shastri, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS., belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal* (Calcutta, 1905), pp. 134 ff.

8 Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. i, p. 123. This work has been printed at Trichur.

9 *Ibid*, p. 760. This work has been quoted from in Puruṣottama-deva's *Varṇa-deśanā*. Published in the *Pandit* (Old Series) Vol. iii; Kāvyamālā, 9.

10 Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. iii, pp. 35, 69.

Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta [1] of Bilva-maṅgala, *Murāri-vijaya* (*nāṭaka*) [2] of Kṛṣṇa-Bhaṭṭa (*Saṃvat* 1541 = A. C. 1484), *Kaṃsa-vadha* (*nāṭaka*) [3] of Śeṣa-kṛṣṇa, *Keśava-carita*,[4] *Hari-vilāsa*,[5] *Govinda-vilāsa*.[6]

Bengal's contribution to this literature (prior to the sixteenth century) was by no means small or insignificant. During the rule of the Sena kings quite a number of poets wrote on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme. Jayadeva of course stands unique in the history of Sanskrit literature. The *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdhara-dāsa [A.C. 1204] contains some poems by evidently Bengali writers (*e.g.*, Divākara-Datta, Umāpati-Dhara, Bhaṭṭapālīya Pītāmbara, Keśara-kolīya Nāthoka, Śaraṇa, etc.). Two poems are ascribed to Lakṣmaṇa-Sena and one to Keśava-Sena. This last poem too has been ascribed to Lakṣmaṇa-Sena in the *Padyāvalī* [207 (206)].[7]

Rūpa-Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* contains a large number of poems by Bengali poets, a few of whom were his contemporaries and friends at Gauṛ. I may mention here a few names: Puruṣottama-Ācārya, Mādhava-Cakravartin, Jagannātha-Sena, Govardhanācārya, Jagadānanda-Rāya, Sañjaya-Kaviśekhara, Keśava-Bhaṭṭācārya, Ṣaṣṭhīvara-Dāsa, Rāmacandra-Dāsa, Mukunda-Bhaṭṭācārya, Keśava-Chatrin, Govinda-Bhaṭṭa.

It would not be uninteresting to quote here a few verses by some of these Bengali poets as specimens.

> āstāṃ tāvad vacana-racanā-bhājanatvaṃ vidūre
> dūre cāstāṃ tava tanu-parirambha-sambhāvanāpi |
> bhūyo bhūyaḥ praṇatibhir idaṃ kintu yāce vidheyā
> smāraṃ smāraṃ svajana-gaṇane kāpi rekhā mamāpi ||
> [346 (342): Keśava-Bhaṭṭācārya].

« [Rādhā sends the following message to Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā through Uddhava :] There may not be even the remotest chance of direct

[1] Published in several editions.

[2] Peterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 337 f.; Shastri and Guin, *Catalogue of MSS. in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta*, Vol. vi. pp. 178 f.

[3] Kāvyamālā 6, Bombay, 1888. Rūpa-Gosvāmin in his *Nāṭaka-candrikā* [published from Cossimbazar, B.E. 1313; p. 16] quotes from a drama *Kaṃsa-vadha*. As the passage quoted does not occur in Śeṣa-kṛṣṇa's work this *Kaṃsa-vadha* seems to be a different work.

[4] A drama quoted from in Rūpa-Gosvāmin's *Nāṭaka-candrikā* [pp. 12f.].

[5] A drama quoted from in Rūpa-Gosvāmin's *Nāṭaka-candrikā* [p. 11].

[6] Quoted from in Rūpa-Gosvāmin's *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* [Third Berhampore edition; p. 652].

[7] A critical edition of the *Padyāvalī* with an elaborate introduction and bibliographical notes has been very recently published by the University of Dacca under the able editorship of Dr. Sushil Kumar De. The number in simple brackets is that of Dr. De's edition.

conversation (with you). It may also be that there will not be even (the slightest) possibility of a touch of your person. Still, with repeated bows, I beg only this much that remembering me ever and anon you may scratch a line (for me) in the count of your own people ! »

jīrṇā tariḥ sarid atīva-gabhīra-nīrā
bālā vayaṃ sakalam itham anartha-hetuḥ |
nistāra-vījam idam eva kṛśodarīṇāṃ
yan mādhava tvam asi samprati karṇadhāraḥ ||
[272 (271); Jagadānanda-Rāya].

« The boat is old ; the river has very deep waters ; and we are very young girls ;—all these are causes for danger. But the only chance for safety for (us) the slender-waisted (damsels) is that you, O Mādhava ! are the helmsman here.»

satyaṃ jalpasi duḥsahāḥ khala-giraḥ satyaṃ kulaṃ nirmalaṃ
satyaṃ niṣkaruṇo'py ayaṃ sahacaraḥ satyaṃ sudūre sarit ;
tat sarvaṃ sakhi vismarāmi jhaṭiti śrotrātithir jāyate
ced unmāda-mukunda-mañju-muralī-nisvāna-rāgodgatiḥ ||
[185 (184); Govinda-Bhaṭṭa].

« True, as you say, the words of malicious (people) are unbearable. True, (the honour of my) family is immaculate. True, this my companion also is pitiless. True, the river is far, far away. But all this, O my friend ! I forget quickly as soon as the ravishing stream of melodious notes (from the flute) of Mukunda (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) reaches my ears. »

panthāḥ kṣemamayo ' stu te parihara pratyūha-sambhāvanām
etanmātram adhāri sundari mayā netra-praṇālī-pathe |
nīre nīla-sarojam ujjvala-guṇaṃ tīre tamālāṅkuraḥ
kuñje ko' pi kalinda-śaila-duhituḥ puṃskokilaḥ khelati ||
[248 (247); Sarvavidyāvinoda].

« May thy path be auspicious ! Forget any possibility of mischance. Only this much I have ascertained, O my beauty ! that in the waters (of the river) there is a resplendent blue lotus, that on the (river) bank there is a *tamāla* sapling, and that in the grove by the Daughter of the mountain Kalinda (*i.e.* the river Yamunā) a he-cuckoo is playing about. »

līlā-mukharita-muralī-taralīkṛta-gopa-bhāvinī-nivahaḥ |
tad-adhara-madhuni satṛṣṇaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ pāyād apāyato bhavataḥ ||
[288 (287); Mādhava-Cakravartin].

« May Kṛṣṇa, who has disturbed the hearts of the Cowherd damsels and who is ever athirst for the honey at their lips, protect you from harm. »

When did the Bengali poets or devotees begin to write on the Vraja topic in the vernacular ? This is a question that cannot be settled at the present state of our knowledge. There is no doubt that mystic songs with the *bhaṇitā* were composed even in the Old Bengali period. Remnants of such a literature are to be found in the *Caryā-padas* of the Buddhist 'Siddhācāryas.' It may be argued that in those days vernacular songs on the Kṛṣṇa legend also were composed. This is rather unlikely. In the centuries ending the first millennium A. C. and beginning the second the 'Kṛṣṇāyana' legend was really a high and learned subject, and so verses and songs were written in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa.

I am of opinion that the fashion of writing poems or songs on the Vraja legend arose in Bengal not much earlier than the fifteenth century, possibly in the neighbouring territory Tīrabhukti (Tirhut). Taking the most lenient view the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* of Ananta Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa cannot be placed earlier than the latter half of the fifteenth century. The earliest dated work in Bengali is the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-vijaya* of Mālādhara-Vasu who had the title of 'Guṇa-rāja Khān.' This work is an adaptation of the tenth and eleventh *Skandhas* of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. It was completed in 1480 A.C. [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 38, p. 155 ff.]. But songs on the Vraja theme (not so much the amorous topics as the miraculous feats) was popular certainly towards the end of the fifteenth century. Vṛndāvana-dāsa in the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* [i. 14] says—

kāli-dahe karilena ye nāṭya īśvare |
sei gīta gāyena kāruṇya uccasvare ||
śuni nija prabhura mahimā haridāsa |
paṛilā mūrchita hai kothā nāhi śvāsa ||

A *Daṅka* (snake-charmer ?) was singing a song on the 'Kāliya-damana' theme at the house of a rich man at Phuliyā. Haridāsa-Ṭhākura (an elder contemporary and principal follower of Caitanya-deva) was passing that way. On hearing that sweetly sung song relating to the glory of his Lord (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) Haridāsa was overcome with joy and became senseless in ecstasy. This happened some years before he met the Great Master.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

[The first number denotes the page: the number in brackets denotes the line.]

2 (36) Read *Kunstsprache* for *Kuntsprache*.

4 (14) *Read* who was *for* was.

5 (7-8) According to Kṣetragopāla Senagupta, a descendant of 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa,' Rādhāmohana, the guru of 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa,' was a descendant of Dvija Haridāsa, and not a descendant of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya as supposed here and *infra*. *Vide* VSPP., Vol. xii, pp. 65-69. Necessary correction should be made at pages 297 (17), and 300 (3).

5 (16) *Read* Bengali *for* Beagali.

6 (19) *Read* B.E. *for* B.S.

6 (29) *Read* Sanibārer *for* Sanibarer.

8 (11) *Read* bāṇa *for* vāṇa.

8 (12) *Add* : See p. 245.

11 (20 ff.) Later in this work I have occasion to revise my opinion as to the date of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* [see *supra*, pp. 392 f.].

15 (3) *Read* Rādhā-hood *for* Radha-hood.

15 (17 f.) This verse occurs in the *Pañcadaśī* (ix. 84).

23 f. KGR. [141] gives some better readings of the poem by Yaśorāja-Khān. They are noted below.

23 (20) 'āra payadhara gora,' KGR.

23 (24) 'karata sundarī,' KGR.

23 (25) *Read* bāhira dehalī mājhe.

23 (28) 'kamala-yugale,' KGR.

23 (29) 'cānda pūjala kāma,' KGR.

25 (35) *Read* pāca-bāṇa *for* pāca-vāṇa.

29 (10) *Add* : A few cantos at the end of the work seem to have been added later.

29 (18) Delete *Gupta-dāsa*. See pp. 402 f.

29 (25) *Read* bāhire *for* vāhire.

29 (36) *Read* bilasata *for* vilasata.

30 (1) *Read* dokha *for* dekhi.

31 (12) *Delete* the *before* propriety.

31 (31) *Read* kuhū *for* kuhu.

32 For additional facts on the life and activities of Narahari-Sarkār, see my article, "Narahari-Sarkār O Śrīkhaṇḍera Sampradāya," in the *Bangasree* (Vaṅgaśrī) for Jyaiṣṭha, 1340 B.E., pp. 572-577. Not a few of Narahari's poems on the Kṛṣṇa legend seem to have been passed on to the so-called 'Caṇḍīdāsa.' I have discussed this matter fully elsewhere [*vide* "Śrīkhaṇḍera Sampradāya O Caṇḍīdāsa," VSPP., Vol. 40, pp. 15-33].

35 (19) The *Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa*, Part I, third edition, published by Nṛtyalāla Śīla, Calcutta, Śaka 1823, p. 341. The first edition of this work was published in Śaka 1802 (=1880 A.C.).

38 (4) *Read* kaba *for* kava.

38 (26) *Vide Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa*, p. 341.

39 (11) *Read* bidariyā *for* vidariyā.

39 (22) *Vide Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa*, p. 341.

39 (24) *Read* a son *for* son.

39 (27) Read *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* for *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*.

39 (33-35) *Delete* the sentence.

40 (*footnote*) *Read* 413 *for* 414.

41 (15-17) For a third Rāmānanda, see p. 466 f.

42 (20) *Read* Vaṃśīvadana-dāsa or Vaṃśī-dāsa (i).

43 (27) *Read* breasts *for* breast.

44 At pages 70-71 has been given a Brajabuli poem by Vaṃśīvadana which, according to 'Prema-dāsa,' was sung before the Master at Purī.

47-48 The poem cited occurs with the *bh.* of Govindadāsa in KGR. [133].

47 (1) *Read* Vṛndāvana-dāsa (i).

47 (21) *Read* tabahi *for* tavahi.

50 (19) *Read* sveda-bindu *for* sveda-vindu.

50 (28) *Read* yūthī *for* yuthī.

51 Through inadvertence Śivānanda-Sena has been treated in Chapter V instead of in Chapter IV.

52 (footnote) Read *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba* for *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rasa-līlā-kadamba*.

54 (22) *Add*: None of the poems of Mādhava occurring in the anthologies are to be found in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* (published from the Baṅgabāsī Press, Calcutta).

54 (28) *Read* śarada *for* śārada.

54 (30) *Read* -baraṇa-haraṇa- *for* -haraṇa-baraṇa-.

56 (19) *Read* iṅgita *for* īṅgita.

58 (14) *Add*: In these poems of 'Mādhavī' or 'Mādhavī-dāsa' the name occurs in some MSS. of PKT. and also in KPS. as 'Mādhurī' or 'Mādhurī-dāsa.'

61 For the correct identification of Paramānanda-dāsa, see p. 376, *footnote*.

61 (7) *Read* mṛgī-kula *for* mṛgī-kūla.

63 The *Śākhā-giriṇaya* of Rāmagopāla-dāsa gives this interesting fact about Locana-dāsa—

gururṅ arthe bikāila phiriṅgira hātha ||

64 (2) According to the *Prema-vilāsa* [second edition, Berhampur, B. E. 1318, p. 317] the *Gosvāmins* at Vṛndāvana were responsible for changing the original title of Vṛndāvana-dāsa's work.

64 (36) *Read* kāhu *for* kāhū.

65 (7) *Read* no section *for* section.

67 For further information about Locana's literary activities, *vide* VSPP., Vol. 40, pp. 21 f.

70 Delete the first paragraph.

71 (15) *Read* bāhira *for* vāhira.

73 (6) *Read* PKT. 748 *for* PKT. 784.

74 (14) *Read* kiṅkiṇi- *for* kiṅkiṇi.

74 (35) *Read* Balarāma-dāsa (i).

76 (36-37) *Delete* not even excepting Caṇḍīdāsa.

79 (7) *Read* raṅgiṇī *for* raṅginī.

79 (25) *Read* woodland *for* wood land.

80 (35) *Read* from at home *for* at home.

84 (28) *Add*: The poet Jagannātha-dāsa seems to have written some connected poems on the Kṛṣṇa legend, possibly a work of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* type. Thus he says in the colophon of a poem:

ei-rūpe naukā-khaṇḍa pāra haila kānu-saṅga
jagannātha-dāsa biracila || [KPS., p. 90.]

88 One Uddhava-dāsa seems to have written a work of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* type. This Uddhava-dāsa may have been a disciple of Karṇapūra [*vide* GPT., p. 471].

89 One Caitanya-dāsa appears to have systematically treated the Vraja theme [*cf.* KPS., pp. 50 f.].

90 (23) Also *vide Prema-vilāsa* (Berhampur, second edition), p. 349.

92 In the *Prema-vilāsa* Nityānanda-dāsa has more than once referred to another work of his, *Vīracandra-carita*, a biography of Vīracandra, the son of Nityānanda-prabhu. Nityānanda-dāsa seems to have written connected poems on the Vraja legend [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 40, pp. 35 f.].

93 (18) *Read c.* 1735 A. C. *for* 1750 A. C.

94 (16) *Read* 3072 *for* 3073.

94 f. The *Padāmṛta-samudra* version [pp. 408 f.] of the poem PKT. 790 has eight and the *Karṇānanda* version [vi (pp. 111 f.)] has nine couplets. These additional couplets are as follows:

sundara kapāle śobhe sundara tilaka go
tāhe śobhe alakāra pāti ।
hiyāra bhitare mora jhalamala kare go
cānde yena bhramarera pāti ॥ (4)
amiyā mākhala kibā candana tilaka go
kapāle sājiyā dila ke ।
nirakhiyā cāda-mukha kemane dhariba buka
parāṇe kemane jīye se ॥ (5)

97 (10) *Read* mediocrity *for* mediocirty.

101 (12) Also *vide Śyāmānanda-prakāsa*, by Kṛṣṇacaraṇa-dāsa, edited by Amūlyadhana Rāyabhaṭṭa and published from Pāṇihāṭi, 1335 B. E.

106 (25) One poem on the *Sakti* theme, written by Govindadāsa before his initiation in Vaiṣṇavism—in fact the only such poem as yet known—has been quoted in page 319.

106 (28) *Read* fearing *for* ïearing.

107 (24) *Add*: Also one poem with the joint *bh.* of 'Rāya Rāmacandra' and 'Govindadāsa' occurs in APR. [66].

108 (3) *Cf.* the poem by Vallabha-dāsa [GPT., pp. 480 f.].

110 (3) *Read* kuñjara-karabha- kara-hi kara-bandhana.

110 (5) *Read* -taraṅgiṇī *for* -taraṅginī.

110 (6) *Read* raṅgiṇī- *for* raṅginī-.

110 (36) *Read* bañjula *for* vañjula.

111 (15) *Read* bañjula *for* vañjula.

116 (1) *Read* -parirambhaṇe *for* -parirambhane.

116 (28) *Read* hariṇī- *for* harinī-.

119 (33) *Read* bāṛhāyabi *for* baṛhāyabi.

121 (5) *Read* taraṅgiṇī- *for* taraṅginī-.

123 The poem [PKT. 988] is an adaptation of the following verse:

lajjaivodghaṭitā kim atra kuliśodbaddhā kapāṭa-sthitir
maryādaiva vilaṅghitā pathi punaḥ keyaṃ kalindātmajā ।
ākṣiptā khaladṛṣṭir eva sahasā vyālāvalī kīdṛśī
prāṇā eva samarpitāḥ sakhi ciraṃ tasmai kim eṣā tanuḥ ॥
[Padyāvalī 211 (210).]

123 (13) *Read* agādhā *for* āgadhā.

132 (19) *Read* indu *for* indū.

132 (21, 22) *Read* bindu *for* vindu.

136 (4) *Read* rākhaha nayana- *for* rākhaha-nayana-.

138 Govinda-Ācārya was considerably older than the Great Master, as he has been mentioned among the seniors (*guru-varga*) ; *cf. Gauragaṇ-oddeśa-dīpikā, loc. cit.*

138 (29) *Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa* also says—

pūrve ye baṛāi kṛṣṇe karita dhāmāli ।
seïmata govinda-ācārya gītāvalī ॥ [p. 364.]

149 (2-3) *Delete* the sentence. *Add* : Notwithstanding this slavish imitation of other poets Śekhara wrote some very brilliant lyrics in Brajabuli. PKT. 2706 (quoted in p. 149) is one such poem. Another is the universally favourite poem 'e bharā bādara māha bhādara' etc. [PKT. 1735]. This poem is generally attributed to Vidyāpati as his *bh.* is found in most of the anthologies. But this poem really belongs to Śekhara. My argument is based on the following fact. Pītāmbara-dāsa's *Aṣṭa-rasa-vyākhyā* [*c.* 1700] is the earliest work to quote this poem, and the *bh.* there is that of 'Śekhara' and not of Vidyāpati. Thus the *bh.* line runs—

bhaṇahū śekhara kaïche bañcaba
so hari binu iha rātiyā ॥

The *Pada-rasa-sāra* version also bears the *bh.* of Śekhara [*vide* PKT., Vol. ii, p. 77]. The generally accepted version of the *bh.* line is as follows :

vidyāpati kaha kaiche goṅāyabi
hari bine dina rātiyā ॥

Now this line is rhythmically different from the rest of the poem. Moreover the reading 'so hari' is distinctly better than 'dina rātiyā' as the question of 'dina' (day) does not arise.

149 (15) *Read* raṅgiṇī *for* raṅginī.

158 (16) *Read* dūtī *for* dutī.

166 (1) *Read* love's ecstasy *for* love ecstasy.

166 (7) *Read* koṇa *for* kona.

178 (7) *Read* Good ladies *for* good ladies.

178 (20) *Read* chāṛiyā *for* chāṛīyā.

174 (21) *Read* tahī *for* tahī.

174 (32) *Read* gharama-bindu *for* gharama-vindu.

175 (6) *Read* ghanāiyā *for* ghānaiyā.

176 (12) *Read* Vrajānanda (i).

178 (33) *Read* Chapter *for* Addenda.

180 (19) *Add*: Mr. Manomohan Ghosh, M.A., has brought to my notice the existence of Yadunandana's translation of Rūpa-Gosvāmin's *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*. It has been published by Keśava-candra De in B. E. 1325.

181 (8) *Read* -koṇe *for* kone.

185 (21) *Read* bāürī *for* baürī.

185 (27) *Read* bicāra *for* bicara.

194 (31) The *Bṛhad-bhakti-tattva-sāra*, compiled by Rādhā-nātha Kābāsī, has been published from Dhānyakuṛiyā, fourth edition, Caitanya Era 444.

197 (17) *Read* tuhāri *for* tuhārī.

197 (19) *Read* te[7] *for* te.

202 (9) *Read* [1534-1583 A.C.] *for* [Born ? A.C. 1534].

203 (23) According to the *Vaṃśī-śikṣā* [published by Jogendranātha De, Calcutta, B.E. 1331, p. 235] Rāmacandra was born in *Śaka* 1456 (=1534 A.C.) and died in *Śaka* 1505 (=1583 A.C.). He wrote three treatises, *Kaṛacā*, *Anaṅgamañjarī-sampuṭikā*, and *Pāṣaṇḍa-dalana* [*op. cit.*, p. 232].

204 (20) *Read* dishevelled *for* disheelled.

204 (29) *Delete* probably a pre-Caitanya poet.

205 (17) *Read* bindu *for* vindu.

206 (5) *Vide Vaṃśī-śikṣā*, p. 232. Śacīnandana had three sons, Rājavallabha, Śrīvallabha, and Keśava, who were the respective authors of *Vaṃśī-vilāsa*, *Śrīvallabha-līla*, and *Keśava-saṅgīta* [*loc. cit.*].

211 Ācārya Candra has been treated in this chapter instead of in Chapter IV, out of sheer inadvertence.

212 (20) Ācārya Candra was a person quite distinct from Candra-śekhara Ācāryaratna. The *Caitanya-bhāgavata* distinctly mentions him as a follower of Nityānanda-prabhu. Ācāryaratna, however, was a direct follower of Caitanya-deva.

216 (6) *Read* forty-seven *for* forty-six.

216 (11) *Add*: All the songs in the *Govinda-rati-mañjarī* are written in Brajabuli. They are, however, adaptations of Sanskrit verses, also composition of Ghanaśyāma, that immediately precede them. Thus the poems cited in pp. 216-218 (PKT. 1633, 350) have the following verses as their corresponding Sanskrit originals :

ārdrībhūta-tanur nilīna-vasanā netrāmbhasāṃ dhārayā
paśyantī mathurā-pathaṃ gata-rathaṃ gopī-tatir majjati |
kācit tatra vidheya-śūnya-ʰṛdayā citrārpiteva sthitā
yāvad dṛṣṭi-pathe rathas tad anu sā chinna-drumābhāpatat ||

ko'yaṃ huṃkurute harir giri-guhāṃ hitvātra harmye kutaḥ
kānte 'ham madhusūdanas tad iha kim padmālayaṃ gacchatu |
kṛṣṇo 'smīti guṇo 'tanur vadati kiṃ na śyāma-mūrtiḥ priye
somābhā-parikheditaḥ kim iti su-smero hariḥ pātu vaḥ ||

217 (15-16) *Read* and bewailed their friend who had lost consciousness *for* and (being) ignorant etc.

219 (26) Read *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā* for *Rasika-raṅgadā*.

230 (36) *Add*: One Brajabuli poem, occurring in CU. MS. 343, contains the joint *bh.* of 'Vidyāpati' and 'Yadunandana.' I do not know which of the three Yadunandanas this poet was. As the poem is rather interesting on account of this joint *bh.*, I quote it here.

ki kahaba re sakhi takhana-ka lāja |
sapane āpane piyā śola samāja ||
kare kara dhari piyā pūchata bāta |
haṭhe hāma tāka choṛāyala hāta ||
phārala malla-torala hāra |
kata-hi kahaba tāi karae vibāra ||
bhanae vidyāpati iha rasa gāy |
iha avaśeṣa yadunandana gāy ||

233 (11) According to another tradition Gati-govinda had seven sons of whom Subalacandra or Subalānanda was one.

233 (16) This Subalacandra-(Ācārya) Ṭhākura probably was the author of the Sanskrit poem *Rādhā-saundarya-mañjarī* (consisting of 170

ślokas only). *Vide* Rājendralāla Mitra, *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. viii, p. 280.

238 (25) *Read* bayanḍ *for* vayanḍ.

238 (21) *Read* amarāvatī *for* amarāvati.

242 (12) *Read* Madhusūdana dāsa *for* Madhusudana-dāsa.

243 (16) *Read* niṭhura *for* niṭhūra.

243 (21) *Read* bayāna *for* vayāna.

243 (23) *Read* rākhae *for* jhākhae.

248 (27) The following poets are represented in the *Aṣṭa-rasa-vyākhyā*: Govindadāsa, Gopāla-dāsa, 'Caṇḍīdāsa,' Nava-kaviśekhara (Śekhara), Giridhara-dāsa, Gupta, Jñānadāsa, Vidyāpati, Balarāma-dāsa.

Pītāmbara mentions that Śacīnandana was his guru—

śacīnandana-prabhu ṭhākura āmāra |
śrīkhaṇḍa mahāpāṭe vasati yāhāra ||

249 (5-6) For Subalānanda or Subalacandra-Ṭhākura, see pp. 233 f.

254 (18) *Read* Sanātana-Gosvāmin and Rūpa-Gosvāmin jointly *for* Sanātana-Gosvāmin Rupa-Gosvāmin jointly.

261 (25) *Read* PKT. 2842 *for* PKT. 9842.

270 (31) *Read* kula śīla *for* śīla kula.

276 (6) *Delete* Mādho.

289 (34) *Read* (fiddle) *for* (a kind of lute).

295 (17) *Read* Cūṛāmaṇi-dāsa *for* Cuṛāmaṇi-dāsa.

301 (1) *Read* mahatī *for* mahati.

301 (21) *Read* the lute (*mahatī*) shall sound *for* I shall sing.

301 (21) *Delete* (?).

306 (21) *Read* duhū-ka *for* duhū-ka.

314 (32) *Read* Gokula-candra *for* Gokula-chandra.

321 (8) This Bhāgavatānanda was probably the grandson of Bhagavān-Ācārya 'the lame' (Khañja), a follower of the Great Master.

321 (18-19) This poem, however, occurs with the *bh.* of Govindadāsa in KGR. [133].

321 (23) One Vṛndāvana-dāsa probably had written a work of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* type [*cf.* KPS., pp. 103 ff.].

322 (31-32) Mukundarāma-Cakravarttī Kavikaṅkaṇa had already used Brajabuli in his *Abhayā-maṅgala* or *Caṇḍīkāvya* [*c.* 1577 A.C.]. So it cannot be maintained that Bhāratacandra was one of the first writers to use Brajabuli in secular poetry. The occurrence of Brajabuli poems or fragments in Mukundarāma's work goes to show what a tremendous

influence the Neo-Vaiṣṇava Brajabuli literature exerted on the contemporary secular literature as early as the third quarter of the sixteenth century. I quote below one poem from the *Caṇḍī-kāvya* [Baṅgabāsī Press, third edition, 1332 B.E., pp. 162 f.], written in mixed Brajabuli and Bengali. Some corruptions or emendations have undoubtedly crept in.

māne madane duhe bājala dvandva |
ākula mugadhe paṛi geo dhanda ||
māninī ramaṇī nā baise pati-pāśe |
nayane ārati nā bhaje rati-rase ||
vimala kamala jhāpaï kara-tale |
pīna kaṭhina aṅga daraśāy chale ||
supurukhaparaśa-hi madana vikāśa |
bālāra hṛdaye lajjā bhaya vināśa ||
lāja tejiyā rāmā kare nivedana |
abhayā-maṅgala gāna śrī-kavikaṅkaṇa ||

325 (10) *Read* -paṅkaja-nīrahi *for* -paṅkaja nīra-hi.

327 (4) *Read* repartee *for* rapartee.

327 (12) *Add*: One poem by 'Śaśi-śekhara' occurs in the *Rasa-kalpa-latā* of Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa, which was completed in *Śaka* 1607 [*vide* VSPP., Vol. xii, Ambikācaraṇa Gupta's paper on Kavi Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa]. If this Śaśi-śekhara be the same poet as is under discussion, he must have flourished at the latest in the middle of the seventeenth century.

333 (24) *Read* prāṇa *for* prāṇā.

336 (14) *Read* khela *for* kela.

341 (1) *Read* sācā *for* sāca.

344 (23) *Read* bāre-bāra *for* vāre-vāra.

344 (25) *Read* śiṅgāra *for* śiṇgāra.

346 (28) *Read* xv *for* XV *and* xx *for* XX.

351 (24) *Read* bhāminī *for* bhaminī *and* mohana *for* mohāna.

361 (17) *Read* Śaṅkara *for* Saṅkara.

362 (3) *Read* sājala *for* sājalo.

369 (9) *Read* Madhusūdana Datta *for* Madhūsudana Datta.

397 (11) *Add* : [PKT. 3030].

404 (Footnote) *Read* 'kaba' *for* 'kaiba.'

418 *Add* :

Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa (ii) [*c.* 1685 A.C.].

In the pages of VSPP. [Vol. xii, pp. 25-34] Ambikācaraṇa Gupta had noticed a work entitled the *Rasa-kalpa-latā*, an anthology consisting of

eighty-four Bengali and Brajabuli poems by Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa and one by Śaśi-śekhara. This Jayakṛṣṇa may have been distinct from the poet Jayakṛṣṇa dealt with *supra* [p. 195 ff.]. The *Rasa-kalpa-latā* was completed in *Śaka* 1607 (= 1685 A.C.).

gaura-kṛpāra kathā raci rasa-kalpa-latā
likhi tihō yebā lekhāïla ;
śake śaśī ṣaṛa bindu tāhe milāïyā sindhu
mārgaśīrṣe samāpta haïla ||

The poet's real name was Kenā-rāma. His father was 'Śrī Rāma-mohana-dāsa.' Their native village was Gaṛabāṛī, about two miles to the east of Arambag in the district of Hughli.

The following Bengali poem is quoted as a specimen of the poet's composition :

prabhāse rādhāra vāṇī śuniyā gokula-maṇi
kahe tāhe kariyā pirīti ।
dāruṇa vidhātā more ānāïyā eta-dūre
rākhe laiyā [1] dūra dvārāvatī [2] ||
tomāra virahānale sadā mora hiyā jvale
ḍubi bhāsi bhāvanā-sāgare ।
ki karite ki nā kari dhairaja dharite nāri
sadā dhyāna karite tomāre ||
āche dui cāri sūtra nārāyaṇa-śakti hetu
naṣṭa kaile yābo Vṛndāvane ।
tumi mora du-nayana āmāra amūlya-dhana
tomā binu ki āche bhuvane ||
karuṇa nayane nīra bhijila hiyāra cīra
puna kahe gada-gada bhāṣā ।
jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa bhaṇe karuṇā kariye mane
dīnabandhu-caraṇa bharasā ||
[VSPP., Vol. xii, p. 33.]

On hearing the speech of Rādhā at Prabhāsa the Jewel of Gokula (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) affectionately accosted her thus : 'The cruel Fate has called me away to such a distance and detains me in this distant Dvārāvatī. In the fire of separation from you my heart is ever burning : I am drifting

[1] MS. 'layyā.' [2] MS. 'dārābatī.'

in the sea of anxiety. I do not know what I do, and I cannot hold on to patience as I am always thinking of you. Because of the spirit of Nārāyaṇa (I shall have to stay here for some time in order to slay) a few more enemies (?). When they are done away with I shall return to Vṛndāvana. You are my two eyes; what more precious treasure other than you do I possess in this universe?' With tears from his piteous eyes the garment on his chest was drenched, and again he addressed her in faltering voice. With extreme humility at heart Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa says that the feet of the Friend of the Poor is his only hope.»

428 (13) *Read* alakā tilaka *for* alaka tilakā.
431 (28) *Read* gaṇana *for* ganaṇa.
435 (25) *Read* Rūpa-caraṇa *for* Rupa-caraṇa.
436 (1) *Read* Svarūpa-caraṇa *far* Svarupa-caraṇa.
436 (4) *Read* Svarūpa (Svarūpa-dāsa) *for* Svarupa (Svarupa-dāsa).
447 (1) *Read* māne *for* mane.
457 (6) *Read* Pūrṇānanda-dāsa *for* Purṇānanda-dāsa.
457 (7) *Read* occur *for* occurs.
459 (29) *Read* viṣama *for* visama.

APPENDIX

PADA-MANJARI

পদমঞ্জরী

[গ্রন্থমধ্যে রোমান অক্ষরে মুদ্রিত সম্পূর্ণ পদগুলি এইখানে বঙ্গাক্ষরে একত্রে গ্রথিত হইল। ইহাতে রোমান অক্ষরের সহিত অপরিচিত বাঙ্গালী পাঠকের মূল পদগুলি বুঝিবার সুবিধা হইবে গৌণতঃ ইহার দ্বারা একটি আদর্শ পদসংগ্রহের কার্য্যও চলিবে। পদের শেষে প্রদত্ত সংখ্যা ধারাবাহিক পদসংখ্যা সূচিত করিতেছে, এবং বন্ধনীস্থিত সংখ্যা গ্রন্থমধ্যে উদ্ধৃত পদের পৃষ্ঠা-সংখ্যা নির্দ্দেশ করিতেছে।]

যশোরাজ-খান

এক পয়োধর চন্দন-লেপিত
আরে সহজই গোর।
হিম-ধরাধর কনক-ভূধর
কোলে মিলল জোর॥
মাধব, তুয়া দরশন-কাজে।
আধ পদচারি করত সুন্দরী
বাহির দেহলী মাঝে॥
ডাহিন লোচন কাজরে রঞ্জিত
ধবল রহল বাম।
নীল ধবল কমল-যুগলে
চাঁদ পূজল কাম॥
শ্রীযুত হুসন জগত-ভূষণ
সোই ইহ রস জান।
পঞ্চ-গৌড়েশ্বর ভোগ-পুরন্দর
ভণে যশোরাজ-খান॥

১॥ [১] [২৩-২৪]॥

[১] গ্রন্থমধ্যে রোমান হরফে মুদ্রিত পদটিতে কিছু পাঠান্তরের বৈলক্ষণ্য দৃষ্ট হইবে। বর্ত্তমান পাঠটিই শুদ্ধতর, ইহা কীর্ত্তনগীতরত্নাবলী হইতে গৃহীত হইয়াছে। মূলগ্রন্থ ছাপা হইবার সময় কীর্ত্তনগীতরত্নাবলী আমার হস্তগত হয় নাই

রামানন্দ-রায়

পহিলহি রাগ নয়ন-ভঙ্গ ভেল।
অনুদিন বাঢ়ল অবধি না গেল॥
ন সো রমণ ন হাম রমণী।
দুহুঁ মন মনোভব পেশল জনি॥
এ সখি সো সব প্রেম-কহানী।
কানু-ঠামে কহবি বিছুরহ জানি॥
ন খোঁজলুঁ দোতী ন খোঁজলুঁ আন।
দুহুঁক মিলনে মধ্যত পাঁচবাণ॥
অব সো বিরাগে তুহুঁ ভেলি দোতী।
সুপুরুখ-প্রেমক ঐছন রীতি॥
বর্দ্ধন রুদ্র-নরাধিপ-মান।
রামানন্দ-রায় কবি ভাণ॥

২॥ [২৫]॥

মুরারি-গুপ্ত

তপত কিরণ যদি অঙ্গ না দগধল
কি করব জল-অভিষেকে।
দুখ-ভরে প্রাণ বাহিরে যব নিকসব
কি করব ঔষধ-বিশেখে॥
মানিনি, অতএব সমাপহ মানে।
মৃদুমৃদু ভাষে সম্ভাষহ বরতনু
একবার দেহ জীউ দানে॥

সুন্দর বদনে বিহসি বরভামিনি
রচহ মনোহর বাণী।
কুচ কনয়া-গিরি মধি গহি রাখহ
নিজ ভুজে আপন জানি॥

অধর-সুধারস পান দেহ সখি
হৃদয় জুড়ায়হ মোর।
তুয়া মুখ-ইন্দু- উদয় হেরি বিসসত
তিরপিত নয়ন-চকোর॥

নিজ গুণ হেরি পরক দোখ পরিহরি
তেজহ হৃদয়ক রোখ।
ভণই মুরারি প্রাণপতি সঙ্গিনী
পুরুখ-বধ বহু দোখ॥

৩॥ [২৯-৩০]॥

সখি হে, ফিরিয়া আপন ঘরে যাও।
জীয়ন্তে মরিয়া যে আপনা খাইয়াছে
তারে তুমি কি আর বুঝাও॥

নয়নপুতলী করি লইলোঁ মোহন রূপ
হিয়ার মাঝারে করি প্রাণ।
পিরীতি-আগুনি জালি সকলি পোড়াইয়াছি
জাতি কুল শীল অভিমান॥

না জানিয়া মূঢ় লোকে কি জানি কি বলে মোকে
না করিয়ে শ্রবণ-গোচরে।
স্রোত-বিথার জলে এ তনু ভাসাইয়াছি
কি করিবে কুলের কুকুরে॥

খাইতে শুইতে রৈতে আন নাহি লয় চিতে
বন্ধু বিনে আন নাহি ভায়।
মুরারি-গুণতে কহে পিরীতি এমতি হৈলে
তার যশ তিন লোকে গায়॥

৪॥ [৩০-৩১]॥

কি ছার পিরীতি কৈলা জীয়ন্তে বধিয়া আইলা
বাঁচিতে সংশয় ভেল রাই।
শফরী সলিল বিন গোঙাইব কত দিন
শুন শুন নিঠুর মাধাই॥

ঘৃত দিয়া এক রতি জ্বালি আইলা যুগবাতি
সে কেমনে রহে অযোগানে।
তাহে সে পবনে পুন নিভাইল বাসোঁ হেন
বাট আসি রাখহ পরাণে॥

বুঝিলাম উদ্দেশে সাক্ষাতে পিরীতি তোষে
স্থানছাড়া বন্ধু বৈরী হয়।
তার সাক্ষী পদ্ম ভানু জল ছাড়া তার তনু
শুখাইলে পিরীতি না রয়॥

যত সুখে বাঢ়াইলা তত দুখে পোড়াইলা
করিলা কুমুদবন্ধু-ভাতি।
গুপ্ত কহে এক মাসে দ্বিপক্ষ ছাড়িল দেশে
নিদানে হইল কুহুরাতি॥

৫॥ [৩১]॥

নরহরি-সরকার

গৌরলীলা দরশনে ইচ্ছা বড় হয় মনে
ভাষায় লিখিয়া সব রাখি।
মুঞি তো অতি অধম লিখিতে না জানি ক্রম
কেমন করিয়া তাহা লিখি॥

এ গ্রন্থ লিখিবে যে এখন জন্মে নাই সে
জন্মিতে বিলম্ব আছে বহু।
ভাষায় রচনা হৈলে বুঝিবে লোক সকলে
কবে বাঞ্ছা পূরাবেন পহু॥

গৌরগদাধর-লীলা আদ্রব করয়ে শিলা
কার সাধ্য করিবে বর্ণন।
সারদা লিখেন যদি নিরন্তর নিরবধি
আর সদাশিব পঞ্চানন॥

কিছু কিছু পদ লিখি যদি ইহা কেহ দেখি
প্রকাশ করয়ে প্রভুলীলা।
নরহরি পাবে সুখ ঘুচিবে মনের দুখ
গ্রন্থ গানে দরবিবে শিলা॥
৬॥ [৩৩]॥

রাইক বিপত্তি শুনি বিদগধ-শিরোমণি
পুছই গদগদ ভাষা।
নিজ মন্দির ত্যজি চলু নব নাগর
পুনঃ পুনঃ পরশই নাসা॥
বিছুরল চরণ- রণিত মণিমঞ্জীর
বিছুরল মুরলীক রন্ধ্রে।
বিছুরল বেশ বসন ভেল বিগলিত
বিগলিত শিখিপুচ্ছ-চন্দ্রে॥
মলয়জ-পরিমলে দশদিশ আমোদিত
যামিনী বহে অতি পুঞ্জে।
লালস দরশ- পরশে দুহুঁ আকুল
চিরদিনে মিলল কুঞ্জে॥
দুঁহু মুখ হেরই অথির ভেল দুহুঁ তনু
পরশিতে ভুজে ভুজে কাঁপ।
নরহরি-হৃদি-মাঝে অপরূপ জাগল
জলধর বিধুবর কাঁপ॥
৭॥ [৩৪]॥

বাসুদেব-ঘোষ

নিরমল গোরা-তনু কষিল কাঞ্চন জনু
হেরইতে ভৈ গেলুঁ ভোর।
ভাঙ-ভুজযুগে দংশল মনু মন
অন্তর কাঁপই মোর॥
সজনি, কব হাম পেখলুঁ গোরা।
আকুল-দিগ- বিদিগ না পাইয়ে
মদন-হুতাশে মন ভোরা॥
অরুণিত-নয়নে তেরছ-অবলোকনে
বরিখে কুসুমশর সাধে।
জীবইতে জীবনে থেহ নাহি পায়লুঁ
ডুবলুঁ গঙ্গ অগাধে॥
মন্ত্র-মহৌষধি তুহুঁ জানসি যদি
মনু লাগি করবি উপায়।
বাসুদেব-ঘোষ কহে শুন শুন এ সখি
গোরা লাগি প্রাণ মোর যায়॥
৮॥ [৩৬]॥

শচীর আঙ্গিনায় নাচে বিশ্বম্ভর রায়।
হাসি হাসি ফিরি ফিরি মায়েরে লুকায়॥
বয়নে বসন দিয়া বলে লুকাইনু।
শচী বলে বিশ্বম্ভর আমি না দেখিনু॥
মায়ের অঞ্চল ধরি চঞ্চল চরণে।
নাচিয়া নাচিয়া যায় খঞ্জন-গমনে॥
বাসুদেব-ঘোষ কহে অপরূপ শোভা।
শিশু-রূপ দেখি হয় জগমন লোভা॥
৯॥ [৩৬]॥

মাধব-ঘোষ

নিজ নিজ মন্দির যাইতে পুন পুন
দুহুঁ দোহাঁ বদন নেহারি।
অন্তরে উয়ল প্রেম-পয়োনিধি
নয়নে গলয়ে ঘন বারি॥
মাধব, হামারি বিদায় পায় তোয়।
তোহারি প্রেম সঞে পুন চলি আয়ব
অব দরশন নাহি মোয়॥
কাতরনয়নে নেহারিতে দুহুঁ দোহাঁ
উথলল প্রেম-তরঙ্গ।
মুরছল রাই মুরছি পড়ু মাধব
কব হব তাকর সঙ্গ॥

ললিতা সুমুখি সুমুখি করি ফুকরত
রাইক কোরে আগোর।
সহচরী কানু কানু করি ফুকরত
ঢরকত লোচন-লোর॥
কথি গেও অরুণ- কিরণ-ভয় দারুণ
কথি গেও লোকক ভীত।
মাধব-ঘোষ অবহু নাহি সমুঝল
উদভট মুগধ-চরিত॥
১০॥ [৩৭-৩৮]॥

গোবিন্দ-ঘোষ

হেদে রে নদিয়াবাসী কার মুখ চাও।
বাহু পশারিয়া গোরাচাঁদেরে ফিরাও॥
তো সভারে কে আর করিবে নিজ কোরে।
কে যাচিয়া দিবে প্রেম দেখিয়া কাতরে॥
কি শেল হিয়ায় হায় কি শেল হিয়ায়।
পরাণ পুতলী নবদ্বীপ ছাড়ি যায়॥
আর না যাইব মোরা গৌরাঙ্গের পাশ।
আর না করিব মোরা কীর্ত্তন-বিলাস॥
কাঁদয়ে ভকতগণ বুক বিদরিয়া।
পাষাণ গোবিন্দ-ঘোষ না যায় মিলিয়া॥
১১॥ [৩৯]॥

রামানন্দ-বসু

মলয়জ-মিলিত যমুনা-জল-শীতল
বংশীবট নিরমাণ।
নিকটহি নীপ- কদম্ব তরু কুসুমিত
কোকিল ভ্রমর করু গান॥
তার তলে তিরিভঙ্গ তরুণতমাল-তনু
বামে রসবতী রাই।
এক নব জলধর কোরে বিজুরী থির
কাঞ্চন রতন মিশাই॥
দুহুঁ তনু একমন নিবিড় আলিঙ্গন
দুহুঁ জন একই পরাণ।
বসু রামানন্দ ভণে তুলনা না হয় মনে
রূপের নিছনি পাঁচবাণ॥
১২॥ [৪০]

বাসুদেব-দত্ত

অপরূপ গোরা নটরাজ।
প্রকট প্রেম- বিনোদ নবনাগর
বিহরে নবদ্বীপ-মাঝ॥
কুটিল কুন্তল গন্ধ-পরিমল
চন্দন-তিলক ললাট।
হেরি কুলবতী লাজমন্দির-
দুয়ারে দেওই কবাট॥
করিবর-কর-জিনি বাহুর সুবলনি
দোসরি গজমোতি-হারা।
সুমেরু-শিখরে যৈছন ঝাঁপিয়া
বহই সুরধুনী-ধারা॥
রাতুল অতুল চরণ-যুগল
নখমণি বিধু উজোর।
ভকত-ভ্রমরা সৌরভে আকুল
বাসুদেব-দত্ত রহু ভোর॥
১৩॥ [৪৬৫]

বংশীবদন

ধাতু প্রবাল-দল নব গুঞ্জাফল
ব্রজবালক সঙ্গে সাজে।
কুটিল কুন্তল বেড়ি মণিমুকুতা-ঝুরি
কটিতটে ঘুঙুর বাজে॥
নাচত মোহন বাল গোপাল।
বরজবধূ মেলি দেওই করতালি
বোলই ভালি রে ভাল॥

নন্দ সুনন্দ যশোমতী রোহিণী
আনন্দে সুত-মুখ চায়।
অরুণ দৃগঞ্চল কাজরে রঞ্জিত
হাসি হাসি দশন দেখায়॥
বংশী কহই সব ব্রজ-রমণীগণ
আনন্দ-সায়রে ভাস।
হেরইতে পরশিতে লালন করইতে
স্তনখীরে ভীগল বাস॥

১৪॥ [৪৩]॥

আর না হেরিব প্রসর কপালে
অলকাতিলক কাচ।
আর না হেরিব সোনার কমলে
নয়ন-খঞ্জন নাচ॥
আর না নাচিবে শ্রীবাস-মন্দিরে
ভকত-চাতক লৈয়া।
আর কি নাচিবে আপনার ঘরে
আমরা দেখিব চাইয়া॥
আর কি দু-ভাই নিমাই নিতাই
নাচিবেন এক ঠাঞি।
নিমাই করিয়া ফুকরি সদাই
নিমাই কোথাও নাই॥
নিদয় কেশব- ভারতী আসিয়া
মাথায় পাড়িল বাজ।
গৌরাঙ্গ-সুন্দর না দেখি কেমনে
রহিব নদিয়া-মাঝ॥
কেবা হেন জন আনিবে এখন
আমার গৌর-রায়।
শাশুড়ী-বধূর রোদন শুনিয়া
বংশী গড়াগড়ি যায়॥

১৫॥ [৪৪]॥

মধুর মধুর বংশী বাজে বনে।
দরবয়ে কুলশীল বিগলিত তরুকুল
বিকশিত ব্রততীর সনে॥
দিনকর-জালে জাল নাহি হোয়ত
কুল হরিণ অলি আলী।
দৈবত যে বৈঠ (?) নিজ তনু বিস্মৃত
শম্ভু স্বয়ম্ভু মুখ বিস্ময়শালী॥
যমুনা যজ্ঞসুতাদিক ধুলিগণ নিরখ
নিরখি গীত ভেও মুরলী আলাপে।
লাজ মান গৃহ দেহ ভুলায়ল চপল
করায়ল যুবতিকলাপে॥
পরমামৃত-সিঞ্চিত ভেল ত্রিভুবন
গোকুলনাথ-বদন-বেণু-গানে।
বংশীবদন ভণই হরি-বংশী কতই
কলারসকৌতুক জানে॥

১৬॥ [২৭০-২৭১]॥

শিবানন্দ-সেন

দয়াময় গৌরহরি নদীয়া-লীলা সাঙ্গ করি
হায় হায় কি কপাল মন্দ।
গেলা নাথ নীলাচলে এ দাসেরে একা ফেলে
না ঘুচিল মোর ভববন্ধ॥
আদেশ করিলা যাহা নিশ্চয় পালিব তাহা
কিন্তু একা কিরূপে রহিব।
পুত্র-পরিবার যত লাগিবে বিষের মত
তোমা বিনা কিমতে গোঙাব॥
গৌড়ীয়া যাত্রিক সনে বৎসরান্তে দরশনে
কহিল যাইতে নীলাচলে।
কিরূপে সহিয়া রব সংবৎসর কাটাইব
যুগশত জ্ঞান করি তিলে॥

হও প্রভু কৃপাবান্ কর অনুমতি দান
নিতি নিতি হেরি পদদ্বন্দ্ব।
যদি না আদেশ কর ওহে প্রভু বিশ্বম্ভর
আত্মঘাতী হবে শিবানন্দ॥
১৭॥ [৫১]॥

চন্দ্রশেখর-দাস

কপট চাতুরীচিতে জনমন ভুলাইতে
লইয়ে তোমার নামখানি।
দাঁড়াইয়ে সত্যপথে অসত্য যজিব তাথে
পরিণামে কি হবে না জানি॥
ওহে নাথ, মো বড় অধম দুরাচার।
সাধুশাস্ত্র গুরুবাক্য না মানিলুঁ মুঞি ধিক
অতএ সে না দেখি উদ্ধার॥
লোকে করে সত্যবুদ্ধি মোর নাহি নিজ শুদ্ধি
উদার হইয়া লোকে ভাঁড়ি।
প্রেমভাব মোরে করে নিজগুণে তারা তরে
আপনি হইলুঁ ছোঁচ-হাঁড়ী॥
চন্দ্রশেখর-দাস এই মনে অভিলাষ
আর কি এমন দশা হব।
গোরাপরিষদ-সঙ্গে সঙ্কীর্ত্তন রসরঙ্গে
আনন্দে দিবস গোঙাইব॥
১৮॥ [৩৯৬-৯৭]॥

আচার্য্য-চন্দ্র

নিতাই কি সাধনে পাব।
শীতল চরণে ছায়া পাইয়া
কতদিনে জুড়াইব॥
নিতাইচাঁদ মোর প্রেমের ভাণ্ডার
অঞ্জলি করিয়া দিল।
সেই প্রেমধন যে না কুড়াঞা খাইল
তার লাগি নিতাই কাঁদিল॥
মধুর নিত্যানন্দ চরণে মকরন্দ
কাহিনী কহনে না যাএ
ও রস-সায়রে অবহু ডুবি রহু
তা বিনে আন নাহি ভাএ॥
নয়নে নিত্যানন্দ বয়ানে নিত্যানন্দ
হৃদয়ে নিত্যানন্দ পায় রে।
নাচত নিত্যানন্দ গায়ত নিত্যানন্দ
চৌদিকে নিত্যানন্দ রায় রে॥
দিবস রজনী আন নাহি জানি
ভাইয়ার প্রেমে মাতোয়ারা রে।
মত্ত সিংহ জিনি গর্জ্জন পুনি পুনি
সদাই ভাইয়া ভাইয়া বোলেরে॥
জপত নিত্যানন্দ তপত নিত্যানন্দ
নিতাই ভাবভকতি রে।
ও রাঁগাচরণে শরণ মাগই
আচার্য্য-চন্দ্র ভারতী রে॥
১৯॥ [২১১]

পুরুষোত্তম

গোকুল নগরে ভ্রমরে জনু বাউরী
উদসল কুন্তলভার।
কাহাঁ মধু প্রাণ- তনয় ব্রজনন্দন
কহইতে বহে জলধার॥
মাধব, সো জননী নন্দরাণী।
তুয়া বিরহানলে উমতী পাগল জনু
কাহারে কি পুছয়ে বাণী॥
অব কাহে বেণু- শবদ নাহি শুনিয়ে
কোন কানন-মাহা গেল।
বুঝি বলরাম সঙ্গে নাহি গেয়ল
কী পরমাদ আজু ভেল॥

ঐছে বিলাপ শুনই পুরসহচরী
রোই আওত তছু পাশ।
বহু পরবোধ- বচনে গৃহে আনত
কহ পুরুষোত্তম-দাস॥
২০॥[৬০]॥

গোকুল ছাড়ি যবহু তুহুঁ আয়লি
তব বিহি প্রতিকূল ভেল।
বরজবাসী কিয়ে ধাবর জঙ্গম
বিরহদহনে দহি গেল॥
তুয়া প্রিয় যতহুঁ সুরভিকুল আকুল
তৃণকবল করি মুখে।
হেরি মথুরাপুর লোচন ঝরঝর
পাণি না পীবত দুখে॥
কোকিল ভ্রমর সারী শুকবর
রোয়ত তরু পর বৈঠি।
তোহারি ময়ূর- মৃগীকুল লুঠয়ে
শকতি নাহি বনে পৈঠি॥
তরুকুলপল্লব সবহুঁ শুখায়ল
তেজল কুসুমবিকাশে।
এতহুঁ বিপদে তোহে কতয়ে নিবেদব
দুখী পুরুষোত্তম-দাসে॥
২১॥[৬০-৬১]॥

পরমানন্দ

আরতি যুগলকিশোর-কী কীজে।
তনু মন ধনহু নিছাওরি দীজে॥
পহিরণ নীলপীতাম্বর সারি।
কুঞ্জবিহারিণী কুঞ্জবিহারী॥
রবিশশিকোটি বদন অছু শোভা।
যো নিরখতি মন ভেও অতি লোভা॥
রতনে জড়িত মণিমাণিকমোতি।
ডগমগ দুহুঁ-তনু ঝলকত জ্যোতি॥
নন্দনন্দন বৃষভানুকিশোরী।
পরমানন্দ পহু যাওঁ বলিহারি॥
২২॥[৬২]॥

শ্রীশচীনন্দন নদীয়া-অবতারী।
উজ্জ্বলবরণ গৌররূপধারী॥
আগে নাম জগত পরচারি।
সকরুণ ঐছে পতিতজন তারি॥
সঙ্কীর্ত্তনরসনৃত্যবিহারী।
অবিরলপুলক ভকতহিতকারী॥
নাচত গাওত ত্রিভুবন ভরি।
ত্রিজগতজন বোলত বলিহারি॥
বামে গদাধর রাজত রঙ্গী।
চৌদিশে উপনীত শোভিত সঙ্গী॥
অবিরত নয়নে বহত প্রেমধারা।
মোহত ভাগত কলি-আঁধিয়ারা॥
করই আলিঙ্গন নাহি বিচার।
নিরুপম গুণগণ ভাব অপার॥
নীলাচলে বসত শচীনন্দন।
দরশন করু নিতি দেব যদুনন্দন॥
অঙ্গে বিলেপিত সুগন্ধি চন্দন।
রূপক সবহি করত অভিনন্দন॥
করুণাময় প্রভু প্রেমহি যাবত।
পরমানন্দক ভয় দূরহি ভাগত॥
২৩॥[৬২-৬৩]

নয়নানন্দ

ও রূপ সুন্দর গৌরকিশোর।
হেরইতে নয়নে আরতি নাহি ওর॥

কর পদ সুন্দর অধর সুরাগ।
নব-অনুরাগিণী-নব-অনুরাগ॥
লোলবিলোচনলোলিত লোর।
রসবতীহৃদয়ে বাঁধল প্রেমডোর॥
পরতেক প্রেম কিয়ে মনমথরাজ।
কাঞ্চনগিরি কিয়ে কুসুমসমাজ॥
অছু প্রেমলম্পট শ্রীগৌরাঙ্গ রায়।
শিব শুক অনন্ত ধেয়ানে নাহি পায়॥
পুলকপটলবলয়িত সব অঙ্গ।
প্রেমবতী-আলিঙ্গনে লহরীতরঙ্গ॥
তছু পদপঙ্কজ-অলি সহকার।
কহ নয়নানন্দ চীত বিহার॥

২৪॥ [৪৫-৪৬]॥

গোরা মোর গুণের সাগর।
প্রেমের তরঙ্গ তায় উঠে নিরন্তর॥
গোরা মোর অকলঙ্ক শশী।
হরিনামসুধা তাহে ক্ষরে দিবানিশি॥
গোরা মোর হিমাদ্রিশিখর।
তাহা হৈতে প্রেমগঙ্গা বহে নিরন্তর॥
গোরা মোর প্রেমকল্পতরু।
যায় পদছায়ে জীব সুখে বাস করু॥
গোরা মোর নবজলধর।
বরষি শীতল যাহে করে নারীনর॥
গোরা মোর আনন্দের খনি।
নয়নানন্দের প্রাণ যাহার নিছনি॥

২৫॥ [৪৬]

বৃন্দাবন-দাস

কৈছে চরণে কর- পল্লব ঠেললি
মীললি মানভুজঙ্গে।
কবলে কবলে জীউ জরি যব যায়ব
তবহি দেখব ইহ রঙ্গে॥
মাগো, কিয়ে ইহ জিদ অপার।
কো অছু বীর ধীর মহাবল
পাঙরি উতারব পার॥
শ্যামর ঝামর মলিন নলিনমুখ
ঝরঝর নয়নক নীর।
পীতাম্বর গলে পদহি লোটায়ল
হিয়া কৈছে বাঁধলি থীর॥
সাধি সাধি ছরমে ঘরমে মহাবিকল
ঘন ঘন দীঘনিশাস।
মনমথদাহ- দহনে মন ধসি গেও
রোখে চলল নিজ বাস॥
অবিরোধি প্রেম- পন্থ তুহুঁ রোধলি
দোষলেশ নাহি নাহ।
বৃন্দাবন কহ নিষেধ না মানলি
হামারি ওরে নাহি চাহ॥

২৬॥ [৪৭-৪৮]

দেবকীনন্দন

বিপরীতরতি- অবসানে কমলমুখী
ঘামহি ভীগল চীর।
সহচরী দাসী চামর করে বীজই
কোই যোগায়ত নীর॥
বৈঠল রাধা নাগর কান।
দুহুঁ জন চির-অভি- লাষ পরিপূরল
পরিজন মঙ্গল গান॥
কালিন্দীতীর- নিকুঞ্জ মনোহর
বহতহি মলয়সমীর।
কত পরিহাস রভসরসকৌতুক
দুহুঁ পর দুহুঁ জন গীর॥

বৃন্দাদেবী সময় বুঝি কুঞ্জহি
সেবই কত পরকার।
ও রসসায়রে ওর না পাওল
দেবকীনন্দন আর॥
২৭॥ [৪৮-৪৯]

শিবানন্দ-চক্রবর্ত্তী

হোলী খেলত গৌরকিশোর।
রসবতীনারীগদাধরকোর॥
স্বেদবিন্দুমুখ পুলকশরীর।
ভাব ভরে গলতহি লোচননীর॥
ব্রজরস গায়ত নরহরি-সঙ্গে।
মুকুন্দ মুরারি বাসু নাচত রঙ্গে॥
খেনে খেনে মুরুছই পণ্ডিতকোর।
হেরইতে সহচর সুখে ভেল ভোর॥
নিকুঞ্জমন্দির প্রভু কয়ল বিহার।
ভূমে পড়ি কহে কাঁহা মুরলী হামার॥
কাঁহা গোবর্দ্ধন যমুনাকো কূল।
কাঁহা মালতী যূথী চম্পক ফুল॥
শিবানন্দ কহে পহুঁ শুনি রসবাণী।
যাঁহা পহু গদাধর তাঁহা রসখানি॥
২৮॥ [৫০]॥

যদুনন্দন-চক্রবর্ত্তী

গৌর গদাধর দুহুঁ-তনু সুন্দর
অপরূপ প্রেম বিথার।
দুহুঁ দুহুঁ হরষে পরশে যব বিলসয়ে
অমিয়া বরিখে অনিবার॥
দেখ দেখ অপরূপ দুহুঁ জন-নেহ।
কে অছু ভাব প্রেমময় চাতুরী
নিমজিয়া পাওব থেহ॥
করে করে নয়নে নয়নে যোই মাধুরী
সো সব বুঝব কি হাম।
অপরূপ রূপ হেরি তনু চমকিত
অখিল ভুবনে অনুপাম॥
অমিয়াপুতলী কিয়ে রসময়মূরতি
কিয়ে দুহুঁ প্রেম-আকার।
হেরইতে জগজন- তনুমন ভুলয়ে
যদু কিয়ে পাওব পার॥
২৯॥ [৫৩]॥

মাধব-দাস

শারদ শশধর কিয়ে মুখশোভা।
কুঙ্কুমকাঞ্চন- বিজুরীগোরোচন-
চম্পকবরণহরণ মনলোভা॥
দেখ দেখ রাধারূপ অপারা।
মদনমোহন বাহিতে অনুখন
লাবণিপ্রেম-অমিয়ারসধারা॥
শির পর কুসুমখচিত বরবেণী।
লম্বিত হৃদি পর মোতিমাল বর
সুমেরু ভেদিয়া জনু বহত ত্রিবেণী॥
কনককরভকর ভুজবর সাজে।
কেশরিখিনকটি মণিকিঙ্কিণী তটা
গতি গজরাজমনোহর রাজে॥
থলপঙ্কজ পদশোভা।
নখরমুকুরমণি- মঞ্জীররণরণি
মাধবনয়নভ্রমরচিতক্ষোভা॥
৩০॥ [৫৪-৫৫]॥

জয় নাগরবরমানসহংসী।
অখিলরমণীহৃদিমদবিধ্বংসী॥
জয় জয় জয় বৃষভানুকুমারী।
মদনমোহনমনপঞ্জরশারী॥

জয় যুবরাজহৃদয়বনহরিণী।
শ্রীবৃন্দাবনকুঞ্জরকরিণী॥
কুঞ্জভবনসিংহাসনরাণী।
রচয়তি মাধব কাতরবাণী॥

৩১॥ [৫৫]॥

দ্বিজ হরিদাস

দূতীমুখে শুনইতে ঐছন রীত।
সব অঙ্গ পুলকিত চমকিত চীত॥
কহইতে গদগদ কণ্ঠহি বোল।
সখীমুখ নিরখই অন্তর দোল॥
ইঙ্গিত জানি বনায়ল বেশ।
সিন্দুর দেয়ল বাঁধল কেশ॥
সব সখীগণ মেলি করল পয়ান।
নিশবদে চললিহু কোই না জান॥
চলইতে পদ দুই থরথরি কাঁপ।
হেরইতে পন্থ নয়নযুগ ঝাঁপ॥
ঐছনে মীলল নাগর-পাশ।
পহিল মিলন কহে দ্বিজ হরিদাস॥

৩২॥ [৫৬]॥

এ ধনি মানিনি মান নিবারো।
আবীরে অরুণ শ্যাম- অঙ্গমুকুর পর
নিজ প্রতিবিম্ব নেহারো॥
তুহুঁ এক রমণী- শিরোমণি রসবতী
কোউন ঐছে জগ-মাহ।
তোহারি সমুখে শ্যাম সঞে বিলসব
কৈছনে রসনিরবাহ॥
ঐছন সহচরী- বচন শ্রবণে ধরি
সরমে ভরমে মুখ ফেরি।
ঈষত হাসি মনে মান তেয়াগল
উলসিত দোহেঁ দোহাঁ হেরি॥
পুন সবজন মেলি করয়ে বিনোদকেলি
পিচকারি করি নিজ হাতে।
দ্বিজ হরিদাস আবীর বোগায়ত
সকল সখাগণ সাথে॥

৩৩॥ [৫৭]

মাধবী-দাস

রাধা মাধব বিলসই কুঞ্জক মাঝ।
তনুতনুসরস- পরশরস পীবই
কমলিনীমধুকররাজ॥
সচকিতে নাগর কাঁপই থরথর
শিথিল হোয়ল সব অঙ্গ।
গদগদ কহয়ে রাই ভেল অদরশ
কব হোয়ব তছু সঙ্গ॥
সো ধনীচাঁদ- বদন কিয়ে হেরব
শুনব অমিয়াময় বোল।
ইহ মঝু হৃদয়- তাপ কিয়ে মেটব
সোই করব কিয়ে কোল॥
ঐছন কতহুঁ বিলপই মাধব
সহচরী দূরহি হাস।
অপরূপ প্রেমে বিষাদিত-অন্তর
কহতহি মাধবী-দাস॥

৩৪॥ [৫৯]॥

লোচন

গুঞ্জ-অলিপুঞ্জ বহু কুঞ্জে রহু মাতিয়া।
মত্তপিকদত্তরবে ফাটে মঝু ছাতিয়া॥
বল্লীযুতমল্লীফুলগন্ধসহ মারুতা।
কুন্দকলিশৃঙ্গ অলিবৃন্দ কাঁহু নৃত্যতা॥
সখি, মন্দ মঝু ভাগিয়া।
কান্ত বিনা ভ্রান্ত প্রাণ কাহে রহ বাঁচিয়া॥

ভস্মতনু পুষ্পধনু সঙ্গে রস পূরিয়া।
অঙ্গ মঝু ভঙ্গ করু প্রাণ যাকু ফাটিয়া॥
পশু মঝু দুঃখ হেরি রোয়ে পশু পাখী রে॥
বল্লীনবকুঞ্জ ভেল তুঙ্গভয়ভাজী রে।
গচ্ছ সখি পুচ্ছ কিবা আনি দেহ নাহ রে।
স্পর্শসুখ দর্শ লাগি লোচনক আশ রে॥

৩৫ ৬৪-৬৫

নিরমলশারদশশধরবদনী।
বিদলিতকাঞ্চননিন্দিতবরণী॥
পিকরুতগঞ্জিতসুমধুরবচনা।
মোহনকৃত করি শত শত মদনা॥
দেবি, শৃণু বচনং মম সারম্।
কিল গুণধাম মিলিতমনুবারম্॥
চিরদিনবাঞ্ছিত যদিহ মদিষ্টম্।
তব কৃপয়াপি ফলিত মনোঽভীষ্টম্॥
ইদমনু কিং মম যাচিতমস্তি।
নিখিলচরাচরে প্রিয়মপি নাস্তি॥
প্রণয়তু রসিকহৃদয়সুখমমিতম্।
লোচনমোহনমাধবচরিতম্॥

৩৬॥ [৬৫

আর শুন্যাছ আলো সই গোরাভাবের কথা।
কোনের ভিতর কুলবধু কান্দ্যা আকুল তথা॥
হল্‌দি বাঁ- টিতে গৌরী বসিল ব- তনে।
হল্‌দিবরণ গোরাচাঁদ পড়্যা গেল মনে॥
কিসের রাঁধন কিসের বাড়ন কিসের হল্‌দি বাঁটা।
আঁখির জলে বুক ভিজিল ভাস্যা গেল পাটা॥
উঠিল গৌ- রাঙ্গভাব সম্বরিতে নারে।
লোহেতে ভি- জিল বাটন গেল ছারে- খারে॥
লোচন বলে আলো সই কি বলিব আর।
হয় নাই হবার নয় গোরা-অব- তার॥

৩৭॥ [৬৬-৬৭]॥

জ্ঞানদাস

লহুলহু মুচকি হাসি চলি আওলি
পুন পুন হেরসি ফেরি।
জনু রতিপতি সঞে মিলনরঙ্গভূমে
ঐছন কয়ল পুছেরি॥

ধনি হে, বুঝলুঁ এসব বাত।
এতদিন তুহুঁক মনোরথ পূরল
ভেটলি কানুক সাথ॥
যব তোহে সখীগণ নিরজনে পুছল
তব তুহুঁ ছাপলি কায়।
অব বিহি সোসব বেকত কয়ল সখি
কৈছনে গোপবি তায়॥
চোরিক বচন কহত সব গুরুজন
সো সব পায়লুঁ সাখি।
দশদিন দুরজন একদিন সুজনক
আজু দেখলুঁ পরতেখি॥
হাম সব নিজজন কহসি রাতিদিন
সো সব বুঝলুঁ আজ কাজে।
জ্ঞানদাস কহ সখি তুহুঁ বিরমহ
রাই পায়ল বহু লাজে॥

৩৮॥ [৬৮]॥

হেমবরণ বর- সুন্দরবিগ্রহ
সুরতরুবরপরকাশ।
পুলক পত্র নব প্রেম পক্ক ফল
কুসুম মন্দমৃদু হাস॥
নাচত গৌর মনোহর অদভুত
রাজিত সুরধুনীধার।
ত্রিজগতলোক ওক ভরি পাওল
ভকতিরতনমণিহার॥

ভাববিভবময় রসরূপ অনুভব
সুবলিত সুখময় অঙ্গ।
দ্বিরদমত্তগতি অতি সুমনোহর
মুরছিত লাখ অনঙ্গ॥
ধনি খিতিমণ্ডল ধনি নদীয়াপুর
ধনি ধনি ইহ কলিকাল।
ধনি অবতার ধনি রে ধনি কীর্ত্তন
জ্ঞানদাস নহ পার॥

৩৯॥ [৬৯]॥

আলো মুঞি কেন গেলুঁ কালিন্দীর কূলে।
চিত হরি কালিয়া নাগর নিল ছলে॥
রূপের পাথারে আঁখি ডুবি সে রহিল।
যৌবনের বনে মন হারাইয়া গেল॥
ঘরে যাইতে পথ মোর হৈল অফুরাণ।
অন্তরে বিদরে হিয়া ফুকরে পরাণ॥
চন্দনচাঁদের মাঝে মৃগমদ ধাঁধা॥
তার মাঝে হিয়ার পুতলী রৈল বাঁধা॥
কটি পীতবসন রশন তাহে জড়া।
বিধি নিরমিল কুলকলঙ্কের কোঁড়া॥
জাতি কুল শীল সব হেন বুঝি গেল।
ভুবন ভরিয়া মোর কলঙ্ক রহিল॥
কুলবতী সতী হৈয়া দুকুলে দিলুঁ দুখ।
জ্ঞানদাস কহে দঢ় করি বাঁধ বুক॥

৪০॥ [৭০]॥

পহিলহি চাঁদ করে দিল আনি।
ঝাঁপল শৈলশিখরে একপাণি॥
অব বিপরীত ভেল সো সব কাল।
বাসি কুসুমে কিয়ে গাঁথই মাল॥
না বোলহ সজনি না বোলহ আন।
কী ফল আছয়ে ভেটব কান॥

অন্তর বাহির সম নহ রীত।
পানি তৈল নহ গাঢ় পিরীত॥
হিয়া সম কুলিশ বচন মধুধার।
বিষঘট-উপরে দুধ-উপহার॥
চাতুরি বেচহ গাহক-ঠাম।
গোপতপ্রেমসুখ ইহ পরিণাম॥
তুহুঁ কিয়ে শঠি নিকপটে কহ মোয়।
জ্ঞানদাস কহ সমুচিত হোয়॥

৪১॥ [৭১]

রূপ দেখি আঁখি নাহি নেউটই
মন অনুগত নিজ লাভে।
অপরশে দেই পরশরসসম্পদ
শ্যামর সহজ স্বভাবে॥
সখি হে, মুরতি পিরিতিসুখদাতা।
প্রতি অঙ্গ অখিল- অনঙ্গসুখসায়র
নায়র নিরমিল ধাতা॥
লীলা লাবনি অবনী অলঙ্কর
কি মধুর মন্থরগমনে।
লহু-অবলোকনে কত কুলকামিনী
শূতল মনসিজশয়নে॥
অলখিতে হৃদয়ক অন্তর অপহরু
বিছুরণ না হয় স্বপনে।
জ্ঞানদাস কহে তব কৈছন হয়ে
তনু তনু যব হব মিলনে॥

৪২॥ [৭২]

রূপ লাগি আঁখি ঝুরে গুণে মন ভোর।
প্রতি অঙ্গ লাগি কাঁদে প্রতি অঙ্গ মোর॥
হিয়ার পরশ লাগি হিয়া মোর কাঁদে।
পরাণ পিরীতি লাগি থির নাহি বাঁধে॥

সই, কি আর বলিব।
যে পুনি কর্যাছি মনে সেই সে করিব ॥
দেখিতে যে সুখ উঠে কি বলিব তা।
দরশপরশ লাগি আউলাইছে গা ॥
হাসিতে খসিয়া পড়ে কত মধুধার।
লহলহ হাসে পহু পিরীতির সার ॥
গুরুগরবিত-মাঝে রহি সখীরঙ্গে।
পুলকে পূরয়ে তনু শ্যামপরসঙ্গে ॥
পুলক ঢাকিতে করি কত পরকার।
নয়নের ধারা মোর বহে অনিবার ॥
ঘরের যতেক সভে করে কানাকানি।
জ্ঞান কহে লাজঘরে ভেজাইলুঁ আগুনি ॥

৪৩ ॥ [৭২-৭৩] ॥

অনন্ত-দাস

বিকচসরোজ- ভান মুখমণ্ডল
দিঠিভঙ্গিম নটখঞ্জনজোর।
কিয়ে মৃদুমাধুরি- হাস উগারই
পী পী আনন্দে আঁখি পড়লহি ভোর ॥

বরনি না হয় রূপ বরণচিকণিয়া।
কিয়ে ঘনপুঞ্জ কিয়ে কুবলয়দল
কিয়ে কাজর কিয়ে ইন্দ্রনীলমণিয়া ॥

অঙ্গদ বলয় হার মণিকুণ্ডল
চরণে নূপুর কটি কিঙ্কিণীকলনা।
অভরণবরণ- কিরণে অঙ্গ ঢরঢর
যামিনীজলে যৈছে চাঁদ-কি চলনা ॥

কুঞ্চিত কেশ বেশ কুসুমাবলি
শির পর শোভে শিখি চাঁদ-কি ছাঁদে।
অনন্তদাস-পহুঁ অপরূপ লাবণি
সকলযুবতিমন পড়ি গেও ফাঁদে ॥

৪৪ ॥ [৭৪] ॥

বলরাম-দাস (১)

কলিযুগমত্ত- মতঙ্গজমরদনে
কুমতিকরিণী দূর গেল।
পামর দুরগত নামমোতিশত-
দাম কণ্ঠভরি নেল ॥

অপরূপ গৌর বিরাজ।
শ্রীনবদ্বীপ- নগরগিরিকন্দরে
উয়ল কেশরিরাজ ॥

সংকীর্ত্তনরণ- হুঙ্কৃতি শুনইতে
দুরিতদ্বীপিগণ ভাগি।
ভয়ে আকুল অণি- মাদি মৃগীকুল
পুণবত গরব তেয়াগি ॥

ত্যাগযাগযম- তিরিথিবরতশম-
শশজম্বুকী জরি যাতি।
বলরাম-দাস কহ অতযে সে জগ-মহ
হরিধ্বনি শবদ খেয়াতি ॥

৪৫ ॥ [৭৬] ॥

বিরহবেয়াধি- বেয়াকুল সো পহুঁ
বরজল ধৈরজ লাজ।
বাসরযামিনী বিলপি গোঙায়ই
বসি বসি বিপিনক মাঝ ॥

বিধুমুখীবেদন কি কহব আজ।
বিষম বিশিখ শর[১] বরিখণে জরজর
বিকল বরজযুবরাজ ॥

বহু বৈদগধি বিবিধ গুণ চাতুরি
বিছুরল সবহুঁ মুরারি।
বরিখক ঠামে বোল তোহে পাবই
বাউর ভেল বনমালী ॥

[১] 'বিষম কুসুমশর'?

বেশবিলাস- বিশেষহি বিরমল
বিরমল ভোজনপান।
বোলইতে বদনে বচন নাহি নিকসই
বলরাম কি কহব জান॥
৪৬॥ [৭৭]

কিশোরবয়স কত বৈদগধি ঠাম।
মূরতিমরকত অভিনবকাম॥
প্রতি অঙ্গ কোন বিধি নিরমিল কিসে।
দেখিতে দেখিতে কত অমিয়া বরিষে॥
মলুঁ মলুঁ কিবা রূপ দেখিলুঁ স্বপনে।
খাইতে শুইতে মোর লাগিয়াছে মনে॥
অরুণ অধর মৃদু মন্দ মন্দ হাসে।
চঞ্চলনয়নকোণে জাতিকুল নাশে॥
দেখিয়া বিদরে বুক দুটি ভুরুভঙ্গী।
আই আই কোথা ছিল সে নাগর রঙ্গী॥
মন্থরচলনখানি আধ আধ যায়।
পরাণ যেমন করে কি কহিব কায়॥
পাষাণ মিলায়ে যায় গায়ের বাতাসে।
বলরাম-দাসে কয় অবশ পরশে॥
৪৭॥ [৭৮]॥

মধুর সময় রজনিশেষ
শোহই মধুর কাননদেশ
গগনে উয়ল মধুর মধুর
বিধু নিরমলকাঁতিয়া।
মধুর মাধবীকেলিনিকুঞ্জ
ফুটল মধুর কুসুমপুঞ্জ
গাবই মধুর ভ্রমরা ভ্রমরী
মধুর মধুহি মাতিয়া॥
আজু খেলত আনন্দে ভোর
মধুরযুবতি নবকিশোর।
করত মধুর রভসকেলি॥
মধুর পবন বহই মন্দ
কূজয়ে কোকিল মধুরছন্দ
মধুররসহি শবদসুভগ
নদই বিহগপাঁতিয়া।
রবই মধুর শারি কীর
পঢ়ই ঐছন অমিয়া গীর
নটই মধুর মউর মউরী
রটই মধুরভাতিয়া॥
মধুর মিলন খেলন হাস
মধুর মধুর রসবিলাস
মদন হেরই ধরণী লুঠই
বেদন ফুটই ছাতিয়া
মধুরমধুর চরিতরীত
বলরাম-চিতে ফুরউ নীত
দুহুঁক মধুরচরণসেবন-
ভাবনে জনম যাতিয়া॥
৪৮॥ [৭৮-৭৯]।

শ্রীদাম সুদাম দাম শুন ওরে বলরাম
মিনতি করিয়ে তো সভারে।
বন কত অতিদূর নবতৃণকুশাঙ্কুর
গোপাল লৈয়া না যাইহ দূরে॥
সখাগণ আগে পাছে গোপাল করিয়া মাঝে
ধীরে ধীরে করিহ গমন।
নবতৃণাঙ্কুর আগে রাঙ্গা পায়ে জানি লাগে
প্রবোধ না মানে মোর মন॥
নিকটে গোধন রাখ্য মা বল্যা শিঙ্গায় ডাক্য
ঘরে থাকি শুনি যেন রব।
বিহি কৈলে গোপজাতি গোধন পালন বৃত্তি
তেঞি বনে পাঠাই যাদব॥

বলরাম-দাসের বাণী শুন ওগো নন্দরাণী
মনে কিছু না ভাবিহ ভয়।
চরণের বাধা লইয়া দিব মোরা যোগাইয়া
তোমার আগে কহিল নিশ্চয়॥
৪৯ [৮০]॥

জগন্নাথ-দাস

ফাল্গুনপূর্ণিমা তিথি সুভগ সকলি।
জনম লভিবে গোরা পড়ে হুলাহুলি॥
অমরে অমর সভে ভেল উনমুখ।
লভিবে জনম গোরা যাবে সব দুখ॥
শঙ্খ দুন্দুভি বাজে পরম হরিষে।
জয়ধ্বনি সুরকুল কুসুম বরিষে॥
জগ ভরি হরিধ্বনি উঠে ঘনঘন।
আবালবনিতা আদি নরনারীগণ॥
শুভক্ষণ জানি গোরা জনম লভিল।
পূর্ণিমার চন্দ্র যেন উদয় করিল॥
সেই কালে চন্দ্রে রাহু করিল গ্রহণ।
হরিহরিধ্বনি উঠে ভরিয়া ভুবন॥
দীনহীন উদ্ধার হইবে ভেল আশ।
দেখিয়া আনন্দে ভাসে জগন্নাথ-দাস॥
৫০ [৮১-৮২]॥

গৌরকিশোর পুরবরসে গরগর
মনে ভেল গোঠবিহার।
দাম শ্রীদাম সুবল বলি ডাকই
নয়নে গলয়ে জলধার॥
বেত্র বিষাণ বেণু লেই সাজহ
যায়ব ভাণ্ডী-সমীপ।
গৌরীদাস সাজ করি তৈখনে
গৌর নিকটে উপনীত॥

ভাইয়া অভিরাম বদন ঘন বাজই
নূপুর চরণহি দেল।
নিত্যানন্দ- চন্দ্র পহু আগুসরি
ধবলী ধবলী ধ্বনি কেল॥
নদিয়ানগর- লোক সব ধাবত
হেরইতে গৌরক রঙ্গ।
দাস জগন্নাথ ছান্দ দোহনি লেই
যায়ব সব-অনুষঙ্গ॥
৫১ [৮২]॥

যমুনাক তীরে ধীরে চলু মাধব
মন্দমধুর বেণু বাজই রে।
ইন্দীবরনয়নী বরজবধূ কামিনী
সদন তেজিয়া বনে ধাবই রে॥
অসিত-অম্বুধর-অসিতসরসিরুহ-
অতসীকুসুম-অহিমকরসুতানীর-
ইন্দ্রনীলমণি-উদারমরকত-
শ্রীনিন্দিত বপু-আভা রে।
শিরে শিখণ্ডদল নবগুঞ্জাফল
নিরমলমুকুতালম্বি নাসাতল
নবকিশলয়-অবতংস গোরোচন-
অলকতিলক মুখশোভা রে॥
শ্রোণিপীতাম্বর বেত্রবামকর
কম্বুকণ্ঠে বনমালা মনোহর
ধাতুরাগবৈচিত্র্যকলেবর
চরণে চরণ পরি শোভা রে।
গোধূলিধূসরবিশালবক্ষথল
রঙ্গভূমি জিনি বিলাসনটবর
গোছাঁদনরজ্জুবিনিহিতকন্ধর
রূপে ভুবনমন লোভা রে॥

ব্রহ্ম পুরন্দর দিনমণি শঙ্কর
যো চরণাম্বুজ সেবে নিরন্তর
সো হরি কৌতুক ব্রজবালক-সাথে
গোপনাগরী-অভিলাষা রে।

সো পহুঁ-পদতলপরাগধূসর
মানস মম করু আশ নিরন্তর
অভিনবসৎকবি দাস-জগন্নাথ-
জননীজঠরভয়নাশা রে॥

৫২॥ [৮৩-৮৪]।

কানুরাম-দাস

নদীয়ানগরে গেলা নিত্যানন্দ রায়।
দণ্ডবৎ হৈয়া পড়ে শচীমাতার পায়॥
তারে কোলে করি শচী কাঁদয়ে করুণে।
নয়নের জলে ভিজে অরুণ বসনে॥
ফুকরি ফুকরি কাঁদে কাতর হিয়ায়।
গৌরাঙ্গের কথা কহি প্রবোধয়ে তায়॥
নিত্যানন্দ বলে মাতা থির কর মন।
কুশলে আছয়ে সুখে তোমার নন্দন॥
তোমারে দেখিতে মোরে পাঠাইয়া দিল।
তোর পদযুগে কত প্রণতি করিল॥
কানুদাস কহে মাতা কহি তোমার ঠাঞি।
তোমার প্রেমে বন্দী আছে গৌরাঙ্গ
গোসাঞি॥

৫৩॥ [৮৫]॥

বিদ্যানগরাধীপ অশেষসম্পদশালী
রাম-রায় পুরুষপ্রধান।
গৃহে পাইয়া শ্রীগৌরাঙ্গ আপনার মনোভৃঙ্গ
তার পদে করিলেক দান॥

ধন্য ধন্য রায় রামানন্দ।
যাহার পাইয়া সঙ্গ প্রভু মোর শ্রীগৌরাঙ্গ
ভুঞ্জিলেক অসীম আনন্দ॥

দোঁহে প্রশ্নোত্তরছলে স্বাধ্যায় নির্ণয় কৈলে
জানে জীব সাধনসন্ধান।
যাহার রসের পদ যেন ফুল্ল কোকনদ
রসিকজনের সে পরাণ॥

রামানন্দপদরজ শিরে ধরি সদা ভজ
ভজনের সারাৎসার ধন।
কানুদাস মতিহীন মধুররসেতে দীন
রামরায় দেহ শ্রীচরণ॥

৫৪ [৮৬]॥

মন্দির তেজি কানন-মাহা পৈঠলুঁ
কানুমিলন-পতিআশে।
আভরণ বসন অঙ্গে সব সাজল
তাম্বুল কর্পূরবাসে॥

সজনি, সো মুঝে বিপরীত ভেল।
কানু রহল দূরে মনমথ আসি ফুরে
সো নাহি দরশন দেল॥

ফুলশরে জরজর সকল কলেবর
কাতরে মহি গড়ি যাই।
কোকিলবোলে ডোলে ঘন জীবন
উঠি বসি রজনী গোঙাই॥

শীতল ভবন গরল সমান ভেল
হিমাচলবায়ু হুতাশ।
লোচননীর থির নাহি বাঁধয়ে
কাঁদয়ে কানুরাম-দাস॥

৫৫॥ [৮৭]॥

উদ্ধব-দাস (১)

চারি যোজন বৃন্দাবনের মণ্ডলী ॥
তার মধ্যে নামচিন্তামণি রম্যস্থলী ॥
মধ্য যোগপীঠ পর নাগরাময়ন (?)।
প্রধানপ্রকৃতি সঙ্গে রমণীরতন ॥
সমুখে ললিতা সখী অতিরূপরাশি।
ধার্ম্ম উরে (?) স্থানা সখী মন্দমৃদু হাসি ॥
রসের কলিকা সখী সেই সে উত্তরে।
অগ্নিকোণে হরিপ্রিয়া ফুলধনুশরে ॥
পূর্ব্বভাগে বিশাখা সঙ্কেত সুজ্ঞান।
ঐশানে বস্তা সখী শ্যামের পরাণ ॥
কনকগৌর পদ্ম [১] সেই সে নইরিতে।
অষ্টসখী মেলি সেবা করে এই রীতে ॥
দিগবিদিগ চন্দ্রাবলী আদি করি।
কুঞ্জে কুঞ্জে বিহরই পরমসুন্দরী॥
কিশোরবয়স বেশ সমান রমণী।
গোকুলে গোলোক শুক (?) উদ্ধব বরণি
৫৬ ॥ [৮৮]

মধু-ঋতু বিহরই গৌরকিশোর।
গদাধরমুখ হেরি আনন্দে নরহরি
পুরুবপ্রেমে ভেল ভোর ॥
নবীনলতা নব- পল্লব তরুকুল
নওল নবদ্বীপধাম।
ফুল্লকুসুমচয় ঝঙ্কৃতমধুকর
সুখদ এ ঋতুপতিনাম ॥
মুকুলিতচূত- গহনে অতি সুললিত
কোকিলকাকলিরাব।
সুরধুনীতীর সমীরসুগন্ধিত
ঘরে ঘরে মঙ্গল গাব ॥

মনমথরাজ সাজ লেই ফীরয়ে
বনফুলফল অতি শোভা।
সময় বসন্ত নদীয়াপুর সুন্দর
উদ্ধবদাস-মন লোভা ॥
৫৭ ॥ [৮৯] ॥

চৈতন্য-দাস

এ ধনি এ ধনি বচন শুন।
মাধব মিলয়ে বহুত পুণ ॥
এত পরিহার করয়ে যে।
তাঁহারে সুন্দরি বঞ্চয়ে কে ॥
দোষ নাহি কছু নয়নে চাহ।
আপন সরসপরশ দেহ ॥
হাসিয়া সুন্দরী চাহল ফিরি।
ও করকমল ধরল হরি ॥
দুহুঁক পূরল মনের আশ।
বীজন বীজই চৈতন্য-দাস ॥
৫৮ ॥ [৯০] ॥

পরমেশ্বর-দাস

আর কি শ্যামের বাঁশী কুলের ধরম থোবে।
নাম ধরি ডাকে বাঁশী বেকত হবে কবে ॥
নিষেধ না মানে বাঁশী সদা করে ধ্বনি।
বাহিরদুয়ারে কান পাতে ননদিনী ॥
ননদী জঞ্জাল বড় অন্তর বিষা[ই]ল।
আসিঞা ঘরের মাঝে পাতিবে জঞ্জাল ॥
যে দেশের বাঁশিয়া বটে সে দেশে মানুষ নাই।
রাধারে বধিতে বাঁশী এনেছে কানাই ॥
শ্রীপরমেশ্বর-দাস কহে শুন রসবতি।
বাঁশীর কোন দোষ নাই কালিয়ার যুগতি ॥
৫৯ ॥ [৯১] ॥

[১] 'কনকগৌরী পদ্মা' ?

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লক্ষ্মীকান্ত-দাস

কি খেনে দেখিলুঁ গোরা নবীনকামের কোঁড়া
সেই হৈতে রৈতে নারি ঘরে।
কত না করিব ছল কত না ভরিব জল
কত যাব সুরধুনীতীরে॥
বিধি, তো বিনু বলিতে কেহ নাই।
যত গুরুগরবিত- বচনরচনশত
ফুকরি কাঁদিতে নাহি ঠাঁই॥
অরুণনয়ানের কোণে চাঞাছিল আমা-পানে
পরাণে বঁড়শী দিয়া টানে।
কুলের ধরম মোর রাখিতে নারিলুঁ গো
কি জানি কি হবে পরিণামে॥
আপনা আপনি খাইলুঁ ঘরের বাহির হৈলুঁ
শুনি খোলকরতালের নাদ।
লক্ষ্মীকান্ত-দাস কয় মরমে যার লাগয়
কি করিবে কুলপরিবাদ॥
৬০ ॥ [৩৯৯-৪০০] ॥

গুপ্তদাস

ঠাকুর শ্রীঅভিরাম কেবল প্রেমের ধাম
অবনি বিহরে নিজানন্দে।
গৌরাঙ্গচাঁদের রঙ্গী নিতাইচাঁদের সঙ্গী
অখিলজীবের মন বান্ধে॥
শ্রীরাধিকার অগ্রজ শ্রীকৃষ্ণের সখাবর্য্য
পুরবে শ্রীদাম যার নাম।
এবে সেই ভাবে মত্ত নাহি জানে দিবা রাত্র
তেঞি নাম ঠাকুর অভিরাম॥
গৌরাঙ্গের প্রেমরসে সদা প্রেমানন্দে ভাসে
দিবা নিশি কিছুই না জানে।
সকলভকত-সঙ্গে বিহরে পরমরঙ্গে
গান নৃত্য করে হর্ষমনে॥
দীন হীন অকিঞ্চনে তারে কৈল প্রেমদানে
পূরাইল মন-অভিলাষ।
পতিতের অবশেষে রহি গেল অভিদাসে
কেনে প্রভু না কৈল তলাস॥
৬১ ॥ [৪০২] ॥

গোপীকান্ত-বসু

বিহানে যশোদারাণী কোলে লৈয়া নীলমণি
আঙ্গিনাতে বসিল কৌতুকে।
গোপালের মুখ অঙ্গ কর পদতল রঙ্গ
নিরীক্ষণ করে অনিমিখে॥
ধ্বজ বজ্রাঙ্কুশ যব মৃগাঙ্কুশ কুশ লব
শঙ্খ চক্র শুদ্ধ সকল।
ত্রিকোণ গোষ্পদ জনু ঊর্দ্ধরেখা শঙ্খ জনু
মৎস্য জনু [জনু] জম্বুফল॥
এ সব দেখিয়া রাণী অদভুত মনে গণি
বিশ্বরূপ করয়ে ভাবন।
শুনেছি পুরাণবেদে এই চিহ্ন যার পদে
তিঁহ হয়েন ব্রহ্ম সনাতন॥
বিধি ভব যোগী যার চরণ করিয়া সার
ভাবন করয়ে চিরকাল।
একমুখে শুণ সব তথাচ না পায় তত্ত্ব
তিঁহ কেনে আমার ছাওয়াল॥
হেন কালে বিশ্বমায়া- আজ্ঞায় নন্দের জায়া
মোহিত হইয়া বলে শিশু।
তুলিয়া আপন বুকে চুম্বন করয়ে মুখে
নিবেদয়ে গোপীকান্ত-বসু॥
৬২ ॥ [৪০১] ॥

অনন্ত বসু, চণ্ডীদাস

কে না বাঁশী বাএ বড়ায়ি কালিনী নই কূলে।
কে না বাঁশী বাএ বড়ায়ি এ গোঠ গোকুলে॥

আকুল শরীর মোর বেয়াকুল মন।
বাঁশীর শবদে মো আউলাইলোঁ রান্ধ
কে না বাঁশী বাএ বড়ায়ি সে না কোন জনা।
দাসী হঞা তার পাএ নিশিবোঁ আপনা॥
কে না বাঁশী বাএ বড়ায়ি চিত্তের হরিষে।
তার পাএ বড়ায়ি মোঁ কৈলোঁ কোন দোষে॥
আঝর ঝরএ মোর নয়নের পাণি।
বাঁশীর শবদে বড়ায়ি হারায়িলোঁ পরাণী॥
আকুল করিতেঁ কিবা আহ্মার মন।
বাজাএ সুসর বাঁশী নান্দের নন্দন॥
পাখি নহোঁ তার ঠাই উড়ী পড়ি জাওঁ।
মেদনী বিদার দেউ পসিঞা লুকাওঁ॥
বন পোড়ে আগ বড়ায়ি জগজনে জাণী।
মোর মন পোড়ে যেহ্ন কুম্ভারের পণী॥
আন্তর সুখাএ মোর কাহ্ন-আভিলাসে।
বাসলী শিরে বন্দী গাইল চণ্ডীদাসে॥

৬৩॥ [৩৯৩]॥

মদনবঁদ ও না চূড়ায় টাঙ্গনি গো
উহা না শিখিয়া আইল কোথা।
এ বুক ভরিয়া মুঞি উহা না দেখিলুঁ গো
এ বড়ি মরমে মোর বেথা॥

নাসিকার আগে দোলে এ গজমুকুতা গো
সোনায় মড়িত তার পাশে।
বিজুরীজড়িত যেন চাঁদের কণিকা গো
মেঘের আড়ালে থাকি হাসে॥

করভের কর জিনি বাহুর বলনি গো
হিঙ্গুল মড়িত তার আগে।
যৌবনবনের পাখী পিয়াসে মরয়ে গো
উহারি পরশরস মাগে।

নাটুয়াঠমকে যায় রহিয়া রহিয়া চায়
চলে যেন গজরাজ মাতা।
শ্রীনিবাস-দাস কয় লখিলে লখিল নয়
রূপসিন্ধু গঢ়ল বিধাতা॥

৬৪॥ [৯৪-৯৫]॥

শ্রীনিবাস-আচার্য্য

বদনচাঁদ কোন কুঁদারে কুঁদিল গো
কে না কুঁদিলে দুই আঁখি।
দেখিতে দেখিতে মোর পরাণ যেমন করে
সেই সে পরাণ তার সাখী॥

রতন কাড়িয়া অতি- যতন করিয়া গো
কে না গড়িয়া দিল কানে।
মনের সহিতে মোর এ পাঁচ পরাণি গো
যোগী হবে উহারি ধেয়ানে॥

অমিয়াবমুর বোল সুধা খানিখানি গো
হাতের উপরে নাহি পাওঁ।
এমতি করিয়া বদি বিধাতা গঢ়িত গো
ভাঙ্গিয়া ভাঙ্গিয়া উহা খাওঁ॥

নরোত্তম-দাস

গৌরাঙ্গ বলিতে হবে পুলকশরীর।
হরি হরি বলিতে নয়নে বহে নীর॥
আর কবে নিতাইচাঁদ করুণা করিবে।
সংসারবাসনা মোর কবে তুচ্ছ হবে॥
বিষয় ছাড়িয়া কবে শুদ্ধ হবে মন।
কবে হাম হেরব শ্রীবৃন্দাবন॥
রূপ রঘুনাথ বলি হইবে আকুতি।
কবে হাম বুঝব সে যুগলপিরীতি॥
রূপরঘুনাথপদে রহ মোর আশ।
প্রার্থনা করয়ে সদা নরোত্তম-দাস॥

৬৫॥ [৯৭]॥

হে গোবিন্দ গোপীনাথ, কৃপা করি রাখ
নিজ সাথে।
কাম ক্রোধ ছয়জনে লৈয়া ফিরে নানাস্থানে
বিষয় ভুঞ্জায় নানামতে॥
হইয়া মায়ার দাস করি নানা অভিলাষ
তোমার স্মরণ গেল দূরে।
অর্থলাভ এই আশে কপটবৈষ্ণববেশে
ভ্রমিয়া বুলিয়ে ঘরে ঘরে॥
অনেক দুঃখের পরে লৈয়াছিলা ব্রজপুরে
কৃপাডোর গলায় বাঁধিয়া।
দৈবমায়া বলাৎকারে খসাইয়া সেই ডোরে
ভবকূপে দিলেক ডারিয়া॥
পুন যদি কৃপা করি এ জনার কেশে ধরি
টানিয়া তোলহ ব্রজভূমে।
তবে সে দেখিয়ে ভাল নহে বোল ফুরাইল
কহে দীন দাস নরোত্তমে॥
৬৬॥ [৯৮]॥

নাথ হে
কৌপীন খুলিয়া লেহ কপালে সিন্দুর দেহ
পরিবার দেহ নীলসাড়ী।
কঙ্কণ কেয়ূর দিয়া নিজদাসী বানাইয়া
হাঁতে দেহ সুবর্ণের চুড়ী॥
হস্তেতে চন্দন লৈয়া তব অঙ্গে ছিটাইয়া
ফুলমালা দিব তব গলে।
তোমার নিকটে রৈয়া তাম্বুল বদনে দিয়া
তোমারে ধরিব নিজকোলে॥
দাস নাম ঘুচাইয়া দাসী নাম ধরাইয়া
রাখহ আমায় নিজপাশে।
কহিয়া রসের কথা ঘুচাহ মনের বেথা
মাথে দেহ সুচাঁচর কেশে॥
দাসী করি রাখ বামে শুনাহ বাঁশীর গানে
পূরাহ আমার মন-আশ।
দূর করি কুটিনাটি মাথে দেহ সীঁথিপাটী
ধন্য কর নরোত্তম-দাস॥
৬৭॥ [৯৯]॥

দুঁহু দোহাঁ দরশনে পুলকিত-অঙ্গ।
দূরে গেও রজনীক বিরহতরঙ্গ॥
যৈছে বিরহজ্বরে লুঠল রাই।
তৈছন অমিয়াসাগরে অবগাই॥
দুহুঁ মুখ চুম্বই দুহুঁ মুখ হেরি।
আনন্দে দুহুঁ জন করু নানা কেলি॥
সুখময় যামিনী চাঁদ উজোর।
কুহরত কোকিল আনন্দবিভোর॥
বিকশিত সুকুসুম মলয়সমীর।
ঝলমল ঝলমল কুঞ্জকুটীর॥
বিহরয়ে রাধা মাধব রঙ্গে।
নরোত্তম-দাস হেরি পুলকিত-অঙ্গে॥
৬৮॥ [১০০]॥

রাই হেরল যব সো মুখ-ইন্দু।
উছলল মন-মাহা আনন্দসিন্ধু॥
ভাঙ্গল মান রোদনহি ভোর।
কানু কমলকরে মোছই লোর॥
মানজনিত দুখ সব দূরে গেল।
দুহুঁ মুখ দরশনে আনন্দ ভেল॥
ললিতা বিশাখা আদি যত সখীগণ।
আনন্দে মগন ভেল দেখি দুইজন॥
নিকুঞ্জের মাঝে দুহুঁ কেলিবিলাস।
দূরহি দূরে রহু নরোত্তম-দাস॥
৬৯॥ [১০০]

'কৃষ্ণদাস'

সোঙরো নব গৌরচন্দ্র
নাগর বনওারি।
নবদ্বীপ-ইন্দু করুণাসিন্ধু
ভকতবৎসলকারী॥

বদন চন্দ অধর রঙ্গ
নয়নে গলত প্রেমতরঙ্গ
চন্দ্রকোটিভানুকোটি-
শোভা নিছওারি।

কুসুমশোভিত চাঁচরচিকুর
ললাটে তিলক নাসিকা উজোর
দশন মোতিম অমিয়া হাস
দামিনী ঘনওারি॥

মকরকুণ্ডল ঝলকে গণ্ড
মণিকৌস্তুভদীপ্ত কণ্ঠ
অরুণ বসন করুণ বচন
শোভা অতি ভারী।

মলয়চন্দনচর্চ্চিত অঙ্গ
লাজে লজ্জিত কোটি অনঙ্গ
অঙ্গদবলয়ারতননূপুর-
যজ্ঞসূত্রধারী॥

ছত্র ধরত ধরণীধরেন্দ্র
গাওত যশ ভকতবৃন্দ
কমলাসেবিতপাদদ্বন্দ্ব,
বলিয়ে বলিহারি।

কহত দীন কৃষ্ণদাস
গৌরচরণে করত আশ
পতিতপাবন নিতাইচান্দ
প্রেমদানকারী॥

৭০ ॥ [১০১-১০২] ॥

জয় রাধে শ্রী- রাধে কৃষ্ণ
শ্রীরাধে জয় রাধে।
নন্দনন্দন বৃষভানুদুলারী
সকলগুণ-অগাধে॥

নবঘনসুন্দর নওলকিশোরী
নিজগুণ হীতম সাধে।
চাঁচর কেশে মউরশিখণ্ডক
কুঞ্চিতকেশিনী জাদে॥

পীতাম্বরধর ওঢ়ে নীলশাড়ী
ঘনসৌদামিনী রাজে।
কানুগলে বন- মালা বিরাজিত
রাইগলে মোতি সাজে॥

অরুণিতচরণে মঞ্জীররঞ্জিত
খঞ্জনগঞ্জন লাজে।
কৃষ্ণদাস ভণে শ্রীবৃন্দাবনে
যুগলকিশোর বিরাজে॥

৭১ ॥ [১০৩] ॥

গোবিন্দদাস কবিরাজ

হেমহিমগিরি দুইতনুছিরি
আধনর আধনারী।
আধ-উজর আধকাজর
তিনই-লোচনধারী॥

দেখ দেখ, দুহুঁ মিলিত একগাত।
ভকত [-পূজিত] ভুবনবন্দিত
ভুবন মারতি তাত (?)॥

আধ ফণিময় আধ মণিময়
হৃদয়ে উজোর হার।
আধ বাঘাম্বর আধ পট্টাম্বর
পিন্ধন দুহুঁ উজিয়ার॥

না দেখ কামিনী [না] দেখ কামুক
কেবল প্রেমপ্রকাশ।
গৌরীশঙ্কর- চরণকিঙ্কর
কহই গোবিন্দদাস॥
৭২॥ [৩১৯]॥

অরুণিতচরণে রণিত মণিমঞ্জীর
আধ-আধ পদচলনি রসাল।
কাঞ্চনবঞ্চন বসন মনোরম
অলিকুলবিলিত ললিতবনমাল॥
ভালে বনি আওত মদনমোহনিয়া।
অঙ্গহি অঙ্গ অনঙ্গ তরঙ্গিম
রঙ্গিমভঙ্গিম নয়ননাচনিয়া॥
মাঝহি খীণ পীন-উর অম্বর
প্রাতর-অরুণকিরণমণি রাজ।
কুঞ্জরকরভ- করহি করবন্ধন
মলয়জকঙ্কণবলয় বিরাজ॥
অধরসুধাঝর মুরলীতরঙ্গিণী
বিগলিতরঙ্গিণী হৃদয়ত্বকূল।
মাতলনয়ন ভ্রমর জনু ভ্রমি ভ্রমি
উড়ি পড়ত শ্রুতি-উতপলফুল॥
রোচন তিলক চূড়ে বনি চন্দ্রক
বেঢ়ল রমণীমনমধুকরমাল।
গোবিন্দদাস-চিত্তে নিতিনিতি বিহরই
ইহ নাগরবর তরুণতমাল॥
৭৩॥ [১০৯-১১০]॥

নন্দনমন্দন- চন্দ চন্দন-
গন্ধনিন্দিত-অঙ্গ।
কম্বুকন্ধর
জিনি সিন্ধুর ভঙ্গ॥
প্রেম-আকুল- গোপ গোকুল-
কুলজকামিনীকান্ত।
কুসুমরঞ্জন- মধুমঞ্জুল-
কুঞ্জমন্দির সন্ত॥
গণ্ডমণ্ডল- বলিতকুণ্ডল
উঁড়ে চূড়ে শিখণ্ড।
কেলিতাণ্ডব- তালপণ্ডিত
বাহুদণ্ডিতদণ্ড॥
কঞ্জলোচন- কলুষমোচন
শ্রবণরোচনভাষ।
অমলকমল- চরণকিশলয়-
নিলয় গোবিন্দদাস॥
৭৪॥ [১১০-১১১]

শরদসুধাকর- মণ্ডলমণ্ডন-
খণ্ডন মদনবিকাশ।
অধরে মিলায়ত শ্যামমনোহর-
চীতচোরায়নি হাস॥
আজু নব শ্যামবিনোদিনী রাই।
তনুতনু অতনু- বুধশতসেবিত-
লাখণি বরণি না যাই॥
কবরীবকুলফুলে আকুল-অলিকুল
মধু পিবি পিবি উতরোল।
সকল-অলঙ্কৃতি- কঙ্কণঝঙ্কৃতি
কিঙ্কিণী রণরণি বোল॥
পদপঙ্কজ পর মণিময় নূপুর
রণঝণ খঞ্জনভাষ।
মদনমুকুর জনু নখমণিদরপণ
নীছনি গোবিন্দদাস॥
৭৬॥ [১১১]

লোচনে শ্যামর বচনহি শ্যামর
শ্যামর চারুনিচোল।
শ্যামর হার হৃদয়ে মণি শ্যামর
শ্যামরসখী করু কোর॥
মাধব, ইথে যদি বোলবি আন।
অচপলকুলবতী- ৭ মতি উমতায়লি
কিয়ে তুহুঁ মোহিনী জান॥
মরমহি শ্যামর পরিজন পামর
ঝামর মুখ-অরবিন্দ।
ঝরঝর লোরহি লোলিত কাজর
বিগলিত লোচননিন্দ॥
মনমথ সাগর রজনি উজাগর
নাগর তুহুঁ কিয়ে ভোর।
গোবিন্দদাস কতহুঁ আশোয়াসব
মিলবহু নন্দকিশোর॥
৭৬॥ [১১২]॥

ঢলঢল সজল- জলদতনু শোহন
মোহন-অভরণসাজ।
অরুণনয়নগতি বিজুরিচমক জিতি
দগধল কুলবতীলাজ॥
সজনি, যাইতে পেখলুঁ কান।
তব ধরি জগ ভরি ভরল কুসুমশর
নয়নে না হেরিয়ে আন॥
মঝু মুখ দরশি বিহসি তনু মোড়ই
বিগলিত মোহনবংশ।
না জানিয়ে কোন মনোরথে আকুল
কিশলয়দলে করু দংশ॥
অতয়ে সে মঝু মন জলতহি অনুখন
দোলত চপলপরাণ।
গোবিন্দদাস মিছই আশোআসল
অবহুঁ না মীলল কান॥
৭৭॥ [১১৩]॥

মঞ্জুলবঞ্জুল নিকুঞ্জমন্দিরে
সোঙরি সো গুণগাম।
মরম-অন্তরে জপয়ে মন্তরে
একলি তোহারি নাম॥
রামা হে, তেজহ কপটছন্দ।
মদনহিলোলে তো বিনু দোলত
নন্দনন্দনচন্দ॥
হিমহিমকর সলিলশীকর
নিন্দই কালিন্দীতীর।
সরসচন্দন- পরশে মূর্চ্ছই
সজল জ্বলত চীর॥
কবহুঁ উঠত কবহুঁ বৈঠত
পন্থ হেরত তোর।
অমলকমল- নয়নযুগল
সঘনে গলয়ে লোর॥
এতহুঁ যতনে পুরুষরতনে
চিতে নাহি বিশোআস।
গহনবিরহ- দহনে দহই
কহই গোবিন্দদাস॥
৭৮॥ [১১৪]

চৌদিকে চকিত- নয়নে ঘন হেরসি
ঝাঁপসি ঝাঁপল-অঙ্গ।
বচনক ভাঁতি বুঝই নাহি পারিয়ে
কাঁহা শিখলি ইহ রঙ্গ॥
সুন্দরি, কী ফল পরিজন বাঁচি।
শ্যামসুনাগর- গুপতপ্রেমধন
জানলুঁ হিয়-মাহা সাঁচি॥
এ তুআ হাস মরম প্রকাশই
প্রতি অঙ্গভঙ্গিম সাখী।
গাঠিক হেম বদন-মাহা ঝলকই
এতদিনে পেখলুঁ আঁখি॥

গহনমনোরথে পন্থ না হেরসি
জীতলি মনমথরাজ।
গোবিন্দদাস কহই ধনি বিরমহ
মৌনহি সমুঝল কাজ॥
৭৯॥ [১১৫]॥

ধরি সখী-আঁচরে ভই উপচঙ্ক।
বইঠে না বইঠয়ে হরিপরিযঙ্ক॥
চলইতে আলি,চলই পুন চাহ।
রস-অভিলাষে আঘোরল নাহ॥
লুবুধল মাধব মুগধিনী নারী।
ও অতি বিদগধ এ অতি গোঙারী॥
পরশিতে তরসি করহি কর ঠেলই।
হেরইতে বয়ন নয়নজল খলই॥
হঠপরিরম্ভণে থরথরি কাঁপ।
চুম্বনে বদন পটাঞ্চলে ঝাঁপ॥
শুতলী ভীতপুতলী সম গোরী।
চীতনলিনী অলি রহই আগোরি॥
গোবিন্দদাস কহই পরিণাম।
রূপ-কে কূপে মগন ভেল কাম॥
৮০॥ [১১৫-১১৬]

মাধব, মনমথ ফিরত অহেরা।
একলী নিকুঞ্জে ধনী ফুলশরে জরজর
পন্থ নেহারত তেরা॥
উজর শশধর দীপ পজারল
অলিকুল ঘাঘর রোল।
হনইতে হরিণী- নয়নী দরশায়ই
ওহি ওহি পিকু বোল॥
তুহুঁ অতি-মন্থর গমন দুরন্তর
মধুযামিনী অতি ছোটী।
সো ঘরবাহির করত নিরন্তর
নিমিখ মানয়ে যুগকোটি॥

আশাপাশ লেই গলে বইঠলি
প্রেমকলপতরুমূল।
কীয়ে অমিয়া কিয়ে ধরব গরলফল
গোবিন্দদাস কহ ফুর॥
৮১॥ [১১৬]॥

পৌখলী রজনী পবন বহে মন্দ।
চৌদিশে হিম হিমকর করু বন্ধ॥
মন্দিরে রহত সবহুঁ তনু কাঁপ।
জগজন শয়নে নয়ন রহু ঝাঁপ॥
এ সখি হেরি চমক মোহে লাই।
ঐছে সময়ে অভিসারল রাই॥
পরিহরি তৈছন সুখময় শেজ।
উচকুচকঞ্চুক ভরমহি তেজ॥
ধবলিম এক বসনে তনু গোই।
চললিহ কুঞ্জে লখই নাহি কোই॥
কমলচরণ তুহিনে নাহি দলই।
কণ্টক বাটে কতিহুঁ নাহি টলই॥
গোবিন্দদাস কহ ইথে কি সন্দেহ।
কিয়ে বিঘিনি যাঁহা নূতন নেহ॥
৮২॥ [১১৭]॥

হিমঋতু-যামিনী যামুনতীর।
তরললতাকুলকুঞ্জকুটীর॥
তহিঁ তনু থির নহে তুহিন সমীর।
কৈছে বঞ্চব শুন শ্যামশরীর॥
ধনি তুহুঁ মাধব ধনি তুআ নেহ।
ধনি ধনি সো ধনী পরিহর গেহ॥
কুলবতীগৌরব কঠিনকপাট।
গুরুজননয়ন সকণ্টকবাট॥
কো জানে এতহু বিঘিনি অবগাই।
ঐছন সময়ে মিলব তোহে রাই॥

ইথে যো পূরব দুহুঁ-মনকাম।
তাকর চরণে হামারি পরণাম॥
গোবিন্দদাস তবহুঁ ধরি জাগ।
তুহুঁ জনি তেজহ নব-অনুরাগ।

৮৩। [১১৮]

কুলবতী কোই নয়নে জনি হেরই
হেরত পুন জনি কান।
কানু হেরি জনি প্রেম বাঢ়ায়ই
প্রেম করই জনি মান॥

সজনি, অতয়ে মানয়ে নিজ দোখ।
মানদগধ-জীউ অব নাহি নিকসয়ে
কানু সঞে কি করব রোখ॥

যো মঝু চরণ- পরশরসলালসে
লাখ মিনতি মুঝে কেল।
তাকর দরশন বিনে তনু জরজর
দরশ পরশ সম ভেল॥

সহচরী মোহে লাখ সমুঝায়ল
তাহে না রোপলুঁ কাণ।
গোবিন্দদাস সরসবচনামৃতে
পুন বাহুড়ায়ব কান॥

৮৪॥ [১১৮-১১৯]॥

শুনইতে কানু- মুরলীরবমাধুরী
শ্রবণে নিবারলুঁ তোর।
হেরইতে রূপ নয়নযুগ ঝাঁপলু
তব মোহে রোখলি ভোর॥

সুন্দরি, তৈখনে কহল মো তোয়।
ভরমহি তা সঞে নেহ বাঢ়ায়বি
জনম গোঙায়বি রোয়॥

বিনু গুণ পরখি পরক রূপলালসে
কাহে সোঁপলি নিজ দেহা।
দিনে দিনে খোয়সি ইহ রূপলাবণি
জীবইতে ভেল সন্দেহা॥

যো তুহুঁ হৃদয়ে প্রেমতরু রোপলি
শ্যামজলদরস-আশে।
সো অব নয়ন- নীর দেই সীচহ
কহতহি গোবিন্দদাসে॥

৮৫॥ [১১৯-১২০]॥

মদন কিরাত- কুসুমশর দারুণ
বৃন্দাবনবন-মাঝ।
তেঞি আকুল হরি তোহারি শরণ করি
পরিহরি পৌরুষলাজ॥

সুন্দরি, তুআ দিঠি অথিরসন্ধান।
মনমথ মারিতে জোড়ি নয়নশর
হানল হামারি পরাণ॥

দুহুঁ-শরে জরজর জীবন-অন্তর
কিয়ে করব নাহি জান।
নিজযশ চাই রাই অব দেয়বি
অধরসুধারসপান॥

মণিময় হার- তরঙ্গিণীতীরহি
কুচকনকাচলছায়।
ঐছে তপতজনে গোপতে রাখবি তব
গোবিন্দদাস যশ গায়॥

৮৬॥ [১২০-১২১]॥

নবনবগুণ শ্রবণরসায়ন
নয়নরসায়ন অঙ্গ।
রভসসম্ভাষণ হৃদয়রসায়ন
পরশরসায়ন সঙ্গ॥

এ সখি, রসময় অন্তর যায়।
শ্যাম সুনাগর গুণগণসাগর
কো ধনী বিছুরই পার॥
গুরুজনগঞ্জন গৃহপতিতরজন
কুলবতীকুবচনভাষ।
যত পরমাদ সবহুঁ পুন মেটই
মধুরমুরলী-আশোয়াস॥
কীয়ে করব কুল দিবসদীপতুল
প্রেমপরনে ঘন ডোল।
গোবিন্দদাস যতন করি রাখত
লাজক জালে আগোর॥
৮৭॥ [১২১-১২২]॥

মন্দিরবাহির কঠিন কপাট।
চলইতে শঙ্কিল পঙ্কিলবাট॥
তহি অতি দুরতর বাদলদোল।
বারি কি বারই নীলনিচোল॥
সুন্দরী কৈছে করবি অভিসার।
হরি রহ মানস সুরধুনী-পার॥
ঘনঘন ঝনঝন বজরনিপাত।
শুনইতে শ্রবণমরম জরি যাত॥
দশদিশ দামিনীদহন বিথার।
হেরইতে উচকই লোচনতার॥
ইথে যদি সুন্দরী তেজবি গেহ।
প্রেমক লাগি উপেখবি দেহ॥
গোবিন্দদাস কহ ইথে কি বিচার।
ছুটল বাণ কিয়ে যতনে নিবার॥
৮৮॥ [১২২]

কুলমরিয়াদ- কপাট উদঘাটলুঁ
তাহে কি কাঠ-কি বাধা।
নিজমরিয়াদ- সিন্ধু সঞ্চে পঙরলুঁ
তাহে কি তটিনী অগাধা॥

সহচরি, মরু পরিখম কর দূর।
যৈছে হৃদয় করি পন্থ হেরত হরি
সোঙরি সোঙরি মন ঝূর॥
কোটি কুসুমশর বরিখয়ে যছু পর
তাহে কি জলদজল লাগি।
প্রেমদহনদহ যাক হৃদয় সহ
তাহে কি বজরক আগি॥
যছু পদতলে নিজ জীবন সোঁপলুঁ
তাহে কি তনু-অনুরোধ।
গোবিন্দদাস কহই ধনি অভিসর
সহচরী পাওল বোধ॥
৮৯॥ [১২৩]॥

শরদচন্দ পবন মন্দ
বিপিনে ভরল কুসুমগন্ধ
ফুল্ল মল্লিকা মালতী যূথী
মত্তমধুকরভোরণি।
হেরত রাতি ঐছন ভাতি
শ্যাম মোহনমদনে মাতি
মুরলী গান পঞ্চমতান
কুলবতীচিতচোরণি॥
শুনত গোপী প্রেম রোপি
মনহি মনহি আঁপন সোঁপি
তাঁহি চলত যাঁহি বোলত
মুরলীক কললোলনি
বিসরি গেহ নিজহুঁ দেহ
একনয়নে কাজরেহ
বাহে রঞ্জিত কঙ্কণ একু
একু কুণ্ডল দোলনি॥

শিথিলছন্দ নীবিক বন্ধ
বেগে ধাওত যুবতিবৃন্দ
খসত বসন রশন চোলি
গলিত বেণী লোলনি।

ততহি বেলি সখিনী মেলি
কেহ কাহক পথ না হেরি
ঐছে মিলল গোকুলচন্দ
গোবিন্দদাস গায়নি॥

৯০॥ [১২৪-১২৫]॥

সুরপতিধনু কি শিখণ্ডক চূড়ে।
মালতীঝুরি কি বলাকিনী উড়ে॥
ভাল কি ঝাঁপল বিধু-আধখণ্ড।
কবিবরকর কিয়ে ও ভুজদণ্ড॥
ও কিয়ে শ্যাম নটরাজ।
জলদকলপতরু তরুণীসমাজ॥
করকিশলয় কিয়ে অরুণবিকাশ।
মুরলীখুরলী কিয়ে চাতকভাষ॥
হাস কি ঝরয়ে অমিয়া মকরন্দ।
হার কি তারকজ্যোতিক ছন্দ॥
পদতল কি থলকমল ঘনরাগ।
তাহে কলহংস কি নূপুর জাগ॥
গোবিন্দদাস কহয়ে মতিমন্ত।
ভুলল যাহে দ্বিজ রায় বসন্ত॥

৯১॥ [১২৫-১২৬]॥

ঝাঁপল উতপতলোরে নয়ান।
কৈছে করত হিয়া কহই না জান॥
তুহুঁ পুন কি করবি গোপতহিঁ রাখি।
তনু মন দুহুঁ মুখে দেয়ত সাখি॥
তব কাহে গোপসি কি কহব তোয়।
বজরক বারণ করতলে হোয়॥

জানলুঁ রে সখি মৌনক ওর।
পিয়া পরদেশ চলব মোহে ছোড়॥
গমনক সময়ে বিরোধ জনি কোই।
পিয়াক অমঙ্গল যৈছে না হোই॥
সময়সমাপন কী ফল আর।
প্রেমক সমুচিত অবহুঁ নিবার॥
গোবিন্দদাস অতয়ে অনুমান।
পিয়া পরদেশী কাহে রহ প্রাণ॥

৯২॥ [১২৬-১২৭]॥

শুনলহুঁ মাথুর চলব মুরারি।
চলতহিঁ পেখলুঁ নয়ন পসারি॥
পালটি নেহারিতে হাম রহ হেরি।
শুনহি মন্দিরে আয়লুঁ ফেরি॥
দেখ সখি নীলজ জীবন মোই।
পিরীতি জানায়ত অব দন রোই॥
সো কুসুমিতবন কুঞ্জকুটীর।
সো যমুনাজল মলয়সমীর॥
সো হিমকর হেরি লাগয়ে চঙ্ক।
কানু বিনে জীবন কেবল কলঙ্ক॥
এতদিনে বুঝল বচনক অন্ত।
চপল প্রেম থির জীবন দুরন্ত॥
তাহে অতি দুরজন আশ-কি পাশ।
সম্বাদি না আওত গোবিন্দদাস॥

৯৩॥ [১২৭]

যাঁহা পহুঁ অরুণচরণে চলি যাত।
তাঁহা তাঁহা ধরণী হইয়ে মঝু গাত॥
যো সরোবরে পহুঁ নিতি নিতি নাহ।
হাম ভরি সলিল হোই তথি-মাহ॥
এ সখি বিরহমরণ নিরবন্ধ।
ঐছে মিলই যব শ্যামরচন্দ॥

যো দরপণে পহুঁ নিজমুখ চাহ।
মঝু অঙ্গজ্যোতি হোই তথি-মাহ॥
যো বীজনে পহুঁ বীজই গাত।
মঝু অঙ্গ তাহে হোই মৃদুবাত॥
যাহাঁ পহুঁ ভরমই জলধরশ্যাম।
মঝু অঙ্গ গগন হোই তছু ঠাম॥
গোবিন্দদাস কহ কাঞ্চনগোরি।
সো মরকততনু তোহে কিয়ে ছোড়ি॥

৯৪॥ [১২৮-১২৯]॥

চম্পকসোন- কুসুম কনকাচল
জিতল গৌরতনুলাবণি রে।
উন্নতগীম- সীম নাহি অনুভব
জগমনমোহিনি ভাঙনী রে॥
জয় শচীনন্দন রে।
ত্রিভুবনমণ্ডন কলিযুগকাল-
ভুজগভয়খণ্ডন রে॥
বিপুলপুলককুল- আকুলকলেবর
গরগর-অন্তর প্রেমভরে।
লহুলহু হাসনী গদগদ ভাষণী
কত মন্দাকিনী নয়নে ঝরে॥
নিজরসে নাচত নয়ন ঢুলায়ত
গায়ত কত কত ভকতহি মেলি।
যো রসে ভাসি অবশ মহীমণ্ডল
গোবিন্দদাস তহিঁ পরশ না ভেলি॥

৯৫॥ [১৩০]॥

দেখত বেকত গৌরচন্দ্র
বেড়ল ভকতনখতবৃন্দ
ম-উজোরকারী
কুন্দকনককাঁতিয়া।
অগতিপতিতকুমুদবন্ধু
হেরি উছল রসক সিন্ধু
হৃদয়কুহরতিমিরহারী
উদিত দিনহিঁ রাতিয়া॥

সহজে সুন্দর মধুর দেহ
আনন্দে আনন্দে না বাঁধে থেহ
ঢুলি ঢুলি ঢুলি চলত খলত
মত্তকরিবরভাতিয়া।

নটনঘটন ভই গেল ভোর
মুকুন্দ মাধব গোবিন্দ বোল
রোয়ত হসত ধরণী খসত
শোহত পুলকপাঁতিয়া॥

অসীমমহিমা কো কহুঁ ওর
নিজ পর ধরি করই কোর
প্রেম-অমিয়া হরখি বরখি
তরখিতমহী মাতিয়া।

যো রসে উত্তম-অধম ভাস
বঞ্চিত একলি গোবিন্দদাস
কো জানে কি খনে কোন গঢ়ল
কাঠকঠিনছাতিয়া॥

৯৬॥ [১৩০-১৩১]॥

বিদ্যাপতিপদ- যুগলসরোরুহ-
নিন্দ্যন্দিতমকরন্দে।
তছু মঝু মানস- মাতলমধুকর
পিবইতে করু অনুবন্ধে।

হরি হরি, আর কিয়ে মঙ্গল হোয়
রসিকশিরোমণি- নাগরনাগরী-
লীলা স্ফুরব কি মোয়॥

জনু বাঙন করে ধরব সুধাকর
পঙ্গু চড়ব কিয়ে শিখরে।
অন্ধ ধাই কিয়ে দশদিশ খোঁজব
মিলব কল্পতরুনিকরে॥
সো নহ অন্ধ করত অনুবন্ধহিঁ
ভকতনখরমণি-ইন্দু।
কিরণঘটায় উদিত ভেল দশদিশ
হাম কি না পায়ব বিন্দু॥
সোই বিন্দু হাম যৈখনে পায়ব
তৈখনে উদিত নয়ান।
গোবিন্দদাস অতয়ে অবধারল
ভকতকৃপা বলবান্॥
৯৭॥ [১৩২]॥

কাননে কামিনী কোই না যায়।
কালিন্দীকূলকলপতরুছায়॥
কুঞ্জকুটীর-মাহা কাঁদই কোই।
করে শির হানই কুন্তল ফোই॥
নলিনীনারীগণ নাশল নেহ।
নবীননিদাঘে না জীবই কেহ॥
নবনীনিন্দিতা নবনববালা।
নাগল বিরহহুতাশনজ্বালা॥
গলত গাত গীরত মহী-মাহ।
গুরুতর গিরিষ অধিক ভেল দাহ॥
গোকুলে গোপরমণী অছু ভেল।
গরলগরাসনে গোবিন্দ গেল॥
৯৮॥ [১৩৩]॥

গোবিন্দদাস-চক্রবর্ত্তী

উলসিত মঝু হিয়া আজি আওব পিয়া
দৈবে কহল শুভবাণী।
শুভসূচক যত প্রতি অঙ্গে বেকত
অতএ নিচয় করি মানি॥
সজনি, সবহি বিপদ দূরে গেল।
সুখ সম্পদ বিহি আনি মিলায়ব
ঐছন মতিগতি ভেল॥
মঙ্গলকলস পর দেই নবপল্লব
রোপহ ঠামহি ঠাম।
গ্রহগণক আনি করহ বিভূষিত
তুরিতে মিলয়ে জনু শ্যাম॥
হারিদ দাড়িম কাজর দরপণ
দধি ঘৃত রতনপ্রদীপে।
সুবরণভাজন লাজহি ভরি ভরি
রাখহ নয়নসমীপে॥
নবনব রঙ্গিণী দেই হুলাহুলি
বসনভূষণ করু শোভা।
প্রাণপ্রাণ হরি নিজ ঘরে আওব
গোবিন্দদাস-মন লোভা॥
৯৯॥ [১৩৫-১৩৬]

রসিয়া রমণী যে।
মদনমোহন গৌরাঙ্গবদন
দেখিয়া জীয়ে কি সে॥
যে ধনী রঙ্গিণী হয়।
ভাঙধনুয়া মদনবাণে
তার কি পরাণ রয়॥
যে জানে পিরীতিবেথা।
সেহ কি ধৈরজ ধরিতে পারে
শুনিয়া মুখের কথা॥
বিলাসিনীর মনে দুখ।
আজানুলম্বিত বাহু হেরি কাঁদে
পরিসর গোরাবুক॥
(কত) কামিনী কামনা করে।
গুরুয়ানিতম্ব- বিলাসবসন-
পরশ পাবার তরে॥

গোবিন্দদাসের চিতে।
গৌরাঙ্গচাঁদের চরণনখর
তাহার মাধুরী পীতে॥
১০০॥ [১৩৬-১৩৭]॥

পিয়ার ফুলের বনে পিয়াসী ভ্রমরা।
পিয়া বিনে মধু না খায় উড়ে বেড়ায় তারা।
মো যদি জানিতাম পিয়া যাবে রে ছাড়িয়া।
পরাণে পরাণ দিয়া রাখিতাম বাঁধিয়া॥
কোন নিদারুণ বিধি মোর পিয়া নিল।
এ ছার পরাণ কেনে অবহুঁ রহিল॥
মরম-ভিতর মোর রহি গেল দুখ।
নিচয় মরিব পিয়ার না দেখিয়া মুখ॥
এইখানে করিত কেলি নাগররাজ।
কেবা নিল কিবা হৈল কে পাড়িল বাজ॥
সে পিয়ার প্রেয়সী আমি আছি একাকিনী।
এ ছার শরীরে রহে নিলাজ পরাণী॥
চরণে ধরিয়া কাঁদে গোবিন্দদাসিয়া।
মুঞি অভাগিয়া আগে যাইব মরিয়া॥
১০১॥ [১৩৭-১৩৮]॥

রায় বসন্ত

কি হেরিলুঁ নাগর নবীনকিশোর।
শারদশশধর- বয়ন মনোহর
রঙ্গিনীনয়নহি লুবধচকোর॥
নীলেন্দীবর- সুন্দর লোচন
অঞ্জন অরুণ তরুণচিতচোর।
মাণিক-অধর মনোহর বংশী
রসের তরঙ্গিম মোহিতভোর॥
অমিয়াবচন শ্রবণ-অনুরঞ্জন
গঞ্জন নীরদভাব।
এক আর অনুপম জগমনমোহন
হাসি যেন বিজুরীপ্রকাশ॥
নাসা তিলফুল রঙ্গিমমুকুতা
ঝলকত কুণ্ডল গণ্ডহি লোল।
চাঁচরকেশ- পাশ নবমালতী
তহিঁ পর শিখিবরচাঁদ উজোর॥
কুসুমবিরচিত তিলকবিরাজিত
রাজিত জনু দ্বিজরাজ-কি রাজ।
ও তনু-অভরণ তড়িদিব নবঘন
উর পর বনি বনমাল বিরাজ॥
লীলালাবণি অবনি তরল রূপ
নখমণিদরপণি তিমির বিনাশে॥
রায় বসন্ত-মন সেবই অনুখন
ঐছন চরণকমলমধু-আশে॥
১০২॥ [১৪০-১৪১]॥

সখি হে, শুন শুন বাঁশী কিবা বোলে।
আনন্দ-আধার কিয়ে সে নাগর
আইলা কদম্ব-তলে॥
বাঁশরীনিসান শুনিতে পরাণ
নিকাশ হইতে চায়।
শিথিল সকল ভেল কলেবর
মন মুরুছই তায়॥
নাম বেড়াজাল খেয়াতি জগতে
সহজে বিষম বাঁশী।
কাম-উপদেশে কেবল কঠিন
কামিনী মোহন ফাঁসি॥
কি দোষ কি গুণ একই না গণে
না বুঝে সময় কাজ।
রায় বসন্তের পহু বিনোদিয়া
তাহে কি লোকের লাজ॥
১০৩॥ [১৪২]॥

দ্বিজ গঙ্গারাম

নিমিখ বারব সুদিঠে পেখব
গৌরবদন সুঠাম রে।
নিজহু কেতন হরব চেতন
করব অসিঞাসিনান রে॥
গৌরবর দ্বিজরাজ রে।
আপ ঘর পর নগর-মাঝহি
দূরে সুখচয় ভাজ(ব) রে॥
হব কি শুভদিন বাস পহিরণ
ভূষণগণ করি সাজ রে।
দেবদুলহ সফলমানুষ
আনন্দসাগর-মাঝ রে॥
ধ্যান তেজব গান তান সোঁ
গাঅব কবহু সুমেলি রে।
সঘনে ঘনঘন হেরব পুনপুন
গৌরসুন্দর-সুকেলি রে॥
ছুটব সঙ্কট এ শুভ-নিকট
ত্রাণ পায়ব ভব-মাঝ রে।
গঙ্গারাম দ্বিজ কবহু হেরব
গৌর-লীলারস রে॥

১০৪॥ [১৪৩]।

কবিরঞ্জন

উদসল কুন্তলভারা।
মুরতি শিঙ্গারলখিমী অবতারা॥
অতিশয় প্রেমবিকারা।
কামিনী করত পুরুখবিহারা॥
ডোলত মোতিমহারা।
যামুনজলে যৈছে দুধক ধারা॥
কুচকুম্ভ পালটলবয়না।
রস-অমিয়া জনু ঢারল নয়না॥
প্রিয়তম কর তহিঁ দেবা।
সরসিজ-মাহে জনু রহল চকেবা॥
করুণ কিঙ্কিণী বাজে।
জয় জয় ডিণ্ডিম মদন সমাজে॥
রসিকশিরোমণি কান।
কবিরঞ্জন রস ভাণ॥

১০৫॥ [১৪৫]॥

রায় শেখর

নিরুপম কাঞ্চন- রুচিরকলেবর-
লাবণি বরণি না হোই।
নিরমল বদন বচন অমিয়াসার
লাজে সুধাকর রোই॥
হেরলুঁ রে সখি, রসময় গৌর॥
বেশবিলাসে মদন ভেল ভোর॥
লোল অলককুল তিলক সুরঞ্জিত
নাসা খগপতি-উন।
ভাঙ কামান বাণ দৃগঞ্চল
চন্দনরেখ তাহে গুণ॥
কম্বুকণ্ঠে মণি- হার বিরাজিত
কামকলঙ্কিতশোভা।
চরণ-অলঙ্কৃত- মঞ্জীর-ঝঙ্কৃত
রায় শেখর-মন লোভা॥

১০৬॥ [১৪৭]

কুন্দনকনক- কমলরুচিনিন্দিত
সুরধুনীতীরবিহারী।
কুঞ্চিতকণ্ঠ- কলিতকুসুমাকুল
কুলকামিনীমনোহারী॥
জয় জয় জগজীবন যশোধীর।
জাহ্নবী যমুনা যেন জলধর বরিখন
ঐছে নয়নে বহে নীর॥

পহুমিনীপুরব- পিরীতে পুলকায়িত
পরিজনপ্রেমপসারী।
পহিরণ পীত- পতনি পতিতাঞ্চল
পদপঙ্কজপরচারী॥
রসবতীরমণী- রঞ্জনরুচিরানন
রতিপতি রঙ্গিত তায়।
রসিক-রসায়ন রসময়-ভাষণ
রচয়তি শেখর-রায়॥

১০৭॥ [১৪৮]

কাজররুচিহর রয়নী বিশালা।
তছু পর অভিসার করু ব্রজবালা॥
ঘর সঞে নিকসয়ে যৈছন চোর।
নিশবদপথগতি চললিহ থোর॥
উনমতচিত অতি আরতিবিথার।
গুরুয়া নিতম্ব নবযৌবনভার॥
কমলিনী মাঝা খিনি উচ কুচজোর।
ধাধসে চলু কত ভাবে বিভোর॥
রঙ্গিণী সঙ্গিনী নব নব জোরা।
নব-অনুরাগিণী নবরসে ভোরা॥
অঙ্গক অভরণ বাসয়ে ভার।
নূপুর কিঙ্কিণী তেজল হার॥
লীলাকমল উপেখলি রামা।
মন্থরগতি চলু ধরি সখী শ্যামা॥
যতনহিঁ নিঃসরু নগর দুরন্তা।
শেখর অভরণ ভেল বহন্তা॥

১০৮॥ [১৪৯]

তুআ অঙ্গে পীতিমচীরে।
কুচযুগ দংশল কীরে॥
অধর বিম্বফল তোরি।
কো রস নেল নিচোরি॥
বচন কহসি আনভাতি।
কা সঞে বঞ্চলি রাতি॥
হৃদয়নয়নগতিরীত।
হেরইতে পায়লুঁ ভীত॥
ইহ রসকাহিনী কহই।
উচিতবচন ওহিঁ রচই॥
রায় শেখর অনুমানে।
রাইক অমিয়াসিনানে॥

১০৯॥ [১৫০]॥

ও মোর বাছনী ধনী সতীকুলশিরোমণি
খনেক বিশ্রাম কর সুখে।
না হয় উছর বেলা সখী সঙ্গে কর খেলা
কপূরতাম্বুল দেহ মুখে॥
রূপ গুণ কাজ তোর পরাণ নিছনি মোর
শুতিয়া স্বপনে দেখোঁ সদা।
তোমা হেন গুণনিধি আমারে না দিল বিধি
হৃদয়ে রহিয়া গেল সাধা॥
ধাতার মাথায় বাজ যেন হেন করে কাজ
আমারে ভাণ্ডিল কোন দোষে।
বাছার বিবাহ তরে হেন নারী নাহি পুরে
চাহিয়া না পাই কোন দেশে॥
যশোদাবিষাদ কথা শুনি বৃষভানুসুতা
বদনে বসন দিয়া হাসে।
পুলকে পুরল গা মুখে না নিঃসরে রা
ভাসিল রাণীর স্নেহরসে॥
শেখর সরস করি কহে শুন ব্রজেশ্বরী
রাধিকা তোমার হেন জানি।
সখা সব পুরে বেণু খিড়িকে ডাকিছে ধেনু
সাজাও গা রাখালশিরোমণি॥

১১০॥ [১৫০-১৫১]॥

ভূপতি

মদনকুঞ্জ তেজি চললি চতুর দূতী
পবনক গতি সম গেল।
ক্ষিতি নখে লেখি দেখি মুখ ঝাঁপল
রাই উত্তর নাহি দেল॥
চতুরী দূতী তব মনহি বিচারল
কহত ললিতা সঞে বাত।
কাহে বিমুখ ভই বৈঠলি দূবরী
কি ভেল আজুক রাত॥
হেরি ললিতা সখী মৃদু মৃদু বোলত
হামারি করম মতি ভেলি।
নাগরকিশোর কুঞ্জে নিশি বঞ্চল
চন্দ্রাবলী সঞে কেলি॥
হাসি হাসি নিয়ড়ে যাই দূতী বইঠল
কহতহিঁ মধুরিমবাণী।
ইহ লখুদোখে রোখ যব মানসি
কো কহে তোহে সিয়ানী॥
উঠ উঠ সুন্দরি মান দূর করি
বাহু পসারি করু কোর।
ফটকি হাত বাত নাহি শুনল
কোপে ভরল তনু জোর॥
রাইক নিঠুর- বচন শুনি সহচরী
কোপে ভরল সব গাত।
ভূপতিনাথ রোখে তব বোলত
যবহুঁ ফটকল হাত॥

১১১॥ [১৫৩-১৫৪]

চম্পতি

সো সবশঠগুণ- গুরুবর গুরুতর
অছু গুণ জলনিধিসার।
হাম অবলা অতি তাহে দুখিতমতি
কৈছনে পাইয়ে পার॥
সজনি, আর কত কর পরলাপ
সো মুখে যৈছন করলহিঁ অপমান
সো বড় হৃদয়ক তাপ॥
যো বরনারী সার করি লেয়ল
সো পদ সেবউ আনন্দে।
তাকর লাগি জাগি নিশি রোয়উ
পীবউ সো মকরন্দে॥
তাহে লাগি অন্ন পাণী সব তেজউ
জপ করু তাকর নাম।
চম্পতিপতি-কর সোই যুবতীবর
গাওত তছু গুণগাম॥

১১২॥ [১৫৪]॥

মোহন-দাস

বন সঞে আওত নন্দদুলাল।
গোধূলিধূসর- শ্যামকলেবর
আজানুলম্বিতবনমাল॥
ঘনঘনশৃঙ্গ- বেণুরব শুনইতে
বরজবাসিগণ ধায়।
মঙ্গল থারি দীপ করে বধূগণ
মন্দিরদ্বারে দাঁড়ায়॥
পীতাম্বরধর মুখ জিনি বিধুবর
নবমঞ্জরী-অবতংস।
চূড়া ময়ূর- শিখণ্ডকমণ্ডিত
বায়ই মোহনবংশ॥
বরজবাসিগণ বালবৃদ্ধজন
অনিমিখে মুখশশী হেরি।
ভুখিল চকোর চাঁদ জনু পাওল
মন্দিরে না চলয়ে ফেরি॥

গোগণ সবহুঁ গোঠে পরবেশল
মন্দিরে চলু নন্দলাল।
আকুল পন্থে যশোমতী আওল
মোহন-ভণিত রসাল॥
১১৩॥ [১৫৬]॥

দধি ঘৃত গোরসে সাজাইয়া পসার।
চীরহি ঝাঁপন দেওল তার॥
কিঙ্করীগণ সব শির পর নেল।
মুখরা সঙ্গে ধনী তহিঁ চলি গেল॥
সহচরীসঙ্গহি বিনোদিনী রাই।
দূরহি কানুক দরশন পাই॥
পুলকে পুরল তনু গদগদ বোল।
ঘামহি ভীগল নীলনিচোল॥
কো ইহ কেলিকদম্বক মূল।
নবমেঘে বিজুরীজড়িত সমতুল॥
বাহু তুলিয়া উহ ডাকয়ে কায়।
মুখরা কহয়ে ইহ নবরসরায়॥
পন্থহি মাগয়ে গোরসদান।
মোহন কহে মোহে ঐছন ভান॥
১১৪॥ [১৫৭]॥

সময় বসন্ত সবহুঁ মন তোষই
কাননে কুসুমবিকাশ।
মলয়াচলহিঁ ভুজগভয়ে মারুত
চলত হিমাচল-পাশ॥
এ সখি, ঐছন সুখদয় মাহ।
কা সঞে কান্ত কাম পরিপূরয়ে
মরু উদবেগ বাঢ়াহ॥
অতিশয় চপল- চরিত অতি লম্পট
হামারি মরম নাহি জান।
ইহ সুখসময়ে আন সঞে বিলসয়ে
এতহুঁ কি সহয়ে পরাণ॥

কহইতে রাইক গরগর অন্তর
লোচন ঝরঝর বারি।
সব সহচরীগণ কাতর-অন্তর
মোহন সহই না পারি॥
১১৫॥ [১৫৮]॥

বল্লভ-দাস

গোরাগুণে আছিলা ঠাকুর শ্রীনিবাস।
নরোত্তম রামচন্দ্র গোবিন্দদাস॥
একুকালে কোথা গেল দেখিতে না পাই।
থাকুক দেখিবার কাজ শুনিতে না পাই॥
যে করিল জগজনে করুণা প্রচুর।
হেন প্রভু কোথা গেল আচার্য্যঠাকুর॥
রাধাকৃষ্ণলীলাগুণ যে কৈল প্রচার।
কোথা গেল শ্রীআচার্য্যঠাকুর আমার॥
হৃদয়মাঝারে মোর রহি গেল শেল।
জীতে আর প্রভু সঙ্গে দরশ না ভেল॥
এ ছার জীবনে মোর নাহি আর আশ।
সঙ্গে করি লেহ প্রভু এ বল্লভ-দাস॥
১১৬॥ [১৫৯-১৬০]॥

সুন্দরি, তুহুঁ বড়ি হৃদয়পাষাণ।
কানুক নবমী- দশা হেরি সহচরী
ধরই না পার পরাণ॥
কতয়ে ক্ষীণতনু কহুই না পারিয়ে
তেজত তাহে ঘনশ্বাসে।
তেজত পরাণ ঐছে অনুমানিয়ে
রহত তোহারি আশোয়াসে॥
কি জানিয়ে কি খনে নেহারল তুয়া রূপ
তব ধরি আকুল ভেলি।
খনে খনে চমকি চমকি অব মুরুছয়ে
হেরি রোয়ত সখী মেলি॥

কোই যব তোহারি নাম কহে শ্রবণহিঁ
তবহিঁ নয়ন পরকাশ।
এতহুঁ নিদেশ কহল তোহে সুন্দরি
পামরি বল্লভ-দাস॥
১১৭॥ [১৬১]॥

ও মুখ শরদ- সুধাকরসুন্দর
ইহ নলিনীদল গঞ্জে।
ও তনু নবঘন- সুন্দর রঞ্জিত
ইহ থিরদামিনীপুঞ্জে॥
দেখ রাধামাধব জোরি।
দুহুঁক পরশরসে দুহুঁ পুলকায়িত
দুহুঁ দোহাঁ রহল আগোরি॥
ও নবনাগর সবগুণে আগোর
ইহ সে কলাবতীসীম।
ও অতি চতুর- শিরোমণি বিদগধ
এ সব গুণহি গরীম॥
মধুরবৃন্দাবনে শ্যামগোরীতনু
দুহুঁ নবকিশোরীকিশোর।
নরোত্তম-দাস আশ চরণে রহু
শ্রীবল্লভ-মন ভোর॥
১১৮॥ [১৬০]॥

নরে নরোত্তম ধন্য গ্রন্থকার-অগ্রগণ্য
অগণ্যপুণ্যের একাধার।
সাধনে সাধকশ্রেষ্ঠ দয়াতে অতি গরিষ্ঠ
ইষ্ট প্রতি ভক্তি চমৎকার॥
'চন্দ্রিকা' পঞ্চম সার তিন 'মণি' সারাৎসার
'গুরু শিষ্য সংবাদ পটল'।
ত্রিভুবনে অনুপাম 'প্রার্থনা' গ্রন্থের নাম
'হাটপত্তন' মধুর কেবল॥
রচিলা অসংখ্যপদ হৈয়া ভাবে গদগদ
কবিত্বের সম্পদ সে সব।
যেবা শুনে যেবা পড়ে যেবা তাহা গান করে
সেই জানে পদের গৌরব॥
সদা সাধুমুখে শুনি শ্রীচৈতন্য আসি পুনি
নরোত্তমরূপে জনমিলা।
নরোত্তম গুণাধার বল্লভে করহ পার
জলেতে ভাসাও পুনি শিলা॥
১১৯॥ [১৬২]॥

কবিবল্লভ

সখি হে, কি পুছসি অনুভব মোয়।
সোই পিরীতি-অনু- রাগ বাখানিয়ে
অনুখন নৌতুন হোয়॥
জনম অবধি হৈতে ও রূপ নেহারলুঁ
নয়ন না তিরপিত ভেলা।
লাখ লাখ যুগ হাম হিয়ে হিয়ে মুখে মুখে
হৃদয় জুড়ন নাহি গেলা।
বচন-অমিয়ারস অনুখন শুনলুঁ
শ্রুতিপথে পরশ না ভেলি।
কত মধুযামিনী রভসে গোয়াঁয়লুঁ
না বুঝলুঁ কৈছন কেলি॥
কত বিদগধজন রস অনুমোদই
অনুভব কাহু না পেখি।
কহ কবিবল্লভ হৃদয় জুড়াইতে
মীলয়ে কোটি-মে একি॥
১২০॥ [১৬৩]

বিদ্যাবল্লভ

ক্ষণে ক্ষণে নয়ন কোণ অনুসরই।
ক্ষণে [ক্ষণে] বসন ধূলি ভরু ভরই॥

ক্ষণে ক্ষণে দশনক খটাখটি হাস।
ক্ষণে ক্ষণে (এক) অধর-আগে গহে বাস॥
বালা শৈশব তরুণিম ভেট।
লখই না পারিয়ে জেঠ কনেঠ॥
হৃদয়জ মুকুলিত হেরি থোরি থোরি।
ক্ষণে অঞ্চল দেই ক্ষণে ভয়ে ভোরি॥
চঙকি চলয়ে ক্ষণে ক্ষণে চলে মন্দ।
মনমথপাঠ-কে করে অনুবন্ধ॥
দূতি সঞানি করহ সোই ঠাট।
পণ্ডিত হামহি পুঢ়ায়ব পাঠ॥
চেতন মঝু ঝষকেতন মন্দ।
অবগহি লেই শিখাঙ রসমন্ত্র॥
আপন তনকাঞ্চলি হামে দেয়ই।
যতনহি প্রেমরতন ভরি লেয়ই॥
বিদ্যাবল্লভ ইহ আজীব।
ইহা বিনু তুহুঁক জীউ না জীব॥

১২১॥ [১৬৫]॥

বিদ্যাপতি

খেনে খেনে নয়ন কোণ অনুসরই।
খেনে খেনে বসন ধূলি তনু ভরই॥
খেনে খেনে দশনছটাছটি হাস।
খেনে খেনে অধর-আগে করু বাস॥
চউকি চলয়ে খেনে খেনে চলু মন্দ।
মনমথপাঠ পহিল অনুবন্ধ॥
হৃদয়জ মুকুলিত হেরি হেরি থোর।
খেনে আঁচর দেই খেনে হয়ে ভোর॥
বালা শৈশবে তারুণ ভেট।
লখই না পারিয়ে জেঠ কনেঠ॥
বিদ্যাপতি কহে শুন বর কান।
তরুণিম শৈশব চিহ্নই না জান॥

১২২॥ [১৬৬]

রাধাবল্লভ-দাস

সজনি, অপরূপ পেখলুঁ বালা।
হিমকরমদন- মিলিত মুখমণ্ডল
তা পর জলধরমালা॥
চঞ্চলনয়নে হেরি মুঝে সুন্দরী
মুচকাইই ফিরি গেল।
তৈখনে মরমে মদনজ্বর উপজল
জীবইতে সংশয় ভেল॥
অহনিশি শয়নে সপনে আন না হেরিয়ে
অনুখন সোই ধেয়ান।
তাকর পিরীতি-কি রীতি নাহি সমুঝিয়ে
আকুল অথির পরাণ॥
মরমক বেদন তোহে পরকাশল
তুহুঁ অতি চতুরী সুজান।
সোপুন মধুর মুরতি দরশায়বি
রাধাবল্লভ গান॥

১২৩॥ [১৬৭]।

সুন্দরি সুবদনি, তুহুঁ অগেয়ান।
গিরিধর পুরুখ তরুণ নবকৈশোর
অনুখন তোহারি ধেয়ান॥
যছু মুখ কোটি- শরদশশিলাবণি
সো তুয়া দরশন আশে।
যছু রূপ ললিত মদন মুরছায়ই
সো তুয়া পরশ অভিলাষে॥
যছু গুণ অখিল- ভুবন করু কীর্ত্তন
তুয়া গুণে তছু মন ভোর।
কো বিহি অপরূপ তোহে নিরমায়ল
শ্যামহৃদয়মণিচোর॥
সুপুরুখপিরীতি- অমিয়াসুখসাগর
অতয়ে করবি অবগাহ।
তাকর বচনে জীউ নিরমঞ্ছহ
লাজ ধরম গেহ নাহ॥

সো সুকুমার- হৃদয় ভেল আকুল
মীলহ তাহে অতি সাধে।
কহ রাধাবল্লভ যবহুঁ না মীলহ
প্রেম করব পরমাদে ॥

১২৪ ॥ [১৬৮] ॥

মনমোহনিয়া গোরা ভুবনমোহনিয়া।
হাসির ছটা চাঁদের ঘটা বরিখে অমিয়া ॥
রূপের ছটা যুবতিঘটা বুক ভরিতে চায়।
মনগরবের মানঘর ভাঁগিল মদনরায় ॥
রঙ্গীন পাটের ডোর দুইদিকে সোনার নূপুর পায়।
ঝুনুর ঝুনুর বেজ্যা যায় কাম চমকে তায় ॥
মালতী ফুলে ভ্রমর বুলে নব লোটনের দাম।
কুলকামিনীর মান মজিল গীমদোলনীর ঠাম ॥
আঁখির ঠারে প্রাণে মারে কৈতে সৈতে নারি।
রাধাবল্লভ-দাসে কয় মন করিলে চুরি ॥

১২৫ ॥ [১৬৯] ॥

সাধনভজন-কো ভেদ বাতাওয়ে
ভবাম্বুধি-কো ভেলা।
যৈসা গুরু হরিদাস জীউ
তৈসা রঘুনাথ চেলা ॥
ধন দৌলত কোঠা এমারত
সবহু সম্পদ ছাড়ি।
ভরা যৌবন-মে রঘুনাথ-দাস
ভৈ গেল ভিখারী ॥
দেশ দেশান্তর ঘুমি ঘুমি
বৃন্দাবন চলে শেষ।
কঠোর সাধন কয়ল কত
অস্থিচর্ম্ম শেষ ॥
রাধাকৃষ্ণ ভজি ভজি
দেহ কয়ল পাত।
রাধাবল্লভ সো পদপল্লব
সদাই ধরত মাথ ॥

১২৬ ॥ [১৭০] ॥

'রাধা-দাস'

ধনি ধনি গোবর্দ্ধন-দাস
ধনি চাঁদপুর গ্রাম।
ধনি গোবর্দ্ধন-কো পুরোহিত
আচার্য্য বলরাম ॥
যহু গৃহ কয়ল ধনি
সাধু ত হরিদাস।
সাধন ভজন কয়ল বহু
রঘু যহুক পাশ ॥
গোবর্দ্ধন-কো নন্দন রঘুনাথ
অতিহুঁ মহৎ।
.....হরিদাস নিয়ড়ে
পড়ল ভাগবত ॥

শুনিয়া কানুর কটু কাতর কামিনী।
হেটমুখ হৈয়া সব লেখএ ধরণী ॥
পুন পুন নয়ানে বয়ন ধরি ধরি।
পরাণ হরিল আগে ও রূপমাধুরী ॥
পুনু মুরলীর স্বরে আনিল টানিয়া।
এ[বে সে] ধরমপথ দেহ বুঝাইয়া ॥
পতিকুলসতী জাতি জীবন যৌবনে।
ব্রজবধূ সঁপিয়াছে ও রাঙ্গাচরণে ॥
স্ত্রীবধপাতকে হে তোমার নাহি ভয়।
পূতনা আবালকালে বধ মহাশয় ॥
গোপিকা বধিলে এবে পুরিবেক সাধ
বিষ মিশাইয়া পুর মুরলীর নাদ ॥

যে হোক সে হোক গোপী তোমার চরণে।
রাধাদাস কহে নিল অভয়শরণে॥
১২৭॥ [১৭২]॥

সুখময় বৃন্দাবিপিনে সুখ[ম]য়-
রাসরভসরঙ্গিয়া।
বিহরে মাধব মধুর কামিনী
বৃন্দা-রোহিণী সঙ্গিয়া॥
চারু..... • গণ্ড চুম্বন
উরজখণ্ডনভাতিয়া।
বন্ধ নীবির মুঞ্চত অঞ্চল
মালতোড়ল ছাড়িয়া॥
কূজিত কণ্ঠ- নিনাদ (সু)মধুর
বলয়া নূপুর কাঞ্চিয়া।
তোষি রতিপতি- অঙ্গের বসতি
বৃন্দা নিশিরসরঙ্গিয়া॥
বেশভূষণ- কেশ বিগলিত
.....অঙ্গুরী ভাতিয়া।
প্রবীণ কামিনী কানু নিজকরে
কত ভূষণকাঁতিয়া॥
অধিকগৌরব- গর্ব্বে গরবতী
গোরীমণ্ডলছাতিয়া।
গুপতকাননে কানু গোপিনী
রাধাদাস অনাথিয়া॥
১২৮॥ [১৭৩]

প্রসাদ-দাস

সবহুঁ মিলিত যমুনাতীর
অঞ্জলি পূরি পিয়ত নীর
বৈঠল তহিঁ তরুর ছায়
বীচ নন্দনন্দনা।
নবীননীরদবরণজোতি
নাসায়ে ললকে ঝলকে মোতি
উরে বিলম্বিত কদম্বমাল
ভালে তিলকচন্দনা॥

কুন্দকলিকাকলিতচূড়ে
মন্দপবনে বরিহা উড়ে
কটিতটে কিয়ে পীত বসন
বাহে শোভিত কঙ্কণা

হসিতললিত বদন-ইন্দু
অলপে উপজে ঘরমবিন্দু
লোল নয়নকমলযুগল
তাহে ললিত অঞ্জনা॥

নখর উজোর যৈছন চন্দ
চকোরনিকর লাগল ধন্দ
লুবধ হেরি চরণে ঘেরি
সঘনে করত চুম্বনা।

অরুণ অধরে পুরত বেণু
ঘনাইয়া ঘেরত সবহুঁ ধেনু
সহজে সুন্দরী বিরহে ভোর
দূরে বরজ-অঙ্গনা॥

শুনি শুনি গোপী হরল বোল
ভাবে অবশ চিত বিভোল [১]
রহি রহি রহি চমকি উঠত
থরহি থরই কম্পনা॥

অনেক যতনে চেতন পাই
চললি যাঁহা সুন্দরী রাই
ফেরি হেরত বেরি বেরি
ঐছন মনরঞ্জনা

১ মূলে 'বিভোর'।

দাস প্রসাদ করত আশ
অমিয়া-অধিক মধুরভাষ
শুনি তিরপিত শ্রবণ সুখ
তাপনিকরভঞ্জনা ॥
১২৯ ॥ [১৭৭-১৭৫] ॥

ব্রজানন্দ

নাগরনিকট সঞে দোতী আওল
রাই সুনাগরী-ঠাম।
শ্যামক কত দুখ দেখই না পারিয়ে
কহইতে আয়লুঁ হাম ॥
কো জানে কখন দেখল তোহে শ্যামর
তুয়া রূপ করত ধেয়ান।
রাধানামে দ্বিগুণ তনু মোড়ই
ধৈরজ না ধরি পরাণ ॥
শুন কহি সুন্দরি তোয়।
সো হেন সুনাগর সবগুণসাগর
তোহে সে পুরুখবধ হোয় ॥
তুহুঁ রমণীধনী- মুকুটশিরোমণি
মোহে না করু আন ছন্দ।
কহ ব্রজানন্দ বিলম্ব না কর ধনি
হেরহ শ্যামর চন্দ ॥
১৩০ ॥ [১৭৩]

শিবরাম-দাস

ঐছন শুনইতে মুগধিনী রমণী।
সখীগণ-ইঙ্গিতে অবনতবয়নী ॥
লাজে বচন নাহি করে পরকাশ।
সখীগণ কহতহি প্রিয়তর ভাষ ॥
কহইতে না কহসি রজনীক কাজ।
হামারি শপতি তোহে যদি কর লাজ।
পহিল সমাগম লাগি এত দুখ।
পুন মীলনে কত পায়বি সুখ ॥
ঐছে বচন শুনি কহে মৃদু হাসি।
শিবরাম-দাস ইহ রস পরকাশি ॥
১৩১ ॥ [১৭৭]

শ্যাম রাসরসরঙ্গিয়া।
নব যুবরাজ যুবতিসঙ্গিয়া ॥
চঞ্চলগতি- চরণে চলত
সঙ্গীতসুরঙ্গিয়া।
নাচে মনোহর গতি .....
..... অঙ্গভঙ্গিয়া ॥
বীণ-অধিক বিবিধ যন্ত্র
বাওয়ে উপাঙ্গিয়া।
মধুর তাল থই থই থই
বোলত মৃদঙ্গিয়া ॥
কানু লপত সুরমোহন
লাল মঞ্জীর মান রি।
রুচির তা তা থৈয়া থৈয়া থৈয়া
গাওত সুরতান রি ॥
বৃষভানুনন্দিনী কিশোরী গোরী
গাওত অনুপাম রি।
শিবরাম আনন্দে নাহিক ওর
হেরত রসধাম রি ॥
১৩২ ॥ [১৭৭-১৭৮] ॥

শ্যামদাস

রাধে প্যারি আয়ে বাওয়ে রবাব।
একহি লোচন যন্ত্রতন্ত্রহি
ঔর কানুমুখ-মাঝ ॥

ঈষতনাচনি গীমদোলনি
অলকতিলক সাজ।
হেরি মুরছিত শ্যামসুন্দর
অধরে মুরলী বাজ॥
ক্রম আবেশিত পুলকচর্চ্চিত
মোর নাচে দুহুঁ-পাশ।
রাই রঙ্গিণী চৌদিকে বেঢ়ল
শ্যামদাস তছু আশ॥
১৩৩॥ [১৭৯]॥

যদুনন্দন-দাস

পরিজনসুধারসবাণী।
না শুনসি কাহে অগেয়ানী॥
বাঢ়ায়সি কাহে অতি রোষ।
না গুণসি হরিগুণদোষ॥
মিছাই মানে দহ রাই।
কাহে তনু সুতাপসি তাই॥
তোহে লাগি সুতাপিত কান।
অতয়ে তেজহ তুহুঁ মান॥
হৃদয়ে করুণা উপজাই।
দিঠিকোণে নিরখি কানাঞি॥
অতিকাতর রসরাজ।
এ যদুনন্দন কহে কাজ॥
১৩৪॥ [১৮১]

সো বরনাগররাজ।
তপনতনয়াতটে নীপতরু-নিকটে
হিলন নটবরসাজ॥
মরকতরতন- মুকুর জিনি লাবণি
প্রতিতনু পিরীতিপসার।
শারদচাঁদ-
কুণ্ডল শ্রবণে বিহার॥
নাচত ভাঙ- মদনধনুভঙ্গিম
দিঠি খঞ্জননটজোর।
বান্ধুলি-অধরে মুরলীরবমাধুরী
উমতায়ল মন মোর॥
উড়ত চুড়ে চারুশিখিচন্দ্রক
মন্দপবন সঞে মেল।
কহে যদুনন্দন শ্রবণরসায়ন
তনু মন সব হরি নেল॥
১৩৫॥ [১৮১]॥

কদম্বের বন হৈতে কিবা শব্দ আচম্বিতে
আসিঞা পশিল মোর কানে।
অমৃত নিছিয়া পেলি সুমাধুর্য্যপদাবলী
কি জানি কেমন করে মনে॥
সখি হে, নিশ্চয় করিয়া কহি তোহে।
হা হা কুলরমণীর গ্রহণ করিতে ধীর
যাতে কোন দশা কৈল মোহে॥
শুনিয়া ললিতা কহে অন্য কোন শব্দ নহে
মোহনমুরলীধ্বনি এহ।
সে শব্দ শুনিয়া কেনে হৈলে তুমি বিমোহনে
রহ তুমি চিত্তে ধরি থেহ॥
রাই কহে কেবা হেন মুরলী বাজায় যেন
বিষামৃতে মিশাল করিঞা।
হিম নহে তভু তনু কাঁপাইছে হিমে জনু
প্রতি তনু শীতল করিঞা॥
অস্ত্র নহে মনে ফুটে কাটারিতে যেন কাটে,
ছেদন না করে হিয়া মোর।
তাপ নহে উষ্ণ অতি পোড়ায়ে আমার মতি
বিচারিতে না পাইয়ে ওর॥
এতেক কহিয়া ধনী উদ্বেগ বাড়িল জনি
নারে চিত্ত প্রবোধ করিতে।
কহে শুন আরে সখি তুমি মিথ্যা কৈলে দেখি
মুরলীর নহে হেন রীতে॥

কোন সুনাগর এই মোহমন্ত্র পড়ে যেই
হরিতে আমার ধৈর্য্য যত।
দেখিয়া এ সব রীত চমক লাগিল চিত
দাস যদুনন্দনের মত॥
১৩৬॥ [১৮২-১৮৩, ২২২-২২৩] [১]

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সৌন্দর্য্য অমৃতসিন্ধু তাহার তরঙ্গবিন্দু
তরুণীর চিত্তাদ্রি ডুবায়।
কৃষ্ণরম্যনর্ম্মকথা সুধু সুধাময় গাথা
তরুণীর কর্ণানন্দময়॥

সখি হে, কহ এবে কি করি উপায়।
কৃষ্ণাঙ্গমাধুরীছান্দে সর্ব্বেন্দ্রিয়গণ বান্ধে
বলে পঞ্চেন্দ্রিয় আকর্ষয়॥

কোটিচন্দ্রসুশীতল- অঙ্গ ক্ষিতিতাপহর
গন্ধসুধা জগৎ প্লাবিত।
অধর-অমৃতসার কি কহিব সখি আর
বিচারিতে সব বিপরীত॥

নবীনজলদদ্যুতি বসন বিজুলিভাঁতি
ত্রিভঙ্গিম বন্যবেশ তায়।
মুখপদ্ম জিনি চান্দ নয়ন কমলফান্দ
মোর নেত্র সেই আকর্ষয়॥

মেঘ জিনি কণ্ঠধ্বনি নূপুরকিঙ্কিণীমণি
মুরলীমধুরধ্বনি তায়।
সনর্ম্মবচনভাঁতি রমাদির মোহে মতি
কর্ণস্পৃহা তাহাতে বাঢ়ায়॥

কৃষ্ণের অঙ্গের গন্ধ মৃগমদ করে অন্ধ
কুঙ্কুম চন্দন দিল তায়।
অগুরু কর্পূর তাতে যাহাতে যুবতী মাতে
মোর নাসা সেই আকর্ষয়॥

বক্ষঃস্থল পরিসর ইন্দ্রনীলমণিবর
কপাট জিনিয়া তার শোভা।
সুবাহু অর্গলছন্দ কোটীন্দুশীতল অঙ্গ
আকর্ষয়ে সেই বক্ষলোভা॥

কৃষ্ণাধর অমৃতময় যার হয় ভাগ্যোদয়
তার লব সেই জন পায়।
কৃষ্ণচর্ব্ব্যপানশেষ জিনিয়া অমৃতদেশ
জিহ্বা মোর সেই আকর্ষয়॥

রাধার উৎকণ্ঠাবাণী বিশাখিকা তাহা শুনি
কৃষ্ণসঙ্গ-উপায় চিন্তিতে।
হেন কালে শুন কথা তুলসী আইলা তথা
গন্ধপুষ্প ওঞ্জার সহিতে॥

কৃষ্ণমাল্যপুষ্প লঞা তুলসী আনন্দ পাঞা
আইলা অতি ত্বরিতগমনে।
তারে প্রফুল্লিত দেখি রাই মনে হৈলা সুখী
কহে দাস এ যদুনন্দনে॥
১৩৭॥ [২২৫-২২৬]॥

ইন্দীবরবর- উদরসহোদর-
মেদুরমদহরদেহ।
জাম্বূনদবর- বৃন্দবিমোহিত
অম্বরবরপরিধেয়॥

সজনি, কে নবনাগররাজ।
মোহনমুরলী- খুরলিঙ্গচিরানন
দাহন কুলবতী লাজ॥

[১] এই পদটি দুইবার উদ্ধৃত হইয়াছে, ১৮২-১৮৩ পৃষ্ঠায় এবং ২২২-২২৩ পৃষ্ঠায়। শেষের পাঠটিই সঙ্গততর বলিয়া এখানে গ্রহণ হইল।

মোতিমসার হার উর-অম্বর
নখতরদামক ভান।
করিকরগরব- কবলকর সুন্দর
সুবলন বাহু সুঠাম॥
মদগজরাজ- লাজ গতি মন্থর
জগ ভরি ভরই অনঙ্গ।
যদুনন্দন ভণ সো নন্দনন্দন
চন্দনশীতল-অঙ্গ॥
১৩৮॥ [২২৭]॥

দিব্যসিংহ

যব ধরি পেখলুঁ কালিন্দীতীর।
নয়নে ঝরয়ে কত বারি অথির॥
কাহে কহব সখি মরমক খেদ।
চিতহিঁ না ভায়ে কুসুমিত শেজ॥
নবজলধর জিতি বরণ উজোর।
হেরইতে হৃদি-মাহা পৈঠল মোর॥
তব ধরি মনসিজ হানয়ে বাণ।
নয়নে কাহ্ন বিনু না হেরিয়ে আন॥
দিব্যসিংহ কহে শুন ব্রজরামা।
রাই কাহ্ন একতনু দুহুঁ একঠামা॥
১৩৯॥ [১৮৪]

॥ফুলানন্দ

সঙ্গে পরিকর গৌরবর সুন্দর
যাওত সুরধুনীতীর।
ও রূপ নেহারি চিত উমতাওল
সরমভরম গেও হইনু অথীর॥
সজনি, গোরারূপের কতই মাধুরী।
সতী কুলবতী হাম ঐছন বেয়াকুল
নিমিখেতে হইল বাউরী॥
অতনুকুসুমশরে অন্তর জরজর
দূরে গেও লোকপরিবাদ।
গৌররূপসায়রে জীবন (যৌবন) ডারব
ইহামঝ মনে সাধ॥
যত গুরুগরবিত সব হাম তেজব
না করব কুলের বিচার।
গোকুলানন্দের হিয়া রূপের সায়র-মাঝে
ডুবল না জানে সাঁতার॥
১৪০॥ [১৮৫]॥

দেখ না শ্রী অপরূপ নিকুঞ্জের মাঝে।
রাধা শ্যাম অনুপাম কিবা সে বিরাজে॥
চাহিতে ঝামরে আঁখি রূপ গোরা কালা।
বিনোদবিনোদিনীরূপে নিধুবন আলা॥
সমানবয়সবেশ কিশোরী কিশোর।
দুহাঁকার রূপ দেখি সবহুঁ বিভোর॥
কুঞ্জে না গুঞ্জরে অলি মউরী না নাচে।
পিকু বিসরল ধ্বনি মুখ হেরি আছে॥
রূপ দেখি সারী শুক বিসরল গান।
অনিমিখে দেখে রূপ ঝরয়ে নয়ান॥
আহা মরি মরি মৃগী তৃণ মুখে করি।
মৃগশিশু দেখে রূপ স্তন মুখে করি॥
গোকুলানন্দেতে কহে কি বলিব তাহা।
মরি মরি বলিহারি আহা আহা আহা॥
১৪১। [১৮৬]

বংশীদাস

জয় রে জয় রে মোর গৌরাঙ্গরায়।
জয় নিত্যানন্দচন্দ্র জয় গৌরভক্তবৃন্দ
সীতানাথ দেহ পদছায়।
জয় জয় মোর আচার্য্যঠাকুর
অগতি পতিত অতি।

করুণা করিয়া স্বচরণে রাখ
এ মোর পাপিষ্ঠ মতি ॥
তোমার চরণ ভরসা কেবল
না দেখি আর উপায়।
মোর দুষ্টমনে রাখ শ্রীচরণে
এই মাগো তুয়া পায় ॥
সদা মনোরথ যে কিছু আমার
সকল জানহ তুমি।
কহে বংশীদাস পুর সব আশ
কি আর কহিব আমি ॥
১৪২ ॥ [১৮৮]

আরে মনমথ, নাহি তুয়া ধরমবিচার।
কো করু দোখ রোখ করু কা সঞে
বড় তুহুঁ মুরুখ গোঙার ॥
শুনইতে রূপ- কলাগুণমাধুরী
তেঞি দিঠি হেরল কান।
সোই যোধপতি তাহে নাহি পারলি
হৃদয়ে হানলি পাঁচবাণ ॥
কিয়ে গুণে রতি তোহে পতি করি মানল
নাম কে রাখল কাম।
নাশসি কাম কুলটাপদ দেওসি
অব তোহে চীনলুঁ হাম ॥
দেবীপতি শিব জীব তুয়া রাখল
ছিয়ে ছিয়ে এ বড় দুখে।
তা সঞে বাদ সাধি যৈছে ধাওলি
তৈছে অনল দিল মুখে ॥
অব হাম শম্ভু আরাধব তুয়া লাগি
পুন তোহে করব বিনাশ।
বিরহিণীগণ যেন কিয়ে ঘর কিয়ে বন
যাঁহা তাঁহা সুখে করু বাস ॥
ধরণীক বাণী মান তুহুঁ সুন্দরি
শম্ভু আরাধবি কায়।
মনমথকোটি মথন করু যো জন
সো তুয়া চরণ ধেয়ায় ॥
১৪৩ ॥ [১৮৯-১৯০] ॥

রসিক-দাস

না কহ রে সখি উহার কথা।
দ্বিগুণ হৃদয়ে না দেহ ব্যথা ॥
যৈছন চতুরশঠের পহুঁ।
তৈছন তাহার দূতী সে তুহুঁ ॥
নিকুঞ্জে হৃদয়ে ধরল যে।
তাহারে না কহ সেবউ সে ॥
সোই কুলবতী নিবসে যাহাঁ।
তুরিতে গমন করহ তাহাঁ ॥
এমতি তাহারে সাধহ যাই।
যে সুখ পাওবি অবধি নাই ॥
পুন না আসিহ আমার পাশ।
শুনিয়া চলল রসিক-দাস ॥
১৪৪ ॥ ১৯১] ॥

'তুলসীদাস'

রাধা কানু নিকুঞ্জমন্দির-মাঝ।
চৌদিকে ব্রজবধূ মঙ্গল গাওত
তেজি কুলভয়লাজ ॥
শরদযামিনী ও কুলকামিনী
তেরছনয়নে চায়।
মদনভুজঙ্গমে রাইরে দংশল
হেলি পড়য়ে শ্যামগায় ॥
কানু-ধন্বন্তরি রাই কোলে করি
ঔষধচুম্বন দান।
নাগর নাগরী ও রসে আগরী
রাই কানু একই পরাণ ॥

সারী শুক পিক মঙ্গল গাওত
অতি সে সুললিত তান।
বৃন্দাবন ভরি রসের বাদর
তুলসীদাস রস গান॥
১৪৫॥ [১৯২]॥

জয়কৃষ্ণ-দাস

ধেনু চরায়ত বেণু বাজায়ত
যমুনাতীরপুলিনবনে।
(প্রিয়) সুদাম শ্রীদাম সুবল মহাবল
এসব গোপসখা সগণে॥
(নট) বেশ সুকেশ চূড়া শিখি সাজনি
মালতীমাল প্রসন্ন গলে।
(শ্রুতি-) পাশবিলাস- মণিমকরাকৃতি-
কুণ্ডল মণ্ডিত গণ্ডে দোলে॥
কটি ধটি পীত বলায়নি কাছনি
কিঙ্কিণী কাঞ্চনদাম ঘনে।
চরণকমল- দলে শশিমণ্ডিত
খণ্ডিত তাপ ভজন্ত জনে॥
জয়কৃষ্ণদাস- পহু গোবর্দ্ধন-
ধারণধীর দেবেন্দ্রমণি।
অখিল ব্রহ্মাণ্ড ভাণ্ড করি মণ্ডিত
তাকর আগে কাহাকো গণি।
১৪৬॥ [১৯৬]॥

প্রভাসে রাধার বাণী শুনিয়া গোকুলমণি
কহে তাহে করিয়া পিরীতি।
দারুণ বিধাতা মোরে আনাইয়া এত দূরে
রাখে লয়্যা দূর দ্বারাবতী॥
তোমার বিরহানলে সদা মোর হিয়া জ্বলে
ডুবি ভাসি ভাবনাসাগরে।
কি করিতে কি না করি ধৈরজ ধরিতে নারি
সদা ধ্যান করিতে তোমারে॥
আছে দুই চারি সূত্র নারায়ণশক্তিহেতু
নষ্ট কৈলে যাব বৃন্দাবনে।
তুমি মোর দুনয়ন আমার অমূল্যধন
তোমা বিনু কে আছে ভুবনে॥
করুণনয়নে নীর ভিজিল হিয়ার চীর
পুন কহে গদ্গদভাষা।
জয়কৃষ্ণ-দাস ভণে করুণা করিয়ে মনে
দীনবন্ধুচরণ ভরসা॥
১৪৭॥ [৪৯৮]॥

জানকীবল্লভ

কি কহব নিঠুর মুরারি।
অব কি জিবই বরনারী॥
তুয়া তনুনেহভুজঙ্গে।
দংশল কোমল অঙ্গে॥
অনুখন গদ নাহি মানে।
তাগা তুহারি ধেয়ানে॥
শ্যাম দু-আঁখর মন্ত।
তে ধনী ধৈরজ অন্ত॥
এক আছয়ে প্রতিকারে।
তুহারি পাণি পানিসারে॥
তুয়া দিঠি সারক আশে।
অবহি বহই মৃদু শ্বাসে॥
শুনইতে মুরছিত কান।
জানকীবল্লভ অগেয়ান॥
১৪৮॥ [১৯৭]॥

গৌরকিশোর-দাস

ফাগুয়া খেলত রঙ্গে নদীয়াবিহারী।
গদাধর দামোদর সঙ্গে নরহরি॥
শ্রীবাস মুকুন্দ বাসু আর শ্রীমুকুন্দ।
গোরা-অঙ্গে ফাগু দেই নেহারে আনন্দ॥

চৌদিকে ভকত সব গাওয়ে বাওয়ে তাল।
আনন্দে নাচত পহুঁ শচীর দুলাল ॥
শ্রীযুগলকৃষ্ণ পহুঁ দেই করতালি।
গৌরকিশোর-দাস বাওয়ে বলিহারি ॥

১৪৯ ॥ [১৯৯] ॥

'কিশোর-দাস'

জয় জয় জয় বিজই কুঞ্জে
কুঞ্জরবরগামিনী।
প্রেমতরঙ্গে ভরল অঙ্গে
সঙ্গে বরজরমণী ॥

গগনমণ্ডল অতি নিরমল
শরদ সুখদ যামিনী।
নীল বসন হাটকবরণ
ঝলকত ঘন দামিনী ॥

দ্রিমিকি দ্রিমিকি রবাবপাখাজ-
ঠাম ঠমকি চলনী।
রুনু রুনু রুনু ঝুনু ঝুনু ঝুনু
বাজত নূপুর কিঙ্কিণী ॥

যন্ত্র তন্ত্র তান মান
ধনি ধনি নবযৌবনী।
তানা নানা নানা সুললিত বীণা
বায়ত সুঘড় রমণী ॥

মিলল শ্যাম কুঞ্জধাম
অনুপামসুখশোহিনী।
দাস কিশোর সুখের নাহি ওর
হেরি শ্যামমনমোহিনী॥

১৫০ ॥ [২০০] ॥

কিশোরীদাস

কি হেরিলাম কালিন্দীর ঘাটে
সে রূপে কোটি মদন না আঁটে ॥
জলদবরণ সেই যুবা।
যুবতীর জাতিকুলডুবা ॥
হিয়া জরজর অনুরাগে।
তা বিনে ঝগড় সব লাগে ॥
দিয়া জাতিকুলের বিদায়।
শরণ লইলাম তছু পায় ॥
কিশোরীদাসের চিতে জাগে।
সে রূপ দেখিব চল আগে ॥

১৫১ ॥ [২০১] ॥

রামচন্দ্র-গোস্বামী

হাহা মোর কি ছার অদৃষ্ট।
যবে গৌর প্রকটিল আমার জনম নৈল
তেঞি মুঞি অধম পাপিষ্ঠ ॥

না হেরিনু গৌরচন্দ না হেরিনু নিত্যানন্দ
না হেরিনু অদ্বৈত গোসাঞি।
ঠাকুর শ্রীসরকার না হেরিনু পদ তাঁর
না হেরিনু শ্রীবাস গদাই ॥

কি মোর কর্ম্মের লেখা সে সব নহিল দেখা
একা আমি কেন জনমিনু।
সব-অবতারসার শ্রীগৌরাঙ্গ-অবতার
না দেখিনু কেন না মরিনু ॥

প্রভুর প্রিয় স্বগণ ঠাকুর বংশীবদন
সুতসুত হওঁ মুঞি তার।
অহে গৌর নিত্যানন্দ তবে কেন মতিমন্দ
রামচন্দ্র অতি দুরাচার ॥

১৫২ ॥ [২০২-২০৩] ॥

রামচন্দ্র

কাহারে কহিব মনের কথা
কেবা যায় পরতীত।
হিয়ার মাঝারে মরমবেদন
সদাই চমকে চিত॥

গুরুজন-আগে বসিতে না পাই
সদা ছলছল আঁখি।
পুলকে আকুল দিগ নেহারিতে
সব শ্যামময় দেখি॥

সখী[1] সঙ্গে যদি জলেরে যাই
সে কথা কহিল নয়।
যমুনার জল মুকত[2] করবী
ইথে কি পরাণ রয়॥

কুলের ধরম রাখিতে নারিলুঁ
কহিল সভার আগে।
রামচন্দ্র কহে শ্যাম নাগর
সদাই মরমে জাগে॥

১৫৩॥ [২০৩-২০৪]॥

রামচন্দ্র কবিরাজ

দেখ দেখ আরে ভাই গৌরাঙ্গচাঁদ পরকাশ।
পূর্ণিমার চান্দ যেন উদিত আকাশ॥
সিংহরাশি পৌর্ণমাসী গোরা অবতার।
ছাড়ল যুগের ভার ধরণী নিস্তার॥
মহীতলে আছেন যতেক জীবতাপ।
হরল সকল পহুঁ নিজহি প্রতাপ॥
কলিযুগে তপ যজ্ঞ নাহি কোন তন্ত্র।
প্রকাশিল মহাপ্রভু 'হরে কৃষ্ণ' মন্ত্র॥
প্রেমের বাদর করি ভরিল সংসার।
পাতকী নারকী সব পাইল নিস্তার॥
অন্ধ অবধি যত করে পরকাশ।
বিন্দু না পড়ল মুখে রামচন্দ্র-দাস॥

১৫৪॥ [২০৫]॥

বিকঠহার

বিরহব্যাকুল বকুলতরুতলে
পেখলুঁ নন্দকুমার রে।
নীলনীরজ- নয়ান-সোঁ সখি
ঝরই নীর অপার রে॥
দেখি মলয়জ- পঙ্ক মৃগমদ
তামরস ঘনসার রে।
(নিজ) পাণিপল্লবে মুদি লোচন
ধরণী পড়ু অসম্ভার রে॥
বহয়ে মন্দ সুগন্ধ শীতল
মঞ্জু মলয়সমীর রে।
(জনু) প্রলয়কাল-কো প্রবল পাবক
পরশে দহই শরীর রে॥
অধিক বেপথু টুটি পড়ু ক্ষিতি
মস্তণমুকুতামাল রে।
অনিলতরল তমালতরু জনু
মুঞ্চ সুমনসজাল রে॥
মানমণি ত্যজি সুদতী চলু যহিঁ
রায় রসিক সুজান রে।
সুখদশ্রুতি অতি সরস দণ্ডক
সুকবি ভণ কণ্ঠহার রে॥

১৫৫॥ [২০৭]॥

সই প্রেম অপরূপ।
কিশোর কিশোরী পসরা পসারি
রতসরসের কূপ॥

[1] মুদ্রা 'সখীর' [2] 'আকুল' পাঠান্তর।

নলিনীকিরণে মলিন ইন্দু
কুমুদ মুদিত লাজে।
চাঁদের ভরমে চকোর মাতল
ইন্দীবর হাসে মাঝে॥
যমুনাতরঙ্গে অরুণ উদিত
তারার পসার তথা।
চপলা ঝাঁপিয়া তিমির উয়ল
কী অদভুত কথা॥
কনকলতায়ে মুকুতা ফলিল
কে না পরতীত যায়।
অনুভবিজন ভাবে মনে মন
কবিকণ্ঠহারে গায়॥
১৫৬॥ [২০৮-২০৯]॥

নৃপ বৈদ্যনাথ

হাম নবনায়রী মাধাই।
বলে জানি পরশহ মদন দোহাই॥
হঠ যদি করহ হামায়।
আরতিপরমধন কবহি না পায়॥
অতিরসে না হইহ ভোরা।
হাম কমলিনী তুহুঁ ভুখিল ভঙরা॥
ভঙরা নাগর তুহুঁ ভুলে।
মুকুলিত কুসুমে সেহ নাহি ভুলে॥
শুন শুন বিনতি হামারা।
সুহজে তুঁ জব রতি হাম নারী অবরা
লহুঁ লহুঁ পরশিহ মোরে।
ভাগে না মীলয়ে দুলহ পিয়ারে॥
এবে নব উয়ল যৌবনে।
কাঁচ কনয়া ফল বদরীসমানে॥
মিনতি করহুঁ তুয়া পায়।
অবলাএ বল করিতে না জুয়ায়॥
তুহুঁ বিদগধশিরোমণি।
মিনতি করিয়ে বোলোঁ হাম সে নবিনী॥
নৃপ বৈদ্যনাথ কহ ভাবি।
বালা রমণী বহুত পুণ্যে পাবি॥
১৫৭॥ [২০৯-২১০]॥

গতিগোবিন্দ

নাচে নিত্যানন্দ ভুবন-আনন্দ
বৃন্দাবনগুণ শুনিয়া।
বাহুযুগ তুলি ঘনে বলে হরি
চলত মোহনভাতিয়া॥
কিবা সে মাধুরী বচনচাতুরী
রহ গদাধর হেরিয়া।
মাধব গৌরীদাস মুকুন্দ শ্রীনিবাস
গাওত সময় বুঝিয়া॥
নাচে নিত্যানন্দচাঁদ রে।
প্রেমে গদগদ চলে আধপদ
ধরি গদাধর-হাত রে॥
ও চাঁদবদনে হাস ঘনে ঘনে
অরুণলোচনভঙ্গিয়া।
কুসুমহার হৃদি দোলত
সুঘড়সহচররঙ্গিয়া॥
রাতুলচরণে মঞ্জীর বাজত
রঙ্গের নাহিক ওর।
মনের আনন্দে শ্রীনিবাসসুত
এ গতিগোবিন্দ ভোর॥
১৫৮॥ [২১৩-২১৪]॥

ঘনশ্যামদাস কবিরাজ

পেখলুঁ গোকুল- বসতি বেয়াকুল
গোপরমণীগণ রোই।
ভীগল বসন লাগি রহল তনু
তোহারি গমনপথ জোই॥

হরি হে, দূর নগরে মঝু গেহ।
যব তুহুঁ আওলি সঙ্গহি গোপ সব
তব হাম গোকুল থেহ॥
তহিঁ এক রমণী থোরিবয়স ধনী
চিত্রপুতলী সম ঠারি।
যব লোচনপথ- দূরহিঁ গেল রথ
তবহিঁ পড়ল তনু ঢারি॥
ঘেরল সকল সখীগণ চৌদিশে
রোয়ত সখী অগেয়ান।
কহে ঘনশ্যাম তবহিঁ চলি আওলুঁ
পুন কিয়ে ভেল নাহি জান॥
১৫৯॥ [২১৩-২১৪]॥

কো ইহ পুন পুন করত হুঙ্কার।
হরি হাম জানি না কর পরচার॥
পরিহরি সো গিরিকন্দরমাঝ।
মন্দিরে কাহে আওব মৃগরাজ॥
সো হরি নহোঁ মধুসূদন নাম।
চলু কমলালয় মধুকরী-ঠাম॥
এ ধনি সো নহ হাম ঘনশ্যাম।
তনু বিনু গুণ কিয়ে কহে নিজ নাম॥
শ্যামমূরতি হাম তুহুঁ কি না জান।
তারাপতিভয়ে বুঝি অনুমান॥
ঘর-মাহা রতনদীপ উজিয়ার।
কৈছনে পৈঠব ঘন-আঁধিয়ার॥
রাধারমণ হাম কহি পরচার।
রাকারজনি নহে ঘন-আঁধিয়ার॥
পরিচয়পদ যব সব ভেল আন।
তবহি পরাভব মানল কান॥
তৈখনে উপজল মনমথসূর।
অব ঘনশ্যাম-মনোরথ পূর॥
১৬০॥ [২১৭-২১৮]॥

গৌরদাস

হাম মরইতে তুহুঁ মরইতে চাহ।
অনুখন মঝু হিয়া তুষদহদাহ॥
এ সখি কীয়ে করব পরকার।
সোঙরিতে নিকসয়ে জীবন হামার॥
হামার বচনদঢ়কণ্টকে জারি।
বিদগধ নাহ গেও মুঝে ছাড়ি॥
মুঞি অতি পাপিনী কলহে বিরাজ।
জানি মোহে তেজল নাগররাজ॥
দারুণ প্রাণ রহ কণ্ঠহি লাগি।
বুঝলুঁ এহ মঝু করম অভাগি॥
গৌরদাস কহ না কর সন্দেহ।
তুয়া প্রেমে মীলব রসময়দেহ॥
১৬১॥ [২৩১]॥

সুবলচন্দ্র-

দেখ নটবর নাচে শচীর কোঙর হেঁ।
হেমবরগোরাতনু প্রেমভরে ভোরা জনু
মধুরহসনকণজগমনোহর হেঁ॥
অরুণবরণঘর- নয়নহি নীর ঢর
তরুণ করুণ মনু মতিলর ঝর হেঁ।
দেখি প্রিয় গদাধর বিপুলপুলকভর
এ ছোটে ঢে (?) ভাঙ-ধর কামধনু ভর হেঁ॥
হেরি ফেরি নিত্যানন্দ লাজে হেট বয়নচন্দ
ইহ রসগন্ধ পাওয়ে সুবল সুঘড় হেঁ॥ [১]
১৬২॥ [২৩৩]॥

সুন্দরদাস

গলিতরজতগিরি জিনি তনু সুন্দর
আজানুলম্বিত বনমাল।
নীলবসন বনি অপরূপ শোভনি
মরকতে হীর মিশাল॥

[১] এই পদটিতে অন্ততঃ একটি কলির অভাব আছে।

ধাওত ধবলী-পাছে বলরাম।
চঞ্চল নয়ন ঢুলয়ে জনু পঙ্কজ
হেরি মুগধ ভেল কাম॥

উভ করে ধবলী শাঙলী বলি ডাকই
কোমল বৎস লেই কান্ধে।
সঘনে খসয়ে শিখি- পিঞ্ছ মনোহর
ছান্দনডুরি লেই বান্ধে॥

বয়ান চান্দ অধর জনু বান্ধুলী
তাহে মধুর মৃদু হাস।
বরিখয়ে অমিয়া শ্রবণ ভরি পীবই
সহচর সুন্দরদাস॥ ১৬৩॥

[২৩৪]

জগদানন্দ-দাস

যামিনীদিনপতি গগনে উদয় করু
কুমুদ কমল খিতি-মাঝ।
অপরশে দুহুঁক পরশরসকৌতুক
নিতি নিতি জগতে বিরাজ॥

বর রামা হে, বুঝবি তুহুঁ সুচতুর।
আপন পরাণ যাক করে সোঁপিয়ে
সো পুন কভু নহে দূর॥

জীবন অবধি হাম আপনা বেচলুঁ
তন মন এক করি তোএ।
কিয়ে তুয়া বলবত প্রেমপদাতিক
তিল-আধ না দেহ মোএ॥

কাঞ্চন বদন- কমল লাগি লোচন-
মধুকর মরত পিয়াসে।
লিখনক আদি আখর মেলি সমুঝবি
কহে জগদানন্দ-দাসে॥ ১৬৪॥

[২৩৫-২৩৬]॥

মঞ্জু বিকচকুসুমপুঞ্জ
মধুপশবদ গুঞ্জগুঞ্জ
কুঞ্জরগতিগঞ্জিগমন
মঞ্জুল কুলনারী।
ঘনগঞ্জন চিকুরপুঞ্জ
মালতীফুলমালে রঞ্জ
অঞ্জনযুতকঞ্জনয়নী
খঞ্জনগতি হারি॥
কাঞ্চনরুচিরুচির অঙ্গ
অঙ্গে অঙ্গে ভরু অনঙ্গ
কিঙ্কিণী করকঙ্কণ মৃদু
ঝঙ্কৃত মনোহারী।
নাচত যুগভুরুভুজঙ্গ
কালিদমনদমনরঙ্গ
সঙ্গিনী সব রঙ্গে পহিরে
রঙ্গিলনীলশারী॥
দশন কুন্দকুসুমনিন্দু
বদন জিতল শরদ-ইন্দু
বিন্দু বিন্দু ছরমে ঘরমে
প্রেমসিন্ধু প্যারী।
ললিতাধরে মিলিতহাস
দেহদীপতি তিমির নাশ
নিরখি রূপ রসিক ভূপ
ভূলল গিরিধারী॥
অমরাবতীযুবতিবৃন্দ
হেরি হেরি রূপ পড়ল ধন্দ
মন্দমন্দহসনা নন্দ-
নন্দনসুখকারি।
মণিমাণিক নখ বিরাজ
কনকনূপুর মধুর বাজ
জগদানন্দ থলজলরুহ-
চরণক বলিহারি॥
১৬৫॥ [২৩৭-২৩৮]

সজনি গো, কেন গেলাম যমুনার জলে।
নন্দের দুলালচাঁদ পাতিয়া রূপের ফাঁদ
ব্যাধছলে কদম্বের তলে॥

দিয়া হাস্যসুধা চার অঙ্গছটা আটা তার
আঁখিপাখি তাহাতে পড়িল।
মনমৃগী সেইকালে পড়িল রূপের জালে
শুধু দেহপিঞ্জর রহিল॥

গর্ব্বশালে মত্তহাতী বাঁধা ছিল দিবারাতি
ক্ষিপ্ত হৈল কটাক্ষ-অঙ্কুশে।
দন্তের শিকল কাটি চারিদিকে গেল ছুটি
পলাইয়ে গেল কোন দেশে॥

লজ্জা শীল হেমাগার গুরুগৌরব সিংহদ্বার
ধরমকপাট ছিল তায়।
বংশীরববজ্রাঘাতে পড়ি গেল অকস্মাতে
সমভূমি করিল আমায়॥

কালিয়াত্রিভঙ্গবাণে কুলমান কৈল খানে
ঘুচিল উঠিল ব্রজবাস।
প্রাণ শেষে আছে বাকি তাহা বুঝি যায় দেখি
ভণয়ে জগদানন্দ-দাস॥

১৬৬॥ [২৩৯-২৪০]॥

বল্লবীকান্ত

রাইয়ের জনম- দিবস আবেশে
আনন্দে ভরল তনু।
নদীয়ানগর বৃষভানুপুর
উদয় করল জনু॥

গদাধর-মুখ হেরি পুনঃ পুনঃ
নাচে গোরা নটরায়।
ভাব অনুভাব করি সঙ্গী সব
মহামহোৎসব গায়॥

দধির সহিত হলদি মিলিত
কলসে কলসে ঢালি।
প্রিয়গণ নাচে নানা কাচ কাচে
ঘন দিয়া হুলাহুলি॥

গৌরাঙ্গ-নাগর রসের সাগর
ভাবের তরঙ্গ তায়।
জগত ভাসিল এহেন আনন্দে
এ দাস বল্লবী গায়॥

১৬৭॥ [২৪১]।

মধুসূদন-দাস

কুণ্ডে সিনান কয়ল দুহুঁ মেলি।
সহচরীগণ সঞে করি জলকেলি॥
বসন বিভূষণ পহিরণ কেলি।
নিভৃতনিকুঞ্জ-মাঝে চলি গেলি॥
রতনপীঠ-পরি কিশোরী কিশোর।
বৈঠল দুহুঁ জন আনন্দে ভোর॥
বৃন্দাদেবী যোগায়ত তাই।
বহুমত ফলমূল বিবিধ মিঠাই॥
ভোজন করু দুহুঁ সখীগণ সঙ্গে।
মধুসূদন কব হেরব রঙ্গে॥

১৬৮॥ [২৪২]।

রতিপতি-দাস

এতদিন বুঝলুঁ (তুয়া) হৃদয় নিঠুর।
রাই উপেখি আয়লি এতদূর॥
অব তুহুঁ একলী রহসি বনমাঝ।
তোয়ে নাহি সম্ভবে এমন অকাজ।
সময় উচিত করিয়ে যদি মান।
আঁচরে ঝাঁপিয়ে আপন বয়ান॥
একদিনে সূতিয়ে চীত সমাধি।
সাধিয়ে বাদ তহিঁ ঝাখএ উপাধি॥

অনুগত তুয়া বিনু না বোলয়ে আন।
করে ধরি বলে দূতী করহ পয়ান॥
রতিপতি-দাস করয়ে পরণাম।
দূতী নহে ইহ দুহুঁক পরাণ॥

১৬৯॥ [২৪৩]॥

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কুঞ্জে কুসুম হেরি পন্থ নেহারই
সহচরী মেলি আনন্দে॥
দিশি দিশি রতন- প্রদীপ কত জারত
ঝলমল করতহি ছন্দে॥
সুন্দরী সেজ বিছায়ই রঙ্গে।
আওব মদন- বিনোদ রসগাহক
বিলসব বিনোদিনী সঙ্গে॥
মৃগমদচন্দন- তনু-পরিলেপন
গন্ধমহোৎসব কুঞ্জে;
কোকিল ভ্রমর মনোহর গাওত
হেরি হেরি নবরসপুঞ্জে॥
বাজত ডম্ফ রবাব স্বরমণ্ডল
সহচরী নাচয়ে সুছন্দে।
আনন্দে কোই কোই মঙ্গল গাওই
মুরছতি রতিপতি-বৃন্দে॥

১৭০॥ [২৪৪]

গোপালদাস

• কি কহব রাইক হরি-অনুরাগ।
নিরবধি মনহি মনোভব জাগ॥
সহজে রুচির তনু সাজি কত ভাতি।
অভিসরু শারদপূর্ণমিক রাতি॥
ধবল বসন তনু চন্দনপুর।
অরুণ-অধরে ধরু বিশদ কপূর॥
কবরী উপরে করু কুন্দ বিথার।
কণ্ঠে বিলম্বিত মোতিমহার॥
কৈরবে ঝাঁপল করতলকাঁতি।
মলয়জচন্দনবলয়ক পাঁতি॥
চাঁদ-কি কৌমুদী তনু নহ চিহ্ন।
যৈছন ক্ষীর নীর নহ ভিন্ন॥
ছায়া বৈরী না ছাড়ল বাদ।
চরণে শরণ করু যামিনী-আধ॥
গোপালদাস কহ সুচতুর গোরী।
নূপুরক রতন তুলে মুখ পূরি॥

১৭১॥ [২৪৫-২৪৬]।

ছল করি বাণী কতয়ে পরলাপসি
তোহারি বচন পরমাণ।
চারিপ্রহর রাতি জাগি পোহায়লুঁ
আয়লি রাতি বিহান॥
মাধব, আজি বড় দেয়লি দুখ।
আগে ইহ আরতি না বুঝিয়া অব তোহে
হেরি পায়লুঁ বড় সুখ॥
ভালহি সিন্দুর- কাজলে পূরল
বদনহি দশনক রেখ।
হেরইতে তোহে লাজ মোহে হোয়ত
যাবকরাগ পরতেখ॥
কমলিনী পাই সরস রসে ভুললি
না বুঝলি মালতীগন্ধ।
কহই গোপাল- দাস নাহি সমুঝলি
কী ফুলে কিয়ে মকরন্দ॥

১৭২॥ [২৪৬-২৪৭]

পীতাম্বর-দাস (১)

ছটপট কুসুমশয়নে।
হরি হরি করএ স্মরণে॥
কাহে করু অভরণবেশ।
দরশন ভেল সন্দেশ॥

বিহি মোরে দুরমতি দেল।
মনমথ হানল শেল॥
লোরে লোচন ঘন পূরে।
পীতাম্বর-দাস রহু দূরে॥
১৭৩॥ [২৪৮]

গোপীকান্ত-দাস

শ্রীবিদ্যাপতি কবিবরশেখর
কয়ল বহুতবিধ গীত।
শ্রীগোবিন্দ কবীন্দ্রশিরোমণি
ত্রিজগতে যাহার চরিত॥
শ্রীজয়দেব বহুরস বর্ণল
কবিসায়র চণ্ডীদাস।
শ্রীরামানন্দ নাটক প্রকাশল
সুমধুরপ্রেমবিলাস॥
শ্রীল সনাতন কয়ল গীতাবলী
বিবিধভাবতরঙ্গী।
শ্রীরামচন্দ্র কবিবরভূপতি
বলরাম-দাস তছু সঙ্গী॥
শ্রীনরহরিদাস- ঠাকুর কবিসুঘড়
গোবিন্দ-ঘোষ কবিসিন্ধু।
ঠাকুর বৃন্দাবন বাসুদেব-ঘোষ আর
সকলকবিগণ-ইন্দু॥
ভাবকচক্রবর্ত্তী বহুত প্রকাশল
জ্ঞানদাস কবি-আর্য্য।
যদুনাথ-দাস অভিসারে বর্ণিত
তহিঁ কবিবর ব্যাসাচার্য্য॥
প্রার্থনা কয়ল ঠাকুর নরোত্তম
মাধব-ঘোষ কবিধাম।
বংশীবদন কিয়ে
লোচন-দাস অনুপাম
ঠাকুর পিতামহ সুবলানন্দ পহু
কয়ল কতহুঁ সুছন্দ।
শ্রীঘনশ্যাম কবি- রাজরাজবর
অদভুতবর্ণনবন্ধ॥
ইহবরকবিবর- চরণসরোরুহ
শিরসি ধরল হাম হার।
গোপীকান্ত-দাস কহ ভবনিধে (?) ডুবল
কবহু পায়ব হাম পার॥
১৭৪॥ [২৪৯-২৫০]

তরুণীরমণ

এ হরি মাধব করু অবধান।
জিতল বিয়াধি ঔষধে কিবা কাম॥
আঁধিয়ারা হোই উজর করে যোই।
দিবসক চাঁদ পুছত নাহি কোই॥
দরপণ লেই কি করব আন্ধে।
শফরী পলায়ব কি করব বান্ধে॥
সায়রি শুখায়ব কি করব নীরে।
হাম অবোধ তুয়া কি করব ধীরে॥
কা করব বন্ধুগণ বিধি ভেও বাম।
নিশিপরভাতে আওলি শ্যাম॥
তরুণীরমণে ভণ ঐছন রঙ্গ।
রজনী গোঙাওলি কাকরু সঙ্গ॥
১৭৫॥ [২৫২]॥

মনোহর-দাস

শ্রীগোপাল-ভট্ট প্রভু তুয়া শ্রীচরণ কভু
নিরখিব নয়ান ভরিয়া।
শুনিয়া অশেষ গুণ পাঁজরে বিন্ধিলে ঘুণ
মরি যাওঁ নিছনি লইয়া॥

পিরীতে গঢ়ল তনু দশবাণ হেম জনু
চান্দমুখ অরুণ অধরে।
ঝলকে দশনকাঁতি জিনি মুকুতার পাঁতি
হাসি কহে অমৃতমধুরে॥

পরাণের পরাণ যার রূপ সনাতন আর
রঘুনাথ-যুগল জীবন।
পণ্ডিত কৃষ্ণ লোকনাথ জানে দেহভেদ মাত্র
সরবস শ্রীরাধারমণ॥

প্রেমবিতরণরঙ্গ চৈতন্য-চরণভৃঙ্গ
শ্রীনিবাসে দয়ার অবধি।
সভে মেলি রসাস্বাদ ভাব ভরে উনমাদ
এই ব্যবসায় নিরবধি॥

লীলাসুধাসুরধুনী- রসিকমুকুটমণি
রসাবেশে গরগর হিয়া।
হা হা অনুরাগসিন্ধু হা হা দীনজনবন্ধু
যশ গায় জগৎ ভরিয়া॥

হা হা মূর্তিসুমধুর হা হা করুণার পূর
হা হা চিন্তামণিগুণখনি।
হা হা প্রভু একবার দেখাহ মাধুরীসার
শ্রীচরণকমললাবণি॥

অনেক জন্মের পরে অশেষ ভাগ্যের বলে
তুয়া পরিকরে পদ পাঞা।
নিজ করমের দোষে মলিনবিষয়রসে
জনম গোঙানু খোলি (?) খাঞা॥

অপরাধ পড়ে মনে তথাপি তোমার গুণে
পতিতপাবন আশাবন্ধ।
লোভেতে চঞ্চল মতি উপেখিলে নাহি গতি
ফুকারয়ে মনোহর মন্দ॥

১৭৬॥ [২৫৫-২৫৭]॥

নবীন কিশলয় ফুটল ফুলচয়
পাতি বিবিধ বিধান।
যৈছে থির সর তৈছে শেজ কর
কুসুমকুল উপাধান॥
সখি হে, স্বরূপে কহল মো তোয়।
ঐছে সাজহ বাসগৃহ জনু
নিরখি হরি-সুখ হোয়॥
চারু চম্পক- কুসুমহারক
গন্ধ মালতীমাল।
খপুরকর্পূর- পান সুমধুর
পুরিঞা কাঞ্চনথাল॥
করহ সব তুহুঁ জাগি রহলহুঁ
পিয়াক পন্থ নিহার।
কহে মনোহর কুঞ্জকাননে
মিলব নন্দ-কুমার॥

১৭৭॥ [২৫৭]॥

'হরিবল্লভ'

এ সখি বিহি কি পুরায়ব সাধা।
হেরব পুন কিয়ে রূপনিধি রাধা॥
যদি মোহে না মিলব সো বররামা।
তব জীউ ছার ধরব কোন কামা॥
তুহুঁ ভেলি দোতী পাশ ভেল আশা।
জীউ বান্ধব কিয়ে করব উদাসা॥
শুনি হরি-বচন দোতী অবিলম্বে।
আওলি চলি যাহাঁ রমণীকদম্বে॥
কহে হরিবল্লভ শুন ব্রজবালা।
হরি জপয়ে তুয়া গুণমণিমালা॥

১৭৮॥ [২৫৯-২৬০]॥

কহ কহ এ সখি মরম-কি বাত।
সো তোহে কি করল শ্যামরগাত॥

মনমথকোটিমথন তনুরেহ।
কৈছে উবরি তুহুঁ আওলি গেহ॥
কুলবতীকোটি হোয়ে যহিঁ অন্ধ।
পাওলি কছু কিয়ে সো মুখগন্ধ॥
যাকর মুরলী শ্রবণে যহিঁ লাগে।
খসতহিঁ বসন শাশপতি-আগে॥
অব নিরধারসি কোন বিচার।
বল্লভ সো রসসাগর পার॥

১৭৯॥ [২৬০]॥

বলদেব-দাস

জয় জয় মঙ্গল-আরতি তুহুঁ-কি।
শ্যামগোরীছবি উঠত ঝলকি॥
নবঘনে জনু থিরবিজুরী বিরাজে।
তাহে মণি-অভরণ অঙ্গহি সাজে॥
করে লই দীপাবলি হেমথালি।
আরতি করতহি ললিতা আলি॥
সবহুঁ সখীগণ মঙ্গল গাওয়ে।
কোই করতালি দেই কোই বাজাওয়ে॥
কোই কোই সহচরী মনহি হরীখে।
তুহুঁক অঙ্গ পর কুসুম বরীখে॥
ইহ রস কহতহি বলদেব-দাসে।
তুহুঁ রূপমাধুরী হেরইতে আশে॥

১৮০॥ [২৬১]॥

প্রেম-দাস

মাধব, মোহে কহসি চাঁদমুখ।
চাঁদক গুণ কহয়ে সব সুশীতল
চাঁদে জনম ভরি দুখ॥
জলনিধি-উদর উয়ল শশধর
গরল সঙ্গে উপনীত।
সেবল শঙ্কর শিরসি রহল যব
তাহা ফণী হেরি অসম্বিত॥
পুন যাই গগনে করল আরোহণ
তাহে গরাসে রাহু মন্দ।
দৈবে কলঙ্কিত হোয়ল মৃগ ধরি
অসিতপক্ষে তনু-অন্ত॥
কাহে মিনতি করু কপটহিঁ নাগর
হেরি বিরস মন হোয়।
প্রেম-দাস কহ চাঁদবদন চাহ
চকোরে পীযূষ দেই সোয়॥

১৮১॥ [২৬৪]॥

সই, কাহারে করিব রোষ।
না জানি না দেখি সরল হই
সে পুনি আপন দোষ॥
বাতাস বুঝিয়া পেলাই থু পা
বাঢ়াই বুঝিয়া থেহ।
মানুষ বুঝিয়া কথা সে কহিয়ে
রসিক বুঝিয়া নেহ॥
মড়ক বুঝিয়া ধরিয়ে ডাল
ছায়ায় বুঝিয়া মাথা।
গাহক বুঝিয়া গুণ প্রকাশিয়ে
বেথিত দেখিয়া বেথা॥
অবিচারে সই করিলুঁ পিরীতি
কেন কৈলুঁ হেন কাজে।
প্রেম-দাস কহে ধীরহ সুন্দরি
কহিলে পাইবা লাজে॥

১৮২॥ [২৬৫]

প্রেমানন্দ

এ মন, বদনে বলহ হরি হরি।
হেলায় জনম বিফলে গোঙালি
দেখ না কখন মরি॥

মদনে চঞ্চল বিকল হইয়া
সদাই কুপথে ধাইলি।
পুরব স্মরিয়া বুঝ না তুমি কি
ইহাই করিতে আইলি॥
ব্যাপারে আসিয়া মূল হারাইছ
তল্লাস করি নাচাও।
ঠকের সহিতে এ তোর মিতালি
কবে বা সে বোধ পাও॥
জান না নরকে ফেলিয়া পচাবে
অন্তক যাহার নাম।
এখন তখন কখন আসিয়া
গলায় বাঁধিবে দাম॥
ভারত-ভুবনে মানুষজনম
এমন আর বা কবে।
ইহাতে না হৈলে তখন হবে কি
শৃগাল কুকুর যবে॥
বল হরি হরি শমনে রাখহ
তাহারে করহ রাজি।
কহে প্রেমানন্দ ইহাতে যে ভুলে
সে মেনে বড়ই পাজি॥
১৮৩॥ [২৬৬-২৬৭]॥

এ মন, বল রে গোবিন্দ-নাম।
আজি কালি করি কি আর ভাবিছ
কবে তোর ঘুচিবে কাম॥
কালি সে করিবা তুমি যে বলিছ
আজি তা কর না ভাই।
আজি যা করিব তা কর এখনি
কি জানি কখন যাই॥
এহেন কলিতে মানুষ জনম
এমন আর বা কাতে।
হরিনাম দিয়া জগত তারিলা
শ্রীকৃষ্ণচৈতন্য যাতে॥
সে তিনযুগের আচার বিচার
এখন সে সব রাখ।
বদন ভরিয়া গৌর-হরি বল
যুগের ধরম দেখ॥
রসনা বদন বশের ভিতরে
কেবল বলিলে হয়।
আলিস করিয়া নরকে যাইতে
কার বা এ অপচয়॥
শমনকিঙ্কর অঙ্গুলি গণিছে
জান না কখন পাড়ে।
কহে প্রেমানন্দ তখন কহিবে
আসিয়া চড়িলে ঘাড়ে॥
১৮৪॥ [২৬৭-২৬৮]॥

ওরে মন, কি গুমান তনুনায়ে চড়ি।
কোন সুখে ভুলিয়াছ বিচারিয়া দেখ পিছ
ভবসিন্ধু দিতে হবে পাড়ি॥
দেখ না মায়ার পাক নৌকা ফিরে যেন চাক
ইহা কি বুঝিতে নার ভাই।
দুর্বাসনাকুবাতাসে এ ঢেউ আকাশ স্পর্শে
ধনজন যার ক্ষমা নাই॥
কামাদি এ মাতোয়াল তারে কৈলি কেরোয়াল
পাকাইয়া ফিরাইছে তরী।
যে বেটা কুবুদ্ধি পাজি তারে করিয়াছ মাঝি
না জানি কখন ডুবি মরি॥
ভব তরিবারে চাও সুবুদ্ধিকাণ্ডারী লও
দশেন্দ্রিয় কেরোয়াল করি।
হরি-গুণ গাঞা সারি বাইচ দিয়া দে রে পাড়ি
মধ্যে মধ্যে বল হরি হরি॥
জীর্ণ না হইতে নাও আগুতেই পাড়ি দেও
পার হইয়া কর ঠাকুরাল।
আগে না হইলে পার পিছে কি করিবে আর
নৌকা বা থাকিবে কত কাল॥

বহুদূর পারাবার বিলম্ব না কর আর
দাঁড়ি মাঝি হইবে দুর্ব্বল।
প্রেমানন্দ কহে মন তবে কিবা প্রয়োজন
যদি নৌকা ঘাটে হয় তল॥
১৮৫॥ [২৬৮-২৬৯]॥

ঘনরাম-দাস

পঞ্চবরিখবয়সা- কৃতি মোহন
ধাবমান পর অঙ্গনা।
পায়স পাণিতলে আওর মাখন
খায়ত মিটায়ত বয়না॥
দোলে দোলে মোহন গোপাল।
প্রখর চরণগতি মুখর কিঙ্কিণী কটি
লোটন লোলয়ে বনমাল॥
সোনায় বান্ধিল ভাল রুরুনখ উরে মাল
পিঠে দোলে পাট-কি থোপ।
খেনে আলগছি দেই খেনে ভূমে গড়ি যাই
খেনে পরসন্ন খেনে কোপ॥
নন্দ সুনন্দ যশোমতী রোহিণী
আনন্দে সুতমুখ চায়।
অরুণ দৃগঞ্চল কাজরে রঞ্জিত
হাসি হাসি বদন দেখায়॥
কুন্তলে রতনমণি ঝলমল দেখি।
কুণ্ডলে উজ্জ্বল গণ্ড কাজররেখি॥
ঘনরাম-দাসে বোলে শুন নন্দরাণী।
ত্রিজগতনাথ নাচাও করে দিয়া ননী॥
১৮৬॥ [২৭২-২৭৩]॥

রাধামোহন-ঠাকুর

অভিনবজলধররুচির সুদেহ।
পীতাম্বরবর তড়িতথিররেহ॥
জয় জয় গোবিন্দ গোকুলভাগি।
ব্রজনবরমণী যাক মন লাগি॥
কত কোটি চাঁদ জিনিয়া বরমুখ।
যাকর দরশে মিটয়ে সব দুখ॥
নিরুপমরূপজলধি-অবতার।
রাধামোহনপহু মুরতিশিঙ্গার॥
১৮৭॥ [২৭৬]॥

নরহরি-চক্রবর্ত্তী

নাচত গৌর
নিখিলনটপণ্ডিত
নিরুপম ভঙ্গি
মদনমন হরই।
প্রচুরচণ্ডকর-
দরপরিভঞ্জন-
অঙ্গকিরণে দিক-
বিদিক উজরই॥
উনমত-অতুল-
সিংহ জিনি গরজন
শুনইতে বলী কলি-
বারণ ডরই।
ঘন ঘন লম্ফ
ললিতগতি চঞ্চল-
চরণঘাতে ক্ষিতি
টলমল করই॥
কিন্নরগরব
খরব করু পরিকর
গায়ত উলসে
অমিয়রস ঝরই।
বায়ত বহুবিধ
খোল খমক ধুনি
পরশত গগন
কৌন ধৃতি ধরই॥

অতুল-প্রতাপ
কাঁপি দুরজনগণ
লেঅই শরণ
চরণতলে পড়ই।
নরহরি-পহুঁক
কিরীতি রহু জগ ভরি
পরমদুলহ ধন
নিয়ত বিতরই॥
১৮৮॥ [২৮০-২৮১]॥

দেবরমণী- বৃন্দ বিরচি
বেশ বিবিধভাঁতি।
রাজত থল- মাহি অতুল
ঝলকে কনককাঁতি॥
ভ্রমত গগন- পথ অগণন
যূথ হিয়-উৎসাহ।
মানত দিঠি সফল নিরখি
গৌরবর-বিবাহ॥
মিশ্র-ভবন রীত রুচির
উচরি পুলকগাত।
নবনব-অভি- লাষ করই
ধৃতি ধরই ন যাত॥
নিরুপম পহু- প্রেয়সীছবি
লোচন ভরি নেত।
নরহরি কত ভাখব সবে
প্রাণ নিছনি দেত॥
১৮৯॥ [২৮২]॥

নটবর

গোপীগণকুচ- কুঙ্কুমে রঞ্জিত
অরুণবসন শোভে অঙ্গে।
কাঞ্চননিন্দিত- কান্তি কলেবর
রাই-পরসরসসঙ্গে॥

দেখ দেখ অপরূপ গৌর-বিলাস।
লাখযুবতিরতি যো গুরুলম্পট
সো অব করল সন্ন্যাস॥
যো ব্রজবধূগণ- দৃঢ়ভুজবন্ধন
অবিরত রহত আগোর।
সো তনু পুলকে পূরিত অব ঢরঢর
নয়নে গলয়ে প্রেমলোর॥
যো নটবর ঘন- শ্যামকলেবর
বৃন্দাবিপিনবিহারী।
কহয়ে নটবর সো অব অকিঞ্চন
ঘরে ঘরে প্রেমভিখারী॥
১৯০॥ [২৮৩]॥

বিন্দু

কলধৌতকলেবর গৌর-তনু।
তছু রঙ্গতরঙ্গ নিতাই জনু॥
কোটি কাম জিনি কিয়ে অঙ্গছটা।
অবধূত বিরাজিত চন্দ্রঘটা॥
শচীনন্দন-কণ্ঠে সুরঙ্গমালা।
তহিঁ রোহিণীনন্দন দীগ আলা॥
গজরাজগতি দোন ভাই চলে।
মকরাকৃতিকুণ্ডল গণ্ডে দোলে॥
মুনি ধ্যান ভুলে সতীধর্ম্ম টলে।
জগতারণকারণ বিন্দু বোলে॥
১৯১॥ [২৮৫]॥

গোবর্দ্ধন

বাজে দিগ্ দিগ্ থৈয়া হোরি রঙ্গে।
কিশোর কিশোরী সখিনী মেলি
তপনতনয়াতীরে কেলি
সুখময় অতি মধু ঋতুপতি
রতিপতি তথি সঙ্গে॥

মসৃণঘুসৃণ চুবক চন্দন
যন্ত্ররন্ধ্রে বরিখে সঘন
অরুণ বসন লুলিত রশন
শ্রমজল গল অঙ্গে।

বীণ মুরজ সর উপাঙ্গ
ত্রিমিকি ত্রিমিকি ত্রিমি মৃদঙ্গ
চঞ্চল গতি খঞ্জন জিতি
নৃত্যতি অতি ভঙ্গে॥

গাওয়ে গমকে গোপী মেলি
গৌরী গুর্জ্জরী রামকেলী
সুভগা সুহিনী সুহই সাহানী
সঙ্গীতরসতরঙ্গে।

যুথে যুথে যুবতিবৃন্দ
মাঝে শোহত গোকুলচন্দ
গোবর্দ্ধন-হৃদি বর্দ্ধন
কর মর্দ্দন অনঙ্গে॥

১৯২॥ [২৮৬-২৮৭]

আনন্দচন্দ্রের বাণী
শুন হে সকল প্রাণী
ভজ গোরা দিনক্ষণে
শচীর কিশোরা॥

১৯৩॥ [২৮৮]

বৃষভানুনন্দিনী-কে শোভা বনী
বরণ কিরণছবি জিনি দামিনী॥
চরণকমল-পর নখরনিশাকর
মঞ্জীর রঞ্জিত মধুরধ্বনি।
কিয়ে বিধি অদভুত উরুযুগ নিরমিত
খীনকটি নীলিমবসনকসিনী॥
কিয়ে মুখছন্দ জিনি কোটি চন্দ
কামকামান ভাঙ মৃগনয়নী।
শ্যামভুজঙ্গিনী বেণী-কে লাবণি
আনন্দ-মতিগতিদুখহরণী॥

১৯৪॥ [২৮৮-২৮৯]॥

আনন্দচন্দ্র

লাগ্যাছে নয়নে নবনাগর গোরা।
কুলবতী যুবতী সতীর মনচোরা॥
হেরি গোরার মুখশশী
নাহি জানি নিশিদিশি
সদাই আনন্দে ভাসি
প্রেমরসে ভোরা॥

অরুণ নয়ানের কোণে
চাহে গোরা যার পানে
পরাণ সহিতে টানে
কি করিব মোরা।

নবকান্ত

অঞ্জলি ভরি ফাগু লেই সখীগণে।
রাইকানু-অঙ্গে দেই ঘনে ঘনে।
দোলা-পরি দুহুঁ দোলত ভাল॥
গাওত কোই সখী ধরি তাল॥
বাওত কতকত যন্ত্র সুরঙ্গ।
বীণ রবাব সরমণ্ডল উপাঙ্গ॥
শোভিত তরুকুল বিকশিত ফুল।
ঝঙ্কর মধুমদে সব অলিকুল॥
মলয়পবন বহে যামুনতীর।
নাচত শিখিকুল কুঞ্জকুটীর॥
বিলসই তহিঁ দোল-পর কান।
ইহ নবকান্ত দুহুঁক গুণ গান।

১৯৫॥ [২৮৯]॥

দীনদাস

তুহুঁ বিদগধবর তনী (?) পরাণ।
আজু শুনল হাম মনসিজনাম॥
অঞ্চল পরশিতে অন্তর কাঁপ।
রমণী সহয়ে কিয়ে এতয়ে আলাপ॥
এ হরি এ হরি অতয়ে হামার।
হাম কিছু না বুঝিয়ে ও-রসবিচার॥
আরতি অধিক নাহি কিছু লাভ।
দারিদঘর যাচক নাহি যাব॥
জল বিনু জলচর না করয়ে কেলি।
কলিকাকমলে ভ্রমর নহে মেলি॥
দেখইতে শুনইতে পাওঁ তরাস।
আজি পুছব মুঞি প্রিয়সখী-পাশ॥
সো যব জানয়ে এসব শুধি।
দীনদাস কহ ভাল কহ বুধি॥

১৯৬॥ [২৯০]॥

দীনহীনদাস

মরি মরি না লো নদীয়ার মাঝারে ওনা রূপ
কেবল মূরতিময় পিরীতির কূপ॥
বদনমণ্ডল চান্দ ঝলমল
কনকদরপণনিন্দিতে।
কপাল রঙ্গিম ভুরুর ভঙ্গিম
অতনুসারঙ্গখণ্ডিতে॥
নয়নযুগল প্রেমে ছলছল
নাসা খগপতিনিন্দিতে।
চান্দমুখে হরি বলে কান্দিতে কান্দিতে॥
তেজি সুখময় শয়ন আসন
নামডোর গলে শোভিতে।
সুগন্ধি চন্দন অঙ্গে লেপন
সঙ্কীর্ত্তনধূলিভূষিতে॥
ভাবে গরগর না চিনে নিজ পর
পুলক-আবলিশোভিতে।
'রা' বলিয়া 'ধা' বোল না পারে বলিতে॥
বাজয়ে মাদল করহি করতাল
কলিকলুষভয় নাশিতে।
ভকতগণ মেলি দেই করতালি
ফিরয়ে চৌদিকে নাচিতে॥
চরণপল্লব ভকতবল্লভ
কলপতরুপরকাশিতে।
দীনহীনদাসের মন রহিল তাহাতে॥

১৯৭॥ [২৯১]॥

নন্দ

দেখ সখি বরিষারঙ্গ।
কোন অপরাধে আনায়ল মনমথ
কাটিতে বিরহিণী-অঙ্গ॥
চড়ি রহু কুম্ভ কদম্বগজেন্দ্রহি
বান্ধল কেতকীতূণ।
ধরি ধনুরাজ সাজ করি নীরদ
গরজল সমরে নিপুণ॥
ধরি খরশাণ তড়িত-অসি চঞ্চল
চমকই বারহি বার।
চাতকচয় জয়- শঙ্খশবদ করু
দেখি সুখী শিখিপরিবার॥
মণ্ডুকগণ ঘন করু রণবাজন
সারস হংস বিষাণ।
পবনক অঙ্গ সঙ্গ করি উড়ত
নববকপাঁতিনিশান॥
কো কহে নীর তীর জনু বরিখত
মুরছিত বিরহিণীবৃন্দ।
নাসাপবনে কেমনে ধনী বারব
অপশোসই দ্বিজ নন্দ॥

১৯৮॥ [২৯২-২৯৩]॥

কৃষ্ণকান্ত

কনকধরাধরমদহর দেহ।
মদনপরাভব সুবরণগেহ॥
হোর দেখ অপরূপ গৌর-কিশোর।
কৈছন ভাব নহত কছু ওর॥
ঘনপুলকাবলি দিঠি জলধার।
উরধ নেহারি রচই ফুতকার॥
নিরুপম নিরজন রাসবিলাস।
অচল সুসঞ্চর গদগদভাষ॥
কিয়ে রবমাধুরী বাঁশীনিসান।
ইহা বলি সঘনে পাতে নিজ কান॥
সদন তেজি তব চলল একান্ত।
মীলব অব জনি কিয়ে কৃষ্ণকান্ত॥
১৯৯॥ [২৯৪]॥

চূড়ামণি-দাস

নাচত মোহন নন্দদুলাল (মেরো কান)
নাসাবিরাজিত মোতিমভূষণ
কটিমাঝে ঘুঙুরু রসাল॥
সুন্দর উর-পর রর রুরুনথ পদ-
সরোরুহ রতনমঞ্জীর।
নবনববৎস- পুচ্ছ ধরি ধাওত
পড়ত অঙ্গন ধূলিধূসর শরীর॥
মরকতচান্দ- মুকুর মুখমণ্ডল
পরিসর কুঞ্চিত অলকহিলোল।
ব্রজরমণী পর- বোধ করায়ত
নয়ন ফিরাওত আধআধ বোল॥
অভিনব নীল- জলদ জিনি তনুরুচি
কহিল নহিল রূপ কিয়ে নিরমাণ।
কত কত ভকত যতন করি ধ্যাওত
সবে চূড়ামণি-দাসের এই নিবেদন॥
২০০॥ [২৯৫-২৯৬]॥

জগমোহন-দাস

রাধা মাধব-সঙ্গ।
বিহরয়ে প্রেমতরঙ্গ॥
চৌদিকে সহচরী মেলি।
মণ্ডলী করি করু কেলি॥
করহিঁ করহিঁ বন্ধান।
মাঝহি রাধা কান॥
বহুবিধ রাগিণী ছন্দ।
গাওত কতহুঁ পরবন্ধ॥
কত কত যন্ত্র রসাল।
ভেদ পড়ন ধরু তাল॥
অপরূপ রাসবিলাস।
কহ জগমোহন-দাস॥
২০১॥ [২৯৬-২৯৭]॥

উদ্ধব-দাস (২)

কালিন্দীর কূল বিকসিত ফুল মত্ত অলিকুল
পড়লহি পাঁতিয়া।
নাচত মোর করতহি সোর অনঙ্গ আগোর
ফিরতহিঁ মাতিয়া॥
কানন-ওর হেরইতে ভোর কিশোরী কিশোর
প্রেমরসে ভাসিয়া।
ঝূলনকেলি দুহুঁ জন মেলি অঙ্গ-অঙ্গ হেলি
হৃদয় উল্লসিয়া॥
কতয়ে সুতান করতহিঁ গান রাখত মান
যন্ত্র সুরঙ্গিয়া।
দেই করতাল অতি সুরসাল কহে ভালি ভল
বাওয়ে মৃদঙ্গিয়া॥
কত রসভাষ কমলবিকাশ মৃদু মৃদু হাস
দুহুঁ-চন্দ্রাননে।
উদ্ধবদাস- চিতমন-আশ দুহুঁক বিলাস
দরশন কাননে॥
২০২॥ [২৯৮]॥

মুরলী রে, মিনতি করিয়ে বারেবার।
শ্যামের অধরে রৈয়া রাধা রাধা নাম লইয়া
তুমি যেনে না বাজিও আর॥

খলের বদনে থাক নাম ধরি সদা ডাক
গুরুজনা করে অপযশ।
খল হয় যেই জনা সে কি ছাড়ে খলপনা
তুমি কেনে হও তার বশ॥

তোমার মধুরস্বরে রহিতে নারিলুঁ ঘরে
নীঝরে ঝরয়ে দুনয়ান।
পহিলে বাজিলা যবে কুল শীল গেল তবে
অবশেষে আছে মোর প্রাণ॥

যে বাজিলা সেই ভাল ইথেই সকলি গেল
তোরে আমি কহিলুঁ নিশ্চয়।
এ দাস উদ্ধব ভণে যে বাঁশীর গান শুনে
সে জন তেজই কুলভয়॥

২০৩॥ [২৯৯]॥

বৈষ্ণবদাস

যমুনাক তীর- সমীর ইহ মৃদু
অলি পিক পঞ্চম গানে।
দুহুঁ রসে ভোর ওর নাহি পাওব
বিলসব নটনবিধানে॥

সদয়ে, হেন কিরিপা হবে তোর।
সৌ রসবৈভব রাসমহোৎসব
দরশন হোয়ব মোর॥

সহচরী সঙ্গে রঙ্গে করি মণ্ডলী
যবহুঁ নাচায়বি শ্যাম।
তব সঙ্গী-ইঙ্গিতে তন্ত্র সঙারিয়া
যন্ত্র দেয়ব তুয়া ঠাম॥

হেন কিয়ে হোয়ব মহতী সু বোলব
হরিষহিঁ হেরবি মোয়।
হাম তব অমিয়া- সরোবরে ডুবব
শুনব মধুর স্বর সোয়॥

নাচব নটবর- শেখর নাগর
গায়বি তুহুঁ সখী সঙ্গে।
তুহুঁ নাচবি যব নাগর গাওব
কত কত রাগতরঙ্গে॥

ঐছন অনুদিন শ্রীবৃন্দাবনে
বিলসবি রাসবিলাস।
ইহ দুরভগ জন সো কিয়ে দরশন
পাওব বৈষ্ণবদাস॥

২০৪॥ [৩০০-৩০১]॥

গৌরসুন্দর-দাস

শুন ভাই কৃষ্ণসংকীর্ত্তন।
শুনইতে কীর্ত্তন তনুমন সুশীতল
বিজয়ী করয়ে ত্রিভুবন॥

চীতদরপণ করয়ে জনু মার্জ্জন
মহাভবানলে জনু বারি।
মঙ্গলকুমুদ বিধু কিরণ প্রদাপই
জীবন ভেল বিদ্যানারী।

আনন্দজলধি করয়ে অতি বর্দ্ধন
দেহ দেহ পীযূষপান।
ঐছন অপরূপ না দেখি না শুনিয়ে
কয়ল গৌর প্রেমধাম॥

উত্তম অধম দীন হীন জন
কয়ল প্রেমরসে ভোর।
হেন সংকীর্ত্তন মঝু মন না দরবে
গৌরসুন্দর-পাপ জোর॥

২০৫॥ [৩০২-৩০৩]

মথুরেশ-দাস

মদনমদালসে শ্যামর ভোর।
শশিমুখী হাসি হাসি করু কোর॥
রহি রহি চুম্বই নাহবয়ান।
চান্দ চকোর মিলল একুঠাম॥
অধর নিরখি রস পিবি অগেয়ান।
অমিয়াবহোদধি ডুবল কাহ্ন॥
ধনি ধনি রাধা-রসনিরবাহ।
বশ ভেল অধিক কলাগুরু নাহ॥
নয়ন ঢুলাঢুলি লহুঁ লহু হাস।
অঙ্গ হেলাহেলি গদগদ ভাষ।
রসভরে দূরে রহু শিখণ্ড পীতবাস।
দুহুঁ রূপনীছনি মথুরেশ-দাস॥

২০৬॥ [৩০৪]॥

মুকুন্দ-দাস

নালকমলদল
ঈষত মধুর মৃদু হাস।
নবঘন জিনি কালা গলাএ গুঞ্জার মালা
আভীরবালক চারিপাশ॥

মণিময় ঝুরি মাথে অঙ্গদ বলয়া হাথে
রতননূপুর রাঙ্গা পায়।
হাসিতে খেলিতে চায় গোধূলিধূসর গায়
বর্হা উড়িছে মন্দবায়॥

নবীনরাখাল হরি নটবরবেশ ধরি
শিশু সঙ্গে গরুয়া চরায়।
ভূষণ বনের ফুল কি দিব তাহার তুল
মুকুন্দ আনন্দে গুণ গায়॥

২০৭॥ [৩০৫]॥

নন্দকিশোর

লোচনলোরে ঘোরি মন মৃগমদ
কলম করল নখচন্দ্র।
পদনখে দাস- কবজ পহুঁ লিখইতে
হরখি ধরল পদদ্বন্দ্ব॥

সুন্দরী অন্তরে উলসিত ভেল।
আদর সুখই সুধারসবাদরে
বিরহতাপ দূর গেল॥

করে কর বারইতে অন্তর দরদর
রসবতী পুলকিত-অঙ্গ।
উপজল প্রেম- বিহগপতি তনু ভরে
ভাগল মানভুজঙ্গ॥

নাহবাহ ধরি অথিরকলেবর
মদনজলধিজলভঙ্গে।
ভাঙ্গল মান- জনিত ভয় মাধব
কোরে পসারল রঙ্গে॥

ভুজভুজবন্ধন- নিবিড় আলিঙ্গন
মদন বদন একু মেলি।
নন্দকিশোর হেরি অনুমানই
দুহুঁক কলহ কিয়ে কেলি॥

২০৮॥ [৩০৬]

রাম-অবতারে অনুজ লক্ষ্মণ
কৃষ্ণ-অবতারে বলরাম।
ইবে কলিকালে গৌর-অগ্রজ
নিতাই তাহার নাম॥

অবধৌতবেশে ফিরে দেশে দেশে
ছাড়ি নটবরবেশ।
ভাই ভাই বলি আবেশে অবশ
আইলা গৌড়দেশ॥

রাধার অনুজ অনঙ্গমঞ্জরী
জাহ্নবা যাহার নাম।
তার প্রাণপতি নিতাই-সুন্দর
সেই সে আমার প্রাণ॥

অযাচিত জনে যাচি প্রেম দেই
ভিন্নপর নাহি করে।
কে আছে এমন দয়ার ঠাকুর
তারয়ে নন্দকিশোরে॥

২০৯॥ [৩০৭]

দীনবন্ধু-দাস

ধনী সাজত শ্যামমনোহর বেশ।
কসি কানড় ছাঁদে বাঁধাওল কেশ॥
সীঁথি সিন্দুর চন্দনবিন্দুছটা।
রবিমণ্ডল বেঢ়ল চাঁদঘটা॥
মৃগনাভিবিচিত্রিত গণ্ডদুকূল।
বরবেশর লম্বিত নাসিকমূল॥
ঘনকুঙ্কুম ঘোরি লেপি কুচভার।
তহি শোভিত সুন্দর মোতিমহার॥
করকঙ্কণ হেরি অনঙ্গ বিভোর।
কটি কিঙ্কিণী মণ্ডিত নীলনিচোল॥
পদপঙ্কজ রঞ্জিত যাবকরঙ্গ।
দীনবন্ধু নেহারি প্রফুল্লিত-অঙ্গ॥

২১০॥ [৩০৯]

জঙ্গলতট- পন্থ-নিকট
আসি দেখিল গোপিনী।
গোপসঙ্গে শ্যাম রঙ্গে
গোঠে কয়ল সাজনী॥
না পাঞা বিরল আঁখি ছলছল
ভাবিঞা আকুল গোপিকা।
নাহ রমণ- দরশন বিনু
কৈছে জীয়ব রাধিকা॥
যামুনকূল চম্পকমূল
তাহিঁ বসিল নাগরী।
দীনবন্ধু পড়ল ধন্দ
হইল বিপদপাগলী॥

২১১॥ [৩১০]॥

নিজ মন্দির তেজি গতং ঝটকং।
চলকুণ্ডলমণ্ডিতগণ্ডতটং॥
মদমত্তমতঙ্গজমন্দগতা।
জটিলাপদপঙ্কজধূলিনতা॥
নতকন্ধর হেরি গতং সুবলং।
জটিলা জয় দেই বলে কুশলং॥
মধুরাধরবাতহি শূধমিঠং।
গুরুগর্ব্বিত শুনি ত দেই পিঠং॥
সুবলাকৃতি রাই বনে গমনং।
রহু দীনবন্ধু-কলিতং ভণনং॥

২১২॥ [৩১০-৩১১]

নয়নানন্দ (২)

চলল দূতী কুঞ্জর জিতি
মন্থরগতিগামিনী।
খঞ্জনদিঠি অঞ্জন মিঠি
চঞ্চলমতি চাহনী॥

নিশিমুখে সুখে হরি ছান্দত গাই।
গাবীদোহন কেলি করত মাধাই॥
দোহত গাবী সখাগণ সঙ্গ।
ঘরঘর গাগরী বোলত রঙ্গ॥

গোদোহন কেলি করু অবসান।
সহচর আসি পুন ভেটল কান॥
এ নয়নানন্দ কহই জুড়ি হাত।
একে একে মীলল সকল সাঁগাত॥
২১৩॥ [৩১২]॥

উঠ গোপাল প্রাতঃকাল মুখ নেহারি তের।
রজনী অব- সান ভেই কাম ভেই মের॥
উঠত ভানু দেখত কানু রজনী গেই দূর।
বালক সঙ্গে মেলত রঙ্গে রৌহিণেয় বলবীর॥
এই শ্রীদাম দাম সুদাম সঙ্গিগণ তের।
পূরত বেণু ধাওত ধেনু আঙ্গিনা ভরল মের॥
নন্দরাণী পসারি পাণি বালক লেই কোর।
মুখ নেহারি দুঃখ বিসরি কিয়ে সুখ জানি ওর॥
শ্যামচন্দ্র চন্দ্র উদিত নাশল হৃদি ঘোর।
হেরিয়া বয়ন কহিছে নয়ন উঠ কানাই মোর॥
২১৪ [৩১২-৩১৩]॥

গোকুলচন্দ্র

ধৈর্য্যং রহু ধৈর্য্যং রহু
গচ্ছং মথুরায়ে
চুঁড়ব পুরী পতিপ্রতীক্ষে
যাহাঁ দরশন পাওয়ে॥
অতি ভদ্রং অতি ভদ্রং
শীঘ্রং কুরু গমনা।
অবিলম্বে মথুরাপুরী
প্রবেশ করিল ললনা॥
এক রমণী অল্পবয়সী
নিজপ্রয়োজন পুছে।
নন্দ-জাত কৃষ্ণ খ্যাত
কাহার ভবনে আছে॥
শুনি সো ধনী কহই বাণী
সো কাহাঁ হিয়াঁ আজব।
বসুদেবকী-সুত কৃষ্ণ খ্যাত
কংস-রিপু মাধব॥
সোই সোই কোই কোই
দরশনে মঝু আসা।
গোকুলচন্দ্র কহে জাও জাও
ওই যে উচ্চ বাসা॥
২১৫॥ [৩১৩-৩১৪]

ললিতার সনে রাই গেলা নিজ ঘর।
শ্যামপ্রেমে গরগর সভয় অন্তর॥
নিরবধি চমকিত নহে গৃহকাজ।
সঙরে বন্ধুর গুণ তেজি সব লাজ॥
হেনকালে আইলা তথি ব্রজবধূগণ।
রাই বলে ভাল হৈল আইলে সখীগণ॥
পিয়া বিনু হিয়া মোর ধরণ না যায়।
তাহার দর্শনে পুন সুজহ উপায়॥
জটিলারে বিশাখিকা করে নিবেদন।
সূর্য্য পূজিতে আজু করিব গমন॥
সামগ্রী আনিঞা দেহ উত্তম করিআ।
সখী সনে চলে গোকুল রাধারে লইয়া॥
২১৬॥ [৩১৫]॥

জগদানন্দ (২)

আরতি করে নন্দরাণী বালকমুখ হেরি।
গাওত নব- নাগরী সব রাখাল সকল ঘেরি॥

রম্ভাফল ঘৃতপ্রদীপ পুষ্পরচিত থালি।
সুন্দরীগণে হুলোতি দেই শিশুগণ করতালী॥
রাখি শিঙ্গাবেণু যশোদা মাই কোরে নিল দুনো ভাই।
মাখন দহি দেই ক্ষীর খাওয়ে রাম কানাই॥
সকল শিশুর মুখ তুলি তুলি যশোমতী চুমা খাওয়ে।
মঙ্গল পুছে নন্দঘোষ জগদানন্দ গাওয়ে॥
২১৭॥ [৩১৬]॥

নীলাম্বর

রাধা-বিনয়করুণা শুনি কান।
জরজর-অন্তর সজলনয়ান॥
পাণি পসারি ধনী কোরে নেল।
বদন চাহি হরি হরষিত ভেল॥
পীতবসনে পদ দেই মুছাই।
বচন-অমিয়ারসে তুষল রাই॥
চিতধৈরজ ধর না ভাবিহ আন।
নীলাম্বর কহে কর অবধান॥
২১৮॥ [৩২০]॥

ভাগবতানন্দ

সোনার বরণ গা চলে বা না চলে পা
ভাবভরে পড়ে আউলাইয়া।
গোবিন্দের কান্ধে বাহু দিয়া চলে মহাপ্রভু
নাচে পহু 'হরি বোল' বলিয়া॥
পুলকে পূরিত তনু কদম্বকেশর জনু
মুখ হেরি [পড়ে] কত জনা।
আবেশে অবশ হৈয়া ভুজযুগ পশারিয়া
কোল দিতে পাসরে আপনা॥
নীলাচলের মাঝে ভকতসমাজে সাজে
সঙ্কীর্ত্তন-অঙ্গ পরকাশ।
কহে ভাগবতানন্দ মনে বড় আনন্দ
জনমে জনমে হব দাস॥
২১৯॥ [৩২১]॥

চন্দ্রশেখর (৩)

কাহে তুহুঁ কলহ করি কান্তমুখ তেজলি
অব সে বসি রোয়সি কাহে রাধে।
মেরুসম মান করি উলটি ফিরি বৈঠলি
নাহ যব চরণ ধরি সাধে॥
তবহুঁ উহে নাগরি ভর্ৎসন করি তেজলি
মান বহু রতন করি গণলা।
অবহুঁ তুহুঁ ধরমপথ- কাহিনী উগারসি
রোখে হরি বিমুখ ভই চললা॥
কাতরে তুয়া চরণযুগ বেঢ়ি ভুজপল্লবে
নাহ নিজশপতি বহু দেল।
নিপটকুটিনাটি কটু কঠিনী বজরাবুকী
কৈছে কর চরণ-পর ঠেল॥
অবহুঁ সব সখিনী তব নিকটে নাহি বৈঠব
হেনই অবিচার যদি করলি।
চন্দ্রশেখর কহে কতয়ে সমুঝায়ল
মঝু বচন উপেখি প্রেম ভাঙ্গলি॥
২২০॥ [৩২৪]॥

স্বর্ণবর্ণ বিবর্ণ ভৈ গেল
পূর্ণবিধুমুখ তূর্ণ নীরসল
নয়নপঙ্কজনীরহি ভীগল
হিয়ক অম্বর গো।
মান ভেল তুয়া প্রাণগাহক
নহিলে উপেখসি রসিক নায়ক
যো ভেল সো ভেল অবহুঁ অবুধিনী
আপন সম্বর গো॥
যতহি মন-মহ কোপ উপজত
ততহি কোপ কি করিতে সমুচিত
পায়ে পরণত সে জন হোয়ত
তাহে কি তেজিয়ে গো।

হীত কহইতে অহিত মানসি
সুহৃদগণে তুহুঁ বৈরী জানসি
অতয়ে দেখি শুনি নীরবে রহি নহি
উতর দীজিয়ে গো ॥

যো বিনে যুগশত নিমিখ হোয়ত
সে তুহে হরি হরি মিনতি কত শত
করল কর জুড়ি গলহিঁ অম্বরে
ধরণী লুঠায়ল গো।
ঐছে হঠপন পলটি বৈঠলি
কান্তবদন নিতান্ত না হেরলি
চন্দ্রশেখর ভণয়ে ভাবিনী
পিরীতি ভাগল গো ॥
২২১ ॥ [৩২৫]

কস্ত্বং শ্যামলধামা।
হরি-কিঙ্কর হাম উদ্ধব-নামা ॥
অদ্য হরিঃ স কুত্র।
মধুপুরে বসই বরজজনমিত্র ॥
কুরুতে কিং মধুনগরে।
কংসক পক্ষ দলন করি বিহরে ॥
পুন পুন পুছই গোরী।
চন্দ্রশেখর কহে প্রেমভিখারী ॥
২২২ ॥ [৩২৬] ॥

শশিশেখর

অতি শীতল মলয়ানিল
মন্দমধুরবহনা।
হরি-বৈমুখ হামারি অঙ্গ
মদনানলে দহনা ॥

কোকিলাকুল কুহু কুহরই
অলি ঝঙ্কর কুসুমে।
হরি-লালসে তনু তেজব
পাওব আন জনমে ॥

সব সঙ্গিনী ঘিরি বৈঠলি
গাওত হরি-নামে।
যৈখনে শুনে তৈখনে উঠে
নষরাগিণী গানে ॥

ললিতা কোরে করি বৈঠত
বিশাখা ধরে নাটিয়া।
শশিশেখরে কহে গোচরে
যাওত জীউ ফাটিয়া ॥
২২৩ ॥ [৩২৭] ॥

নীলোৎপল- মুখমণ্ডল
ঝামর কাহে ভেল।
মদনজ্বরে তনু তাতল
জাগরে নিশি গেল ॥

সিন্দুরহি পরিমণ্ডিত
চৌরস কাহে ভাল।
গোবর্দ্ধনে গৌরীক সেবি
সিন্দুর তথি নেল ॥

নখরক্ষত বক্ষসি তুয়া
দেয়ল কোন নারী।
কণ্টকে তনু ক্ষতবিক্ষত
তুহে ঢুঁড়ইতে গোরি ॥

নীলাম্বর কাহে পহিরলি
পীতাম্বর ছোড়ি।
অগ্রজ সঞে পরিবর্ত্তিত
নন্দালয়ে ভোরি ॥

অঞ্জন কাহে গণ্ডস্থলে
খণ্ডন কাহে অধরে।
উত্তর-প্রতি- উত্তর দিতে
পরাজয় শশিশেখরে॥
২২৪॥ [৩২৮]॥

বিশ্বম্ভর-দাস (২)

জাগী হো কিশোরী গোরী রজনী ভই ভোরে।
রতি-অলসমে নিন্দ জাওত রসরাজহি কোরে॥
নীলবসন মণি-অভরণ ভই গেও বিথারে।
সাসু ননদী এইসে বিবাদী মনমে নাহি তেরে॥
নগরক[লোক] জাগি বৈঠব কেইসে জাওব
পুরে।
অরুণ-উদয় হোই আওত শারী শুক ফুকারে॥
শুনি নাগর উঠি বৈঠল নাগরী করি কোরে।
বিশ্বম্ভর-দাস ঝারি পুরি লেই ঠারি রহত দ্বারে॥
২২৫॥ [৩২৫]॥

রোহিণীনন্দন-দাস

ভজ মন রাধে কৃষ্ণ গোবিন্দ।
যাকো নামহি মোচিত ভববন্ধ
হোতহি প্রেম-আনন্দ॥
এ শুক শঙ্কর সনক সনাতন
অন্ত নাহি পাওয়ে অনন্ত।
যাকো নামহি ত্রিভুবনমঙ্গল
অহর্নিশি জপতহি সন্ত॥
যাকো নামহি সুরাসুর নরবর
মুনিগণ করত ধেয়ান।
যাকো নাম রউত নারদ সদা
ভুবন ফিরত কর গান॥
বেদহি যাকো যশগুণ গাওত
করতহি নাম-কি আশ।
তাকো নামহি পাপিজন বঞ্চিত
রোহিণীনন্দন-দাস॥
২২৬॥ [৩৩০]

যাকর পদদ্যুতি- দরশনে নিগরব
কোটি কোটি মনুমথ ভেল।
কুটিল দৃগঞ্চল বিদগধি বিহরণি
ত্রিভুবনমন হরি নেল॥
অভিনবজলধর- সুন্দর-আকৃতি
করতহি প্রেমবিহার।
ত্রিজগতযুবতীক ভাগিবরসাধন
মূরতি সিদ্ধি অবতার॥
সো অব নন্দহি নন্দন নাগর
তোহে করু আনন্দভোর।
শ্রীশচীনন্দন ও নবমাধুরী
বরণি না পাওল ওর॥
২২৭॥ [৩৩১]

রাসানন্দ

সুরীত কহায়সি সখীগণ মেলি।
গঞ্জনে দুখ দ্বিগুণ করি দেলি॥
একে হাম দুখিনী অনাথিনী নারী।
দগধপরাণে দহসি অবিচারি॥
সখি হে মঝ মন বুঝসি কোই।
সোই গড়ল প্রেম ভাঙ্গল সোই॥
ইথে যদি মোহে দেওবি অনুতাপ।
কালিয়বিষহ্রদে দেঅব ঝাঁপ॥
ঐছন বাণী কহল যব রাই।
রাসানন্দ তবহুঁ মুখ চাই॥
২২৮॥ [৩৩২]

গোপীনাথ-দুর্ল্লভ

শুন হে নাগরগুরু রসের কল্পতরু
অনাথিনী-রাই-পরাণ।
চতুরের শিরোমণি প্রেমরতনখনি
বিদগধনাগর কান॥
বন্ধু, জানসি রাই তোহারি।
নীল-অম্বর গলে দেই মিনতি করু
রাখবি বচন হামারি॥
যব রাই গুরুজনা সঙ্গতি তব তহি
না করিহ মুরলী-নিসান।
শুনইতে মধুর- শবদে তনু পুলকিত
চমকি চমকি উঠে প্রাণ॥
উতপত চীত রীত নাহি মানত
লোরে নয়ান মোর ঝাঁপ।
তুয়া মুখ দরশনে লাগি চিত আকুল
গুরুদুরজনভয়ে কাঁপ॥
কি করব ও মুখ- চাঁদদরশ বিনে
খেনে কত যুগ করি মানি।
লাখজনচকোর- তাপহরণ মুখ
দেখিলে কি হএ নাহি জানি॥
কহইতে গোরী পুলকে পরিপূরল
নাগর করলহি কোর।
আহা মরি মরি করি চুম্বই কত বেরি
গোপীনাথ-দুর্ল্লভ ভোর॥
২২৯॥ [৩৩৩-৩৩৪]

ব্রজনাথ

দূতীক বচন শুনল যব নাগর
সচকিত পুন পুন হোই।
রাইক শেষ- দশা যব শুনল
ফুকরি ফুকরি কত রোই॥
কাতরে তব হরি দূতীক করে ধরি
দেয়ল আপন মাথে।
দুই-এক দিবস মাঝে হাম যায়ব
তুহুঁ পরবোধব তাথে॥
তুহুঁ মঝু অন্তর জানসি রে সখি
সো বিনে আন নাহি জান।
সো-মুখদরশন বিনে তনু জরজর
অবিরত ঝরই নয়ান॥
রাইক আগে কহবি তুহুঁ সুন্দরি
হামারি মিনতি বেরি বেরি।
কহে ব্রজনাথ তবহি দুখ মীটব
যব হাম ও-মুখ হেরি॥
২৩০॥ [৩৩৪-৩৩৫]॥

অকিঞ্চন-দাস

শুন শুন সুবল সাঙ্গাতি।
সহই না যায় দুখ আজুক রাতি॥
রাইক প্রেমমহিমা নাহি ওর।
পরশি রহই তনু হিয়া হিয়া জোর॥
ভাবে বিভোর রাই মঝু পরসঙ্গ।
অনিমিখ হেরই নয়ন তরঙ্গ॥
রসবতী রাই কতহুঁ রস জান।
প্রেমরসে বান্ধল হামারি পরাণ॥
সো ধনী অধরে অধর যব দেল।
রাজহংস যেন সরোবরে কেল॥
ভণই অকিঞ্চন নাগর সুজান।
ইহ রসলীলা সব তুহুঁ জান॥
২৩১॥ [৩৩৬]॥

যাবটে আমার রাইএর বসতি
গোচর হইবে যবে।
শ্রীরূপমঞ্জরী মোরে কৃপা করি
চরণে রাখিবে কবে॥

মোরে কৃপা করি গোবর্দ্ধন গিরি
রাধাকুণ্ড কুঞ্জবনে।
যেখানে যেখানে আর লীলাস্থানে
নিভৃত নিকুঞ্জবনে॥
নিভৃত নিকুঞ্জে রাই যাবে রঙ্গে
নয়নে দেখিব কবে।
গুরুরূপা সখী অনাথিনী দেখি
পশ্চাতে রাখিবে কবে॥
আর কত দিনে সেবাপরাগণে
আমারে ইঙ্গিতবাণী।
ইঙ্গিত বুঝিব পালঙ্ক বিছাব
রাধারে বসাব আনি॥
পালঙ্ক উপরে বসায়ে রাধারে
চরণ ধুয়াব সুখে।
শুষ্ক বাস দিয়ে চরণ মুছাব
কর্পূরতাম্বুল মুখে॥
ঠাকুরচরণে মোর নিবেদনে
কে আর করিবে দয়া।
অকিঞ্চন-দাসে সেবা অভিলাষে
দেহ মোরে পদছায়া॥
২৩২॥ [৩৩৬-৩৩৭]

দয়াল

পেখলুঁ অপরূপ নন্দকুমার।
কালিন্দীনীর- তীরতরুহেলন
যৈছন জলদসঞ্চার॥
চূড়হি উড়য়ে ময়ূরশিখণ্ডক
সো এক অপরূপ ঠাম।
যৈছন ইন্দ্র- ধনুক তহি উয়ল
ঐছন মঝু মনে ভান॥
মোতিমহার উর-পর লোলত
হেরিয়ে তারকপাঁতি।
কটি-পর পীত- বসন তহি রাজিত
জিনি সৌদামিনীকাঁতি॥
চরণ অবধি বন- মালা বিরাজিত
উনমত মধুকরজাল।
পদপঙ্কজতলে মানস সোঁপলু
কাতরে কহত দয়াল॥
২৩৩॥ [৩৩৮]॥

কাশী-দাস

নন্দনন্দন সঙ্গে মোহন
নওল গোকুলকামিনী।
তপননন্দিনী- তীরে ভালে বনি
ভুবনমোহনলাবণি॥
তা থই তা থই মৃদঙ্গ বাজই
মুখর কঙ্কণ কিঙ্কিণী।
বিলসে গোবিন্দ প্রেম-আনন্দ
সঙ্গে নবনবরঙ্গিণী॥
উরহি লম্বিত কনকচম্পক
দাম কর্দ্দমচন্দনে।
দোঁহ-কলেবর ভেল শ্রমজল
মোতি মরকত কাঞ্চনে॥
রাসে মাতল সঙ্গে ষড়ঋতু
কুঞ্জকাননে রাজই।
শুক শিখী পিক চাতক ডাহুক
ভ্রমর পঞ্চম গাওই॥
রাসমণ্ডল গোপিনীকুল
শ্যাম সনে নবরঙ্গিণী।
দেই করতালি বোলে ভালি ভালি
কাশী-দাস বলি যাইনি॥
২৩৪॥ [৩৩৯]॥

সর্ব্বানন্দ

হিরণবরণ দেখিলাম গোরা
হুলি হুলি যায় ঠাটে।
তনু মন প্রাণ আপনার নয়
ডুবিনু তাহার নাটে॥

অচল পদ গদগদ বাক্
ধৈর্য্যমদ গেল।
চেতনহারা বাউল পারা
আগমদশা হৈল॥

ভয় করি নয় ভয় কেন হয়
গা কেনে মোর কাঁপে।
নিরখি লোচন হরল চেতন
দংশল যেন সাপে॥

রূপের ছটা চাঁদের ঘটা
জটাধারী দেখে ভুলে।
নৈদার নারীর ধৈর্য্যধ্বংস
দাগ রহে বা কুলে॥

প্রতি অঙ্গে যদি নয়ান থাকিত
পূরিত মনের সাধ।
একে কুলবতী তায় দুটি আঁখি
তায় ঘুঙটা বাদ॥

চাঁচরচুলে চাঁপার ফুলে
চারু চঞ্চরী চলে।
ভাল ঝলমল সুরুজ লুকায়
তায় অলকা দোলে॥

ভুরুর জ্যোতি হরয়ে মতি
শক্রধনুছটা হরে।
অপাঙ্গতরঙ্গ টঙ্ক কুলবতীর
ব্রতভঙ্গ করে

বদনচাঁদে মদন কাঁদে
হৃদে মুকুতার পাঁতি।
মৃদুমৃদু হাসিরাশি
দেখে কেবা ধরে ছাতি॥

স্বর্ণকপাট হৃদয়তট
আজানুলম্বিত ভুজা।
কোন ধনী না নয়ানে হেরিয়া
দিঠি দিঞা করে পূজা॥

জানুর বরণ কাঁচা সোনা
যেমন সাঁচামোচা।
হেরিলে তার নাচা কোঁচা
না যায় কুল বাঁচা॥

স্থলপদ্ম চরণযুগল
নখ ইন্দু নিন্দে।
সরবানন্দ- চিত চঞ্চল
মঞ্জু চরণারবিন্দে॥

২৩৫॥ [৩৪০-৩৪১]॥

বীরবাহু

দেখ সখি মোহনমধুরসুবেশং।
চন্দ্রকচারু- মুকুতাফলমণ্ডিত
অলিকুলসুন্দরকেশং॥

তরুণ-অরুণকরু- শাময়-লোচনে
মনসিজতাপবিনাশং।
অপরূপরূপ- মনোভবমঙ্গল-
মধুরমধুরমৃদুহাসং॥

অভিনবজলধর- কলিতকলেবর-
দামিনীবসনবিকাশং।
কিয়ে জড় অজড় সকল পুলকায়িত
কুরুভবনকৃতবাসং॥

যো পদপঙ্কজ ভব নারদ অজ
ভাব অভাববিশেষং।
ব্রজবনিতাগণ- মোহনকারণ-
বিরচিতবিবিধবিলাসং॥
পঞ্চমরাগ- তানতরঙ্গান্বিত-
অধরমিলিতবরবংশং।
অভিনবকমল জিতল পদপঙ্কজ
বীরবাহু-মনোহংসং॥
২৩৬॥ [৩৪৩]॥

নিমানন্দ-দাস

সখীগণ সঙ্গে রঙ্গে কুলকামিনী
করই হাসপরিহাসে।
প্রিয় এক সহচরী তুরিতহি আয়ল
শ্যামরু-বচনবিশেষে॥
শুন শুন সুন্দরি রাই।
সো বরনাগর কুঞ্জভবনে গেও
তুরিতহি অব তুহুঁ যাই॥
সঙ্কেতবচন শুনি তহি হরষিত
সখীক কহই বারে বার।
নিভৃতনিকুঞ্জে আজু হরি ভেটব
তুরিতহি করহ শিঙ্গার॥
শ্যামরু-প্রেমমদে গরগর সুন্দরী
উলসিত হৃদয়ক মাঝ।
নিমানন্দ-দাস- আশ আজু পূরব
ভেটব নাগররাজ॥
২৩৭॥ [৩৪৪]॥

কমলাকান্ত-দাস

শ্যাম গুণ- ধাম বিনে যাম যুগ ভেল।
কামশর- দাম অব ভেল মুঝে শেল॥
ভ্রমরকুল- নাদে অব- সাদ মঝু প্রাণ।
কুঞ্জ মন- রঞ্জ ভয়- পুঞ্জ সম ভান॥
কোকিলকল- ভাষে অব ত্রাস ভেল চীত।
সঙ্গসুখ লাগি মম অঙ্গ ভেল ভীত॥
গন্ধসহ গন্ধবহ মন্দগতি ভেল।
ইহ সুখদ বিপিনদ্রুম- দাম দুখ দেল॥
বিকচ ফুল- বৃন্দ চিত গন্ধ হরি নেল।
সবলহৃদি কমল অব তরলমতি ভেল॥
২৩৮॥ [৩৪৫-৩৪৬]॥

রাধানন্দ-দাস

তুহুঁ মঝু প্রাণক পিয়ারী।
রাখব হৃদয় বিদারি॥
তুহুঁ বরনাগরী বালা।
হৃদয়ক চম্পকমালা॥
তুহুঁ মুখ চন্দ্র উজোরা।
হাম দিঠি লুবধ চকোরা॥
রমণীর অনুগত কান।
রাধানন্দেতে রস গান॥
২৩৯॥ [৩৪৭]

নিকুঞ্জভবনে দুহুঁ নিকুঞ্জভবনে।
সৌদামিনী অঙ্গ কি সোঁপিল নবঘনে॥
রাধা কানু দুহুঁ করু অভেদপিরীতি।
দুন্দুভি সহিতে বিজয় কৈল রতিপতি॥
তরুণিত যমুনা উথলি বহিলা।
হেমলতা ভুজদণ্ডে রন্দকি (?) বান্ধিলা॥
রতিরস অবসানে দুহুঁক উল্লাস
যুগলচরণ সেবে রাধানন্দ-দাস॥
২৪০॥ [৩৪৭]॥

মগনচন্দ্র

আজু রে গৌরাঙ্গ-মনে কি ভাব উঠিল।
পূরবচরিত্র বুঝি মনেতে পড়িল॥
সভা করি বসিলেন গৌরাঙ্গ-সুন্দর।
রামাই মুরারি-গুপ্ত আর বক্রেশ্বর॥
চারিদিকে ভক্তবৃন্দ নাচে হরি বলি।
আনন্দ হইয়া কেহ দেয় করতালি॥
নিত্যানন্দ গৌরচন্দ্র শোভিয়াছে ভাল।
জগন্নাথ-মিশ্রের ঘর করিয়াছে আলো॥
কোটি কাম মুরছিত নয়নের কোণে।
মগন হইয়া মগ্ন হেরই নয়নে॥

২৪১ ॥ [৩৪৭-৩৪৮] ॥

চান্দনী রজনী হেরি গৌরাঙ্গ-সুন্দর।
কৃষ্ণ-অভিসাররসে প্রভু ভেল ভোর॥
ভ্রমর কোকিল করু সুমধুর গান।
শেজ তেজি উঠিলা গৌর রসধাম॥
ঠমকি ঠমকি যায় চরণ-অথির।
ভাবাবেশে আওল সুরধুনীতীর॥
একে সে নির্জ্জন পুন গঙ্গার তরঙ্গ।
ফুলবন দেখি ভাব বাঢ়ল মাতঙ্গ॥
তহিঁ প্রভু বৈঠল নীপতরুমূলে।
সেজ বিছায়ল কিশলয় ফুলে॥
দিশ হেরি রাধা বলি আঁখি ছলছল।
মগনচন্দ্র হেরি হৃদয়তরল॥

২৪২ ॥ [৩৪৮] ॥

রাধামুকুন্দ-দাস

নাচিছে কানাই সঙ্গে বলাই।
হেন কালে তথা আয়ল রাই॥
ললিতাদি সখী সঙ্গেতে করি।
অনিমিষে হরি মুখ নিহারি॥
নীলগিরি কিবা রজতগিরি।
তথাই শোভয়ে সুহেমগিরি॥
শ্বেতনীল জনু কমলমাঝে।
সোনার কমল অধিক রাজে॥
হেম নীল শ্বেত চন্দ্র উদিত।
সখীগণ তহি তারা মিলিত॥
অদভুত শোভা শ্রীনন্দালয়ে।
হয় নাই কভু হবার নহে॥
নয়নে নয়ন কমল অলি।
চাতক পায়ল মেঘ-আবলি॥
চকোর মিলল চন্দ্র উজোরে।
রাধিকা-রূপ মুকুন্দ নেহারে॥

২৪৩ ॥ [৩৫০] ॥

প্রতাপনারায়ণ

চন্দ্রবদনী ধনী প্রেমতরঙ্গা।
নয়ননলিনযুগ ভাঙ বিভঙ্গা॥
নাসা খগপতি অধর বিম্বজ্যোতি
মোতিম রে কুচ শিব শিব গঙ্গা।
কেশরী জিনি কটি নাভি সরোবর
কিঙ্কিণী ঝলকই মুগধ অনঙ্গা॥
প্রতাপনারায়ণ হংসকুলগামিনী
ভামিনী বিলসতি মোহন সঙ্গা॥

২৪৪ ॥ [৩৫১] ॥

মুকুলিতবকুলকুসুমমঙ্গলকেশং।
রুচিরচন্দনচারুচর্চ্চিতবেশং॥
অভিনবজলধরকুন্তলজালে।
শোভিত পরিমলমালতীমালে॥
মণিময়মকরকুণ্ডলশ্রুতিদেশং।
তড়িদিব নবনীল বসনবিকাশং॥
প্রতাপনারায়ণ-ভণিতমধুপং।
পরমপুরুষপুরুষোত্তমরূপং॥

২৪৫ ॥ [৩৫২] ॥

শারদপূর্ণিমাহিমকরবরণে।
চঞ্চলনীলনলিনীদলশয়নে॥
প্রাতরুদিতরবিসিন্দুরকাঁতি।
দশন সাজল মুকুতাফলভাঁতি॥
বঙ্কবিলোকনী কাজররঙ্গি।
কামকামান কুটিলভ্রূভঙ্গি॥
শ্রীফলসফলিতকৃতকুচকলসে।
মত্তময়ূরীগতি জিনিয়া অলসে॥
মৃগমদচন্দনচর্চ্চিতদেহা।
তরলঘনাততদামিনীরেহা॥
প্রতাপনারায়ণ-সঙ্গীতভণিতং।
রমণীশিরোমণি রাধার চরিতং॥

২৪৬ [৩৫২]

কিঙ্কর

বিগলিতকুন্তল ভুরুমহারঙ্গ।
দ্বন্দ্ব ভুজঙ্গম জনু ভেল সঙ্গ॥
নয়নরাগ ভরু সা (?) দূরদূরং।
নীলনলিনী যেন পরশল স্বরং॥
দশনক দংশন অধরক অংশং।
জনু বিম্বফল কীর নহি দংশং॥
অলকা গলিত তন মোতিমহার।
তরল সলিল যেন প্রাতরকার॥
উচকুচকঞ্চুক নখ নখ দন্তং।
শাতকুম্ভগিরিশির চির খণ্ডং॥
শুনি চমকিত ধনী মৃদুমৃদু হাসং।
কিঙ্কর কহ সখি কিয়ে অতিভাষং॥

২৪৭॥ [৩৫৩]॥

লালবিহারী

দেখ সখি নিকুঞ্জ-মাঝারে অনুপাম।
কৌতুকে কোকিল অলি করয়ে সুগান॥
একে সে রসের কুঞ্জ বহে নব বাএ।
পরাগ সহিত মন্দ অধিক সুহাএ॥
কিবা অপরূপ শোভা বিনোদিনী রাধা।
হেরিয়া মদন মদে পড়ি গেল বাধা॥
কি কহব শ্যাম-মোহনময়ী বেণী।
যাহার উপরে শোভে মুকুতার শ্রেণী॥
বিবিধ রসের ফুল সাজে সারি সারি।
যার মাঝে রতনখেচনী মনোহারী॥
তাহার অগ্রেতে সুখময় ফুলথোপা।
দোলএ বিচিত্র মুখ তুল (?) রত্নঝাঁপা॥
সুচিকন রসবেশ লখল না যাএ।
নাগররতনমন হরএ হেলাএ॥
যাহার সৌরভে বৃন্দাবন ভোর।
লালবিহারী তাহে কিবা দিব তুর॥

২৪৮॥ [৩৫৪]॥

প্রাণদাস

মদনমাতঙ্গ সমরে ভেল ভঙ্গ।
বৈঠল দুহুঁ জন স্মেরবয়নবিধু
শ্রমজলপূরিত-অঙ্গ॥
নবকরপল্লব অঞ্চল বীজই
কুন্তলে মাজই দেহ।
শিখিনীশিখণ্ড যতন করি সাজই
পুন নব বাঢ়ল নেহ॥
কতি বনমালা কতিহুঁ পীত-অম্বর
কতি রহুঁ মুরলী সুযন্ত্র।
কালভুজঙ্গম- দংশনে যৈছন
বারণ নহে মণিমন্ত্র॥
অধরসুধারস পুন পুন পীবই
পুন পরিরম্ভণ কেলি।
রমণ রমণী দুহুঁ লখই ন পাওই
অনুপম হিয় হিয় মেলি॥

কাঞ্চনশৈল জলদে দুহুঁ ঝাঁপল
নীলজলদে কিয়ে ইন্দু।
তুষিত বিধুন্তুদ বিধু কিয়ে ঝাঁপল
মন্থন কিয়ে রসসিন্ধু॥
বহত অনিল কুহরে কুহুকা
ঝঙ্কর মধুকরীপুঞ্জ।
তরুনবশাখে কুসুমভার পূরিত
ঝরু মকরন্দ সুকুঞ্জ॥
রসময়রাজ রসিক বরনাগরী
বিলসত মদনবিলাস।
কুঞ্জ বহার সখিনীগণসঙ্গতি
হেরই প্রাণহু দাস॥
২৪৯॥ [৩৫৫]॥

দামোদর

রাই নয়ান মেলিয়া কেন চাহ না।
তুমি মোর রতন জীবন ধন যৌবন
মদনদহনশর সহে না॥
তুয়াক রূপশশী পরশি সরসিরুহ
অধীন জনেরে কেন দেহ না।
তুয়া মুখচান্দ চান্দ অধরানন
হাসি বিকশি কেন কহ না॥
দবহি হুতাশনে মদনে তনু ভাজলি
পরশ নহিলে তনু রহে না।
লেহ মোর খত লিখি দামোদর রহ সাখী
তুয়া বিনে আর কার হব না॥
২৫০॥ [৩৫৬]॥

সেবাচান্দ

দেখ সখি নিকুঞ্জের অপরূপ রঙ্গ।
বিনোদিনী গান করে বিনোদিয়া সঙ্গ॥
ঘেরি ঘেরি বৈঠল যত চন্দ্রাবলী।
অঞ্চল পাতিঞা মাগে যৌবনের ডালি॥
তা দেখি ময়ূরগণ নাচে ফিরি ফিরি।
জয় রাধে শ্রীরাধে বলি গায় শুক সারী॥
ফুলভরে তরুগণ লম্বিত হইল।
চরণপরশ লাগি লুটিঞা পড়িল॥
সেবাচান্দ ভাবি রসে না পাইয়া ওর।
দুহুঁ মুখ নিরখিয়া ভই গেল ভোর॥
২৫১॥ [৩৫৭]॥

রামরতন

নারদ হেরি নন্দ ফুকারি
লালন কহি ঝোরে।
পরণাম করি মুনিপায়ে ধরি
ভাসল আঁখিনীরে॥

হাম উদার না জানি ফাঁপর
ই কি পরমাদ ভেল।
সরবস ধন লালন জীবন
কোন বিধি হরি নেল॥

কি ফলে পাওল কি পাপে ছাড়ল
না বুঝি করমবাত।
হাম অভাগিয়া লালন হারাইয়া
না ভেল এ দেহপাত॥

পরাণ বিদরে নাহি যায় দূরে
যে দুখ কহব কায়।
বোবার স্বপন তেমতি পরাণ
ভিতরে ঘুমি বেড়ায়॥

রামরতন এই নিবেদন
চরণে মুনি তোহার।
নীলরতনে বারেক নঞানে
দেখাহ মুনি হামার॥
২৫২॥ [৩৫৮]॥

গদাধর-দাস

অপরূপ রাধা-মাধব-ভাতি।
তাম্বুল ছোড়ি সেজ-পর বৈঠল
পুনহি মদনরসে মাতি॥

রতনপালঙ্ক-পর শূতল দুহুঁ জন
হিয়ে হিয়ে নয়ানে নয়ানে।
ললিতা-সুন্দরী তাম্বুল কপুর পুরি
দেঅল দুহাঁর বয়ানে॥

সখী সব নিরখত অপরূপ মাধুরী
দুহুঁ জন গাঅত দুহুঁ রসে ভোরি।
দুহুঁক কোরে লটপট দুহুঁ জন
কাল গৌর কোই লখই না পারি॥

কোই কহত ইয়ে থীরবিজুরী কিয়ে
রহতহি জলধরে ঘেরি।
গদাধর কহে ইহ সোই নবকৈশোর
বৃষভানু-কিশোরী॥

২৫৩॥ [৩৫৯]॥

'মাধবেন্দ্র-পুরী'

সাজল ধনী চন্দ্রবদনী
শ্যাম-দরশন-আশে।
সঙ্গিনীগণ রঙ্গিণী সব
ঘেরিল চারি পাশে॥

তরুণারুণ- চরণযুগল
মঞ্জীর তহিঁ শোভে।
ভৃঙ্গাবলী পুঞ্জ পুঞ্জ
গুঞ্জরে মধুলোভে॥

কুম্ভিকুম্ভ জিনি নিতম্ব
কেশরিক্ষীণমাঝে।
পরি নীলাম্বর পট্টাম্বর
কিঙ্কিণী তহিঁ বাজে॥

বাহুযুগল
করিশাবকশুণ্ডে।
হেমাঙ্গদ মণিকঙ্কণ
নখরে শশিখণ্ডে॥

হেমাচল কুচমণ্ডল
কাঁচলী তহিঁ শোভে।
চন্দ্রকান্ত ধ্বান্তদমন
কর্ণে কণ্ঠে শোভে॥

জাম্বুনদ- হেমযুক্ত
মুকুতাফলপাঁতি।
ফণিমণিযুত দামসহিত
দামিনীসমভাতি॥

বিম্বফল- নিন্দি অধর
দাড়িমবীজদশনা।
বেশর তহিঁ নলকে ঝলকে
মন্দমন্দহসনা॥

নাসা তিল- ফুলতুল
কবরী করবীছাঁদে।
মদনমোহন- মোহিনী ধনী
সাজলী তহি রাধে॥

নবযৌবনী চন্দ্রবদনী
বৃন্দাবনবাটে।
মাধবেন্দ্র-পুরী রচিত ভাষ
বর্ণি পূর্ণি পাটে॥

২৫৪॥ [৩৬২]॥

গোবিন্দদাস (ক্ষেত্রমোহন-দত্ত)

মাধব, অব তুহুঁ শঙ্করদেবা।
যাকর পুণফলে প্রাতরে ভেটলুঁ
দূরেহু দূরে রহুঁ সেবা॥

আকুল কুটিল- চূড়শিখিচন্দ্রক
ভালহি সিন্দুরদহনা।
চন্দন-মাঝহি মৃগমদ লাগল
তেঁই বেকত তিন নয়না॥

চন্দনরেণু- ধূসর ভেল সব তনু
সোই ভসমসম ভেলা।
তোহারি বিলোকনে মঝু মন মনমথ
মনমথ সঞে জরি গেলা॥

কাহে দিগম্বর অবহুঁ বসন পর
শঙ্কর-নিয়ম উপেখি।
গোবিন্দদাস কহয়ে পর অম্বর
(ক্ষেত্রমোহন-দত্ত)
গণইতে লেখি না লেখি॥
২৫৫॥ [৩৬০-৩৬১]

বাসুদেব-দাস

দণ্ডে শতবার খায় যাহা দেখে তাহা চায়
ছানা দধি এ ক্ষীর নবনী।
রাখিও আপন কাছে ভোকছানি লাগে পাছে
আমার সোনার যাদুমণি॥

শুন বাপু হলধর এক নিবেদন মোর
এই গোপাল মায়ের পরাণ।
যাইতে তোমার সনে সাধ করিয়াছে মনে
আপনি হইও সাবধান॥

দামালিয়া যাদু মোর না জানে আপন পর
ভালমন্দ নাহিক গেয়ান।
দারুণ কংসের চর তারা ফিরে নিরন্তর
আপনি হইও সাবধান॥

বাম করে হলধর দক্ষিণ করে গিরিধর
শুন বলাই নিবেদনবাণী।
বাসুদেব-দাস বলে তিতিল নয়নজলে
মুরছিয়া পড়িল ধরণী॥
২৫৬॥ [৩৬৪-৩৬৫]।

কোরে বৈঠায়লি সুন্দরী রাই।
দুহুঁ নবযৌবন দুহুঁ অবগাই॥
দুহুঁ আলিঙ্গন মদনমাতা।
তমালে বেঢ়ল জনু কনকলতা॥
রসেতে চঞ্চল দোঁহার আঁখি।
নাচত যৈছন খঞ্জন পাখী॥
রূপ বিলোকিত দুহুঁক নয়নে।
হেরি লুকায়ল চাঁদ গগনে॥
করে লুকায়ল দুহুঁ হেমকটোর।
হাসি হাসি কহে দুহুঁ মরমক বোল॥
দুহুঁক পিরীতি দুহুঁ ভালে জান।
কহে বাসুদেব দুহুঁ রসিকসুজান॥
২৫৭॥ [৩৬৫]

যদুনাথ-দাস

গঞ্জে গঞ্জুক লোক তাহে না ডরাই।
ছাড়ে ছাড়ুক নিজ পতি আপদ এড়াই॥
বলে বলুক পাড়ার লোক তাহে নাহি ডর।
না বলুক না ডাকুক না যাব তার ঘর॥
ধরমকরম যাউক তাহে না ডরাই।
মনের ভরমে পাছে বন্ধুরে হারাই॥
কালামাণিকের মালা গাঁথি নিব গলে।
কানু-গুণযশ আমি পরিব কুণ্ডলে॥
কানু-অনুরাগরাঙ্গা বসন পরিয়া।
দেশে দেশে ভরমিব যোগিনী হইয়া॥

যদুনাথ-দাসে কহে এহি মনে সাধ।
হয় হউক জগ ভরি কালা-পরিবাদ ॥
২৫৮ ॥ [৪৭০] ॥

বলরাম-দাস (২)

রূপ সনাতন সঙ্গে শ্রীজীব-গোসাঞি।
কত ভক্তিগ্রন্থ কৈল লেখা জোখা নাই ॥
মনের বাসনা আত্মশুদ্ধির কারণ।
কতিপয়গ্রন্থনাম করিব কীর্ত্তন ॥
গোপালবিরুদাবলী কৃষ্ণপদচিহ্ন।
শ্রীমাধবমহোৎসব রাধাপদচিহ্ন ॥
শ্রীগোপালচম্পূ আর রসামৃত শেষ।
কৃপাম্বুধিস্তব সপ্ত সন্দর্ভ বিশেষ॥
সূত্রমালা ধাতুসংগ্রহ কৃষ্ণার্চ্চন।
সঙ্কল্পকল্পবৃক্ষ হরিনামব্যাকরণ ॥
নিখিল লিখিলা গ্রন্থ কত কৈব নাম।
খুলিলা ভক্তির দ্বার কহে বলরাম ॥
২৫৯ ॥ [৪০৪] ॥

বীর-হাম্বীর

শুন গো মরমসখি কালিয়া কমল-আঁখি
কিবা কৈল কিছুই না জানি।
কেমন করয়ে মন সব লাগে উচাটন
প্রেম করি খোয়ানু পরাণি ॥

শুনিয়া দেখিনু কালা দেখিয়া পাইনু জ্বালা
নিভাইতে নাহি পাই পানি।
অগুরু চন্দন আনি দেহেতে লেপিনু ছানি
না নিভায় হিয়ার আগুনি ॥

বসিয়া থাকিয়ে যবে আসিয়া উঠায় তবে
লৈয়া যায় যমুনার তীরে।
কি করিতে কি না করি সদাই ঝুরিয়া মরি
তিলেক নাহিক রহি থীরে ॥

শাশুড়ী ননদী মোর সদাই বাসয়ে চোর
গৃহপতি ফিরিয়া না চায়।
এ বীরহাম্বীর-চিত শ্রীনিবাস-অনুগত
মজি গেলা কালাচাঁদের পায় ॥
২৬০ ॥ [৪০৬] ॥

রাঘবেন্দ্র-রায়

তোমা না ছাড়িব বন্ধু তোমা না ছাড়িব।
বিরলে পাইয়াছি হিয়া মাঝারে রাখিব ॥
রাতি কৈলাঙ দিন বন্ধু দিন কৈলাঙ রাতি।
ভুবন ভরিয়া রহিল তোমার খেআতি ॥
ঘর কৈলাঙ বন বন্ধু বন কৈলাঙ ঘর।
পর কৈলাঙ আপুনি আপুনি হৈলাঙ পর ॥
সকল তেজিয়া দূরে লইলাঙ শরণ।
রায় রাঘবেন্দ্র কহে ও-রাঙ্গাচরণ ॥
২৬১ ॥ [৪০৮] ॥

গোস্বামি-দাস

কানাই, গাএর গরব নহে ভাল।
আপনা ভালাই চাও ভরমে চলিয়া যাও
পাছে নন্দ-ঘোষের গারি টাল ॥

কেমন বা রূপ ধর কিসের গরব কর
রাখাল হইয়া এত বেশ।
মথুরানগর-মাঝে চল দেখি ঐ সাজে
কপালে টালনি আধকেশ ॥

চলিতে না জান পথে মোহনমুরলী হাথে
বাজননূপুর দিয়া পায়।
আমরা পরের নারী তেঞি সে ভরম করি
হাথ দিতে চাও পারা গায় ॥

আসি হাথ দেহ হারে কি আর বলিব তোরে
মুখে বল কাঁচলী উতার।
গোস্বামিদাসের বাণী হাসে প্রিয়চূড়ামণি
বড় কোপ দেখিয়া রাধার॥
২৬২॥ [৪০৯-৪১০]॥

বিহারি-দাস

মুরলী তরল করল পরাণ
রহিতে না দিল ঘরে।
অবলাপরাণে না যাএ সহনে
নিতি নিতি আঁখি ঝরে॥

যথা তথা যাই বাজে সব ঠাঁই
নাম সে কেমনে জানে।
শ্রবণে প্রবেশি হৃদয়ে লাগে সি
বাজিল যেখানে প্রাণে॥

শ্যামের মুরলী ডাকে রাধা বলি
না মানে নিষেধবোল।
গৃহের করম ধরম-আচার
সব হঞা গেল ভোল॥

রমণীগণের মনের গরিমা
সকলি ভাঁগিল বাঁশী।
ভুলাইয়া মন ব্রজনারীগণ
চরণে করিলা দাসী॥

হেদে সহচরি রহিতে না পারি
বাঁশীচুরি কৈল মন।
বেশ বনাইতে না পাইলাঙ তুরিতে
চল যাব বৃন্দাবন॥

সাজাইছে গোপী শ্রীঅঙ্গ নি[রখি]
যেখানে যেমন সাজে।
অভরণগণ উলসিতমন
মলিন হৈল লাজে॥

সোনার নূপুর কিঙ্কিণী কঙ্কণ
না চলিতে বাজে তারা।
দাস বিহারী সেবা অঙ্গীকরি
নয়ানে বহিছে ধারা॥
২৬৩॥ [৪১০-৪১১]॥

বীরচন্দ্র

রাই, ত্যজি কালবরণ করিব ধারণ
তোমার অঙ্গের কান্তি।
তুয়া নাম লৈয়া বেড়াইব কাঁদিয়া
অশ্রুজলে হৈব শান্তি॥
মিলি ভক্তগণ করিব কীর্ত্তন
রাধা রাধা ধ্বনি করি।
ক্ষণে ক্ষণে মূর্চ্ছা হইবে যখন
অচেতনে রৈব পড়ি॥
ভাবি তব ভাব হৈবে প্রেমভাব
স্বভাব ছাড়িয়া দেহ।
ত্যজি বংশীধর হৈব দণ্ডধর
রাখিতে নারিবে কেহ॥
অমূল্যরতন তব প্রেমধন
অযাচকে দিব আনি।
বীরচন্দ্রে কহে তবে সে খালাস
পাইবে প্রেমের ঋণী॥
২৬৪॥ [৪১২-৪১৩]॥

রামচন্দ্র-মল্লিক

রাধে, তুমি মোরে না বাসিয় ভিন।
রভসে বিরসবাণী না বলিয় চন্দ্রাবলী
আমি তোমার প্রেমের অধীন॥
বিনতি করিয়া কই আমি আর কার নই
তোমার তোমার বিনোদিনি।
অসোধল তুয়া ধার সুধিতে নারিল আর
রহিলাঙ হয়িয়া তোমার ঋণী॥

ও মুখ পঙ্কজ তোর মন মধুকর মোর
না বলিহ বিরসবচন।
প্রাণসঞ্জীবনী তুমি তৃষিত চাতক আমি
তুমি প্রিয়া মোর নবঘন॥
স্বরূপে কহিলাঙ রাই বিকাইলাঙ তুয়া ঠাঞি
অভিনবযৌবনী নারি।
রামচন্দ্র-মল্লিকে কয় অতিপ্রেম অতিশয়
বিরস সহএ না পারি॥
২৬৫॥ [৪১৪]॥

শ্যাম-মল্লিক

ও বংশী বাজে বাজে।
নবনব মধুর শ্রীবৃন্দাবন-মাঝে॥
বিসরিলাঙ ধনজন গুরুগরবিতে।
প্রাণ হরিয়া নিল মুরলীর গীতে॥
কি করিতে কি না করি এই না গৃহকাজ।
আর কি রাখিতে হয় কুলভয়লাজ॥
দূরে কর গৌরব মান অভিমান।
(চল) ভেটিব শ্রীবৃন্দাবনে রসময় কান॥
কি করিব লাসবেশ অঙ্গ-অভরণ।
পুলকে পূরল তনু কাঁপে ঘনেঘন॥
নয়নে গলয়ে নীর গদগদ বোল।
উথলে প্রেমের সিন্ধু আনন্দহিলোল॥
শ্যাম-মল্লিকে কহে অনুভবসার।
এতদিনে মনোরথ পূরিল রাধার॥
২৬৬॥ [৪১৬-৪১৭]॥

ব্রজকিশোর

রাই সাজে বংশী বাজে না পড়িল ওর।
কি করিতে কি করে আবেশে মন ভোর॥
আঁচড়য়ে চাঁচরচিকুর কেশভার।
পায়ে বাঁধে ফুলের মালা না করে বিচার॥
কাজর চরণ-তলে নয়ানে আলতা।
শ্রবণ কুহরে লঞা গুঞ্জে নাগলতা॥
গলে পরে কিঙ্কিণী কটিতে পরে হার।
করে পরে নূপুর জঙ্ঘের আগে টাড়॥
গদগদ হঞা রাই ঝাঁট চলি যায়॥
কেনে রে দারুণ পথ ঝাঁট না ফুরায়॥
ব্রজকিশোরে কয় পথ ফুরাইলা।
নিধুবনে যাঞা রাই জয়ধ্বনি দিলা॥
২৬৭॥ [৪১৭]॥

'কৃষ্ণদাস কবিরাজ'

চৈতন্য-কল্পতরু নবদ্বীপে সঞ্চরু
প্রেমজলে তনু পুলকিত।
একে প্রভু নিত্যানন্দ সঙ্গে আর অদ্বৈতচন্দ্র
দুই শাখা হৈল উপনীত॥
দ্বাদশ গোপাল আর উপশাখা হৈল তার
চৌষট্টি মহান্ত ফুল ফলে।
পাকিলে সে প্রেমফল ভক্ত লৈঞা সে সকল
বিলাওল নদীয়াদুকূলে॥
তার এক ফল ভাসি এ দেশে লাগল আসি
যেই পাইল সেই ভাগ্যবান।
সে ফল অমৃতধন খাঞা কৈল আস্বাদন
জীবে খাঞা হরল গেয়ান॥
তার কিছু শেষ ছিল দুখী ভুখি জীবে দিল
দিল প্রেম আপনার সুখে।
কৃষ্ণদাস কবিরাজের আশা শুখান নদীর দশা
বিন্দু না পড়ল মোর মুখে॥
২৬৮॥ [৪১৮-৪১৯]॥

মদন

হা হা প্রভু নরহরি দয়া কর মোরে
দগধ হইনু পড়ি দারুণ সংসারে॥

অধম অযোগ্য হিতাহিত নাহি জানি।
[শমন] দমন ভয়ে কাঁপয়ে পরাণী॥
সে সব অজ্ঞান যৌবনে মত্ত হৈনু।
ইবে জরা [মরণ] সেবনে গোঞাইনু॥
জননীজঠরে যত ডর না পাইনু।
জনমিয়ে মায়ামোহে সব পাসরিনু॥
তোমার অনুগত হয়ে তোমা না ভজিনু।
লোকপ্রতারণা করি উদর পূরিনু॥
সাধুমুখে সিদ্ধান্ত শুনি ত্রাস উপজিল।
অমিয়া তেজিয়া কিয়ে গরল ভখিল॥
নামাভাসদাস মুঞি না দেখিয়ে গতি।
মদন তরায়ে প্রভু রাখহ খিয়াতি॥
২৬৯॥ [৪২১]॥

বিশ্বম্ভর-দেব

রাসমণ্ডল-মাঝে যুগলকিশোর।
দুহুঁ অঙ্গে অঙ্গ দিয়া দুহুঁ ভেল ভোর॥
রাধা-অঙ্গে অঙ্গ দিয়া নাগর চলি যায়।
নাচিয়া চলিছে ভালি মন্দগতি তায়॥
তা দেখি মউরী সব নাচে ফিরি ফিরি।
জয় রাধা কৃষ্ণ বলি ডাকে শুক সারী॥
শ্যাম-অধরে বাজে মধুর মুরলী।
যমুনা থকিত ভেল মোহিত সকলি॥
ফুলভরে লতা সব লম্বিত হইয়া।
চরণপরশ-আশে পড়িছে নটাইয়া॥
বৃন্দাবনে আনন্দে হিলোল বহি যায়।
বিশ্বম্ভর-দেব তাহা দেখিবারে পায়॥
২৭০॥ [৪২৩-৪২৪]॥

উদয়াদিত্য

কি বলিতে জানো মুঞি কি বলিতে পারি।
একে গুণহীন আর পরবশ নারী॥
তোমার লাগিয়া মোর যত গুরুজন।
সকল হইল বৈরী কেহ নয় আপন॥
বাঘের মাঝে যেন হরিণীর বাস।
তার মাঝে দীঘল ছাড়িতে নারি শ্বাস॥
উদয়-আদিত্যে কহে মনে ওই ভয় উঠে।
তোমার পিরীতি খানি তিলেক পাছে টুটে॥
২৭১॥ [৪২৫]॥

শ্যামপ্রিয়া

প্রাণ ধরিব কেমনে প্রাণ ধরিব কেমনে।
দিবসে আন্ধার হৈল শ্রীমুরারী বিনে॥
হরি গুরু বৈষ্ণবের সেবা হৈল বাদ।
আর কি রসিকানন্দ পূরাইবে সাধ॥
একে সে রসিকানন্দ রসের তরঙ্গ।
বসিলা রসিকানন্দ ক্ষীরচোরা সঙ্গ॥
কাঁদিতে কাঁদিতে হিয়া বিদরে উল্লাসে।
দশদিগ শূন্য হৈল শ্যামপ্রিয়া ভাষে॥
২৭২॥ [৪২৬]॥

বিপ্রদাস-ঘোষ

আগো মা, আজি আমি চরাব বাছুর।
পরাইয়া দেহ ধড়া মন্ত্র পড়ি বান্ধ চূড়া
চরণেতে পরাহ নূপুর॥
অলকা তিলক ভালে বনমালা দেহ গলে
শিঙ্গা বেত্র বেণু দেহ হাথে।
শ্রীদাম সুদাম দাম সুবলাদি বলরাম
সভাই দাঁড়াইয়া রাজপথে॥
বিশাল অর্জ্জুন জান কিঙ্কিণী অংশুমান
সাজিয়া সভাই গোঠে যায়।
গোপালের কথা শুনি সজলনয়নে রাণী
অচেতনে ধরণী লোটায়॥

চঞ্চল বাছুরি সনে কেমনে ধাইবে বনে
কোমল দুখানি রাঙ্গা পায়।
ঘোষ বিপ্রদাসে বলে এ বয়সে গোঠে গেলে
প্রাণ কি ধরিতে পারে মায়॥

২৭৩॥ [৪২৮]॥

দ্বিজ ভীম

কি রূপ দেখিলুঁ মধুরমূরতি
পিরীতিরসের সার।
হেন লয় মনে এ তিন ভুবনে
তুলনা নাহিক আর॥

বড় বিনোদিয়া চূড়ার টালনি
কপালে চন্দনচাঁদ।
জিনি বিধুবর বদন সুন্দর
ভুবনমোহন ফাঁদ॥

নবজলধর রসে ঢরঢর
বরণ চিকণকালা।
অঙ্গের ভূষণ রজত কাঞ্চন
মণি মুকুতার মালা॥

জোড়া ভুরু যেন কামের কামান
কে না কৈল নিরমাণ।
তরল নয়নে তেরছ চাহনি
বিষম কুসুমবাণ॥

সুন্দর অধরে মধুর মুরলী
হাসিয়া কথাটি কয়।
দ্বিজ ভীমে কহে ও রূপ নাগর
দেখিলে পরাণ রয়॥

২৭৪॥ [৪২৯]॥

মাধুরী-দাস

মরমে মরমে পশিঞা দুজনে
পেয়ে সদা মনমধু।
চকোর হরিষে সুধার আবেশে
পরশিঞা রহে বিধু॥

যখন জনমে দু ঠাঞি দু জনা
আচরে যে যার রীত।
কালাকাল পাঞা হঠাৎকারে (আ)সিঞা
যোগাযোগ পরতীত॥

যে সাথ মিলন পাইল যেইজন
তুলনা নাহিক তার।
ঘৃত দুগ্ধ চিনি তাহার বাছনি
ছানিঞা নিকসে সার॥

দাস মাধুরী আনন্দলহরী
করণে কৌতুক পাই।
পরশে মিশাঞা ভিঞান করহ
মনকে মাথয়ে ভাই॥

২৭৫॥ [৪৩০-৪৩১]॥

মানসিংহ-দাস

ওহে শ্যামরায় কথা শুন মন দিয়া।
কি করিতে কি না করে গুমরি গুমরি ঝুরে
কি দেখায় কপালে হাথ দিয়া॥

অতি সুকুমারতনু শিরীষ কুসুম জনু
ভাল মন্দ কিছুই না জানে।
রাজকুমারী ঘরে রহিতে নাহিক পারে
তোমারে সে দেখিয়া স্বপনে॥

বসন না রাখে গায় কাতরনয়নে চায়
সোনার তনু ধূলায় পড়িয়া।
তোমার কঠিন মন তিরিবধ না গণন
কুলবতী দিলা চালাইয়া॥

শুনিয়া সখীর বাণী হরিষে রসিকমণি
কহে ঝাট মিলাহ যতনে।
মানসিংহ-দাসে ভণে হৈয়া উলসিত মনে
ধনী কাছে পুনরাগমনে॥
২৭৬॥ [৪৩১]॥

যাদবেন্দ্র

আমার শপতি লাগে· না ধাইহ ধেনুর আগে
পরাণের পরাণ নীলমণি।
নিকটে রাখিহ ধেনু পুরিহ মোহন বেণু
ঘরে বসি আমি যেন শুনি॥

বলাই ধাইবে আগে আর শিশু বামভাগে
শ্রীদাম সুদাম সব পাছে।
তুমি তার মাঝে ধাইয় সঙ্গছাড়া না হইয়
মাঠে বড় রিপুভয় আছে॥

ক্ষুধা হৈলে লৈয়া খাইহ পথ পানে চাহি যাইহ
অতিশয় তৃণাঙ্কুর পথে।
কারু বোলে বড় ধেনু ফিরাইতে না যাইহ কানু
হাত তুলি দেহ মোর মাথে॥

থাকিবে তরুর ছায় মিনতি করিছে মায়
রবি যেন না লাগয়ে গায়।
যাদবেন্দ্রে সঙ্গে লইহ বাধা পানই সাথে থুইহ
বুঝিয়া যোগাবে রাঙ্গা পায়॥
২৭৭॥ [৪৩৩]॥

পরশুরাম

কালিন্দীকিনারে গো নাগর কালিয়া।
জলেরে যাইতে একা সে অঙ্গে লাগিল ঠেকা
মনে ছিল তমাল বলিয়া॥

কানাঞি করিয়া আগে আবেশ আছিল গো
ধাধসে বান্ধিল দুই পায়।
রূপের বাতাসে তনু কে জানে কি হৈল গো
কথা কহিতে পুলক পড়ে গায়॥

নবকুবলয়দল- তনু নিরমল গো
রতনমুকুর বর হিয়া।
কেমন বিধাতা তায় রসাল করিল গো
সুধই সুধার সার দিয়া॥

রূপের মাধুরী কত ভুবন ভুলায় গো
পরশে অমিয়া সুখরাশি।
পরশুরামের মনে স্মওরি স্মওরি রূপ
বসিঞা কান্দিয়ে দিবানিশি॥
২৭৮॥ [৪৪০]॥

জগদানন্দ-ঘোষ

আয় ভাই খেলাইতে যাবি গোরাচাঁদ।
শিশুগণ ডাকি বলে আয় ভাই গঙ্গার কূলে
নাচিব গাইব হরিনাম॥

শিরে অবতংস কনকঝুরি লম্বিত
দোলত ললাট সুমাঝ।
তদুপরি চন্দন চিত্রবিচিত্রক
দেখি মুখ চন্দ্র বিরাজ॥

রতনহারাবলী বক্ষে বিলম্বিত
তাড় বলয়া দোন করে।
গৌর কলেবর নীল পাটের ধটী
বেড়িয়াছে ঘাঘর ঘুঙ্ঘুরে॥

হেদে রে বালকগণ লঞা যাইছ প্রাণধন
সকাল আনিহ গোরাচাঁদে।
ঠাকুর সুন্দরানন্দ গোরা-লীলা বিজানত
গায়ত ঘোষ জগদানন্দে॥
২৭৯॥ [৪৪১]॥

নবচৈতন্য-দাস

পণ্ডিত শ্রীগৌরীদাস অম্বিকাতে যার বাস
দেহ যার প্রেমের স্বরূপ।
চৈতন্যের আজ্ঞা পাঞা নিত্যানন্দ সঙ্গে লঞা
প্রেমদানে অতি অপরূপ॥

প্রভু কহে নিত্যানন্দ রামাই সুন্দরানন্দ
গৌরীদাস-পণ্ডিত লইয়া।
সুরধুনীতীরে যাঞা জীবেরে সদয় হঞা
প্রেম দেহ জগত ভরিয়া॥

প্রেমধন বিতরণে দিবানিশি নাহি জানে
দীন হীন না কৈল বিচার।
গৌরীদাস বড় রঙ্গী প্রেমদানের পাঞা সঙ্গী
খুলি দিল প্রেমের ভাণ্ডার॥

পূর্ব্বে ব্রজবিহারে কৃষ্ণের যে সহচরে
সুবল বলিয়া নাম ধরে।
কৃষ্ণে সুখ দেই সদা আপনে হইয়া রাধা
দেখি কৃষ্ণে বিরহ পাসরে॥

রাধার স্বরূপ দেখি কৃষ্ণ হৈলা মহাসুখী
তার রূপে আনন্দিত মন।
তবে ত সুবল-রূপ গৌরীদাস-স্বরূপ
মহাপ্রভুর সুখের কারণ॥

গৌরীদাস প্রেমদানে চৈতন্য না দেখি মানে
কি করিব কি হবে উপায়।
তবে ত চৈতন্য-হরি মনে মনে বিচারি
নিত্যানন্দ সঙ্গ লঞা যায়॥

সাক্ষাৎ স্বরূপ হঞা দুই প্রভু সুখ পাঞা
সেবারসে তাহার অধীন।
কোটি কাম জিনি রূপ স্বমাধুরীস্বরূপ
দেখি হেন নিত্য নবীন॥

গৌড়দেশে গৌরীদাস সেবা পাঞা সুখোল্লাস
আনন্দসমুদ্রে সদা ভাসে।
তাহার অসীমগুণ কৈল কিছু বর্ণন
কহে নবচৈতন্য-দাসে॥

২৮০॥ [৪৪৬-৪৪৭]॥

ঘনশ্যাম-দাস (৩)

পার হৈয়া যত গোপী গেলা সব ঘরে।
গোধন লইয়া কৃষ্ণ যমুনার তীরে॥
বেলা-অবসান দেখে আনন্দিত হৈয়া।
বৃন্দাবন প্রতি ধায় গোধন লইয়া॥
উচ্চপুচ্ছ করি ধেনু চলে হাম্বারবে।
আবা আবা রব দিয়ে চলে শিশু সবে॥
নিজ নিজ গৃহে সবে করিল প্রবেশ।
দিনমণি অস্ত গেলা বেলা অবশেষ॥
এই ত কহিলাম কৃষ্ণের নৌকাখণ্ড যত।
ঘনশ্যাম-দাস কহে আর কব কত॥

২৮১॥ [৪৪৮]॥

'প্রতাপরুদ্র'

তোমার লাগিয়া রাধে তোমা আরাধিনু।
মনের মানস যত সকল সাধিনু॥
অঙ্গ মাঝে হব তোমার অঙ্গ পরিপূর।
আভরণ মাঝে হব দুখানি নূপুর॥
নখচন্দ্র চকোর পদকমলে ভ্রমর।
ও রূপে মুকুর হব নিরাগে চামর॥
আর এক সাধ আমি করিয়াছি মনে।
অতি ক্ষীণ রেণু হৈয়া থাকিব চরণে॥
রেণু হৈতে না পাই যদি মনে অনুমানি।
প্রতাপরুদ্রে কৃপা করহ আপনি॥

২৮২॥ [৪৪৯]

কেশব ব্রাহ্মণ

ফুল করি যদি পরি সেহ নহে ভালি।
বিষম ব্রজের বৈরী ভ্রমরা ভ্রমরী॥
হিয়ার কাঁচলী সনে রাখিয়ে বান্ধিয়া।
মেঘের চাতক ডরে মরিএ ডরাইয়া॥
কেশব বামন কয় শুন বিনোদিনী।
জগতে সভাই কয় শ্যামসোহাগিনী॥

২৮৩॥ [৪৫০]

শ্রীদাম-দাস

শুন বিশ্বম্ভর আমার উত্তর
তুমি যাবে দেশান্তরে।
তোমা না দেখিয়া মরিব ঝুরিয়া
শুনিয়া থাকিব ঘরে॥
লঞা ভক্তগণ করহ কীর্ত্তন
শুনিতে শ্রবণসুখ।
আর না শুনিব পরাণে মরিব
উঠিছে মনদুখ॥
মুকুন্দ মুরারি এ সভারে ছাড়ি
কি লাগি বিদেশে যাবে।
বিষ্ণুপ্রিয়া তেজি হইবে সন্ন্যাসী
নদীয়া আন্ধার হবে॥
এ সব জানিয়া স্থির কর হিয়া
সন্ন্যাসীতে নাহি দায়।
তরুণ বয়সে যাবে দূরদেশে
দাস শ্রীদামে গায়॥

২৮৪ [৪৫৩]।

যশোদানন্দন

পিরীতি নগরে বসতি করিব
পিরীতে বান্ধিব চাল।
পিরীতি কপাট দুয়ারে বসাব
পিরীতে গোঁয়াব কাল॥
পিরীতি উপরে শয়ন করিব
পিরীত শিথান মাথে।
পিরীত বালিসে আলিস ছাড়িব
থাকিব পিরীতি সাথে॥
পিরীতি বেশর পরিব নাসিকা
দুলাব নয়নকোণে।
যশোদানন্দনে ভণএ পিরীতি
পিরীতি কেহ না জানে॥

২৮৫॥ [৪৫৮]॥

নসির মামুদ

চলত রাম সুন্দর শ্যাম
পাচনি কাচনি বেত্র বেণু
মুরলিখুরলি গান রি।
প্রিয় শ্রীদাম সুদাম মেলি
তরণীতনয়াতীরে কেলি
ধবলী শাঙলী আও রি আও রি
ফুকরি চলত কান রি॥
বয়সে কিশোর মোহন ভাতি
বদন ইন্দু জলদকাঁতি
চারু চন্দ্রি গুঞ্জাহার
বদনে মদন-ভান রি।
আগমনিগমবেদসার
লীলায় করত গোঠবিহার
নসির মামুদ করত আশ
চরণে শরণ দান রি॥

২৮৬॥ [৪৬২]॥

বিদ্যাপতি ও যদুনন্দন

কি কহব রে সখি তখনক লাজ।
সপনে আপনে পিয়া আওল সমাজ॥

করে কর ধরি পিয়া পূছত বাত।
হঠে হাম তাক ছোড়ায়ল হাত॥
ফারল মল্লতোরল হার।
কতহি কহব তাই করয়ে বিহার॥
ভণএ বিদ্যাপতি ইহ রস গায়॥
ইহ অবশেষ যদুনন্দন গায়॥

২৮৭॥ [৪০৫]॥

জয়কৃষ্ণ-দাস (২)

প্রভাসে রাধার বাণী শুনিয়া গোকুলমণি
কহে তাহে করিয়া পিরীতি।
দারুণ বিধাতা মোরে আনাইয়া এতদূরে
রাখে লয়্যা দূর দ্বারাবতী॥

তোমার বিরহানলে সদা মোর হিয়া জলে
ডুবি ভাসি ভাবনাসাগরে।
কি করিতে কিনা করি ধৈরজ ধরিতে নারি
সদা ধ্যান করিতে তোমারে॥

আছে দুই চারি সূত্র নারায়ণশক্তি হেতু
নষ্ট কৈলে যাবো বৃন্দাবনে।
তুমি মোর দুনয়ন আমার অমূল্য ধন
তোমা বিনু কি আছে ভুবনে॥

করুণ নয়নে নীর ভিজিল হিয়ার চীর
পুন কহে গদগদ ভাষা।
জয়কৃষ্ণ-দাস ভণে করুণা করিয়ে মনে
দীনবন্ধু-চরণ ভরসা॥

২৮৮॥ [৪৯৮]

পদমঞ্জরী-ধৃত পদকর্ত্তৃ-সূচি

অকিঞ্চন-দাস ৫৭০
অনন্ত-দাস ৫১৫
অনন্ত বড়ু চণ্ডীদাস ৫২০

আচার্য্য-চন্দ্র ৫০৮
আনন্দচন্দ্র ৫৬০

উদয়াদিত্য ৫৮২
উদ্ধব-দাস (১) ৫১৯
উদ্ধব-দাস (২) ৫৬২-৬৩

কমলাকান্ত-দাস ৫৭৩
কবিকণ্ঠহার ৫৪৮
কবিরঞ্জন ৫৩৩
কবিবল্লভ ৫৩৭
কানুরাম-দাস ৫১৮
কাশী-দাস ৫৭১
কিঙ্কর ৫৭৫
'কিশোর-দাস' ৫৪৭
কিশোরীদাস ৫৪৭
কৃষ্ণকান্ত ৫৬২
'কৃষ্ণদাস' ৫২৩
'কৃষ্ণদাস কবিরাজ' ৫৮১
কেশব (ব্রাহ্মণ) ৫৮৬

গঙ্গারাম (দ্বিজ) ৫৩৩
গতিগোবিন্দ ৫৪৯
গদাধর-দাস ৫৭৭
গুপ্তদাস ৫২০
গোকুলচন্দ্র ৫৬৬
গোকুলানন্দ ৫৪৪
গোপালদাস ৫৩৩
গোপীকান্ত-দাস ৫৫৪
গোপীকান্ত-বসু ৫২০
গোপীনাথ-দুর্লভ ৫৭০
গোবর্দ্ধন ৫৫৯
গোবিন্দ-ঘোষ ৫০৬
গোবিন্দদাস কবিরাজ ৫২৩-৩১, ৫..
গোবিন্দদাস-চক্রবর্ত্তী ৫৩১-৩২
গোস্বামি-দাস ৫৭৯
গৌরদাস ৫৫০
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